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# Frontispiece



Engraved by J. W. Smith

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Throughout this various Group Portray'd you'll find  
 (RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS in each Mode Design'd)  
 With all the Diffrent Paths which Men have trod,  
 To reach the same End - *TRUTH* - *Love* - *WORSHIP due to GOD*!



A NEW UNIVERSAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Customs  
OF THE

**WHOLE WORLD ;**  
OR,  
A COMPLETE AND IMPARTIAL VIEW OF  
**ALL THE RELIGIONS**

In the various Nations of the Universe;  
BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN, FROM THE CREATION DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

INCLUDING THE

*Ancient and Present State of Religion amongst the*

Jews,  
Egyptians,  
Carthaginians,  
Druids,  
Bramins,

Assyrians,  
Babylonians,  
Medes  
Persians,  
Chinese,

Japanese,  
Africans, and all the  
other Idolatrous and  
Pagan Nations,  
Mahometans,

Greeks,  
Christians,  
Romish Church, with the  
various Orders of her  
Communion, &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

**THE HISTORY**  
OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES ;

COMPREHENDING THE

Lutherans,  
Moravians,  
Dissenters,  
Presbyterians,  
Calvinists,

Arminians,  
Methodists,  
Independents,  
Baptists,  
Arians,

Socinians,  
Quakers,  
Nonjurors,  
Sandemanians,  
Antinomians,

Universalists,  
Hutchinsonians,  
Millenarians,  
Swedenborgians,  
Mystics, &c. &c.

**BY WILLIAM HURD, D.D.**

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION**  
OF THE

**Various Parts ;**

The Religious Rites and Ceremonies of whose Inhabitants are faithfully described.



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## INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

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IT has been acknowledged by the wisest men in all ages and nations, that knowledge, properly improved, is the grand ornament of human life, as religion is of the rational faculties. Knowledge distinguishes us from the irrational creation, and Religion places us in a rank far superior to many of our own species. We are not able to comprehend all the secrets of our own nature—we are often lost in admiration, at the consideration of the actions of our fellow-creatures; but nothing so much excites our attention as religious rites, ceremonies and customs! That men in different ages, and throughout the universe, have paid adoration to almost every animal and reptile on the face of the earth, cannot be denied; that their idolatrous practices have been ridiculous to the highest degree is equally true; nor is it less so, that many of them have been a disgrace to human nature, even in its corrupted state! God made man after his own image, but he has sought out many inventions; there is a strange propensity in the human mind to deviate from the truth, and to the divine simplicity of holy ordinances mankind are too apt to join something very pleasing to their own imperfect ideas; to captivate the mind, without tending either to improve the morals in this life, or make the soul wise for happiness hereafter. The more we know of all the religions of different nations, the more we are led to inquire, what could induce some men to act so inconsistent with the dignity of their nature?—but this cannot be done unless we attend to the following particulars—

I. We must inquire into the causes which gave rise to those forms and ceremonies of human invention, and by comparing them with the state of mankind, and the attributes of the Divine Being, we shall be in some measure enabled to account for their existence.

II. We should attend to what were the sentiments of the people who embraced them, concerning that grand question in divinity, “The terms of acceptance with the Deity,” which in some measure may be considered as the leading principle of religion in general.

III. We must describe such ceremonies as are absurd and inconsistent in themselves, to the reader, that he may see the difference between them, and the simplicity of the true gospel ceremonials, which, as a revelation from God, were calculated to make men virtuous in time, and blessed in eternity.

*Lastly,* We must draw such practical inferences from our accounts of every different religion, as will serve to lead the reader to the practice of morality and piety, as the greatest ornament of human life, the rule of manners, and the sure title to eternal felicity.

Such is the general plan of the present work, but it is necessary we should say something more concerning its extensive nature.

All the religions of the various nations in the world, are here displayed in a plain, easy, concise manner; and while the author has adhered to truth, he has not suffered himself to be biased by any party prejudices, in favour of any particular opinions; for in delineating these important subjects, he has sometimes found things simple in their own nature, and really praise-worthy, which, at the same time, were joined with such rites of human invention as disgrace the memory of those who invented them. While he relates the follies of many of his fellow-creatures, he does it in pity; not doubting, but had he lived in those countries, and in those ages, he might have been an idolator himself.

At this time, when people in general are engaged in the most laudable of all pursuits, that of religious investigation and free inquiry after truth, nothing it is presumed can be more acceptable to the public than this *impartial History of the Religious CEREMONIES and CUSTOMS of all NATIONS, on the most liberal and extensive plan*.—This volume will exhibit a particular account of the *diversities of opinions* that have prevailed respecting the Object of Divine Worship in every part of the world, and of the *sects and parties* which have been formed in consequence of those opinions from the beginning of time to the present *Æra*. The *Ceremonies and Customs of the Idolatrous Nations* will be pointed out, the gradual growth of Idolatry, and the absurd and superstitious notions, which by degrees have been introduced amongst the various *Savage and Barbarian Countries*.

The *Jewish and Christian Churches* are also noted in a very particular manner; and the most satisfactory account given of the various *denominations of Religion in America and Europe*, particularly in these kingdoms. The gradual increase of the *Papal* power and influence is traced; together with the policy, interest, and government of the *Roman Pontiffs*; and a view of the *prophecies* relating to them, and the different *opinions* of the *learned* concerning those prophecies.

There is no other book in our language, nor indeed in any other, on so enlarged a plan, that blends *instruction* with *entertainment*. This work will lead mankind to set a proper value on the great truths of the *Protestant Religion*; and it is hoped the author's sincere endeavours to diffuse *useful knowledge amongst all ranks of people*, will meet with general approbation and applause.

In writing concerning the *Ancient Jews*, he has taken the whole of his materials from what we find recorded in the sacred Scripture, confirming these accounts by the testimony of Josephus: and with respect to the *Modern Jews*, he has consulted the liturgy used in the public Synagogues, and availed himself of the confession of faith which they daily repeat.



The Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the *Ancient Heathens* have been taken from the best authors extant; and much assistance has been given to the writer by some of the greatest men in the present age, particularly those who have made such subjects their favourite study. In writing of the heathen rites and ceremonies, we meet with many things which seem to have a resemblance to the Old Testament dispensation; such as *Sacrifices*, the *observations of Days, Months, Sabbaths, and New Moons*, but still the difference is great. All the Rites and Ceremonies used by the Jews, as prescribed by the law of Moses, were calculated to make them a peculiar people from all others in the world; and it is remarkable, that although they often plunged themselves into the grossest idolatry, yet many of them adhered to the worship of the true God, and even laid down their lives rather than blaspheme his name.

The accounts of the Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the *Chinese*, the *Japanese*, the *Persians*, the inhabitants of the *Coast of Guinea*, the *Druids*, the *Laplanders*, the *Hottentots*, and the *Savages in America*, &c. &c. will afford much matter of entertainment for the reader, who, perhaps, never attended to these things before.

In the account of the Religious Ceremonies of the *Greek Church*, the author has been assisted by materials communicated to him by a gentleman lately deceased, who resided many years as Consul for his late Majesty in the *Levant*; at *Smyrna*, *Alleppo*, *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*; and in this part of the work, some curious particulars have been taken notice of which other historians have entirely neglected.

The origin of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Church of Rome*, their progress from time to time, and a view of them as they appear at present, have been carefully attended to; and the reader will find a comparison drawn between them and genuine *Christianity*. The same care has been attended to in giving an account of the Rites and Ceremonies used by the different *denominations of Protestants in Europe*; and as the author resided some years on the Continent, so he considers himself as master of the subject; having been present at most of their public assemblies, where he made himself acquainted not only with their *tenets*, but also with their *ceremonies*; which must serve to throw a considerable light on this part of the work.

In speaking of the different denominations and sectaries in these nations, he has joined candour and truth in such a manner, that the most rigid cannot find fault, nor will the libertine have reason to exult over what he may consider as enthusiasm and weakness. Diversity of tempers, and a variety of circumstances which human prudence could not foresee, have often rendered men enemies to each other. while it was their duty to act as disciples of the blessed Jesus, and where they thought their brethren were deceived, or in any manner led into an error, to draw a veil over their weakness, and exhort them to a proper use of the apostolical injunction, viz. "*Prove all things, and hold that which is good.*" Although convinced of the importance of the subject, the author cannot expect the approbation of all, however he may have exerted his utmost endeavours to de-

serve it. But there are many men who delight in acquiring knowledge, who seek wisdom in humility, and would desire to be an ornament to their age and country.— And there are many young people who have not had an opportunity of attending to these things, but wish to receive information concerning matters of so much importance. By persons of such benevolent sentiments, the following work will be well received; a careful perusal of it will lead them to consider the great difference between all the Heathen religions and those of the Jews and Christians. As for Mahometanism, it is a compound of many heresies, first embraced by enthusiasts, and then propagated by force. There are many other Religious Rites and Ceremonies, which will be taken notice of in the course of this work; such as the *Arminians*, the *Bramins*, the *Banians*, and the *Ethiopians*; which last was communicated to the author by one of the most extraordinary persons of the present age. Throughout the whole, a strict attention has been paid to Chronology; a science which but few are acquainted with, although it is well known, that without it, we can never understand history.

Upon the whole, there is little doubt but this arduous undertaking will merit the thanks of that generous public for whose benefit it was undertaken; and the author, who has no mercenary views, will, at least, receive the thanks of his fellow subjects.— Consistent with human nature, he is anxious for the public applause, but not at the expense of truth; many years have been spent in bringing this work to a state of perfection; and with respect to all the various religions in the world, it will be found an useful family library, necessary to be perused by all ranks of people, of great service to youth in general, and such as the man of learning may read without deviating from the dignity of his character in the literary world. The author has excluded from the whole every thing disgusting in controversy, representing men and things *as they really are*; and drawing a veil over the frailties of human nature, he has modestly pointed out the improprieties and errors of the prejudiced.

It is remarkable, that although we have some useful and valuable books published in numbers, and some of these on Religion, yet this is *the first ever attempted on an enlarged and liberal plan*. And the author doubts not but from the perusal of this work, the rising generation will be *agreeably instructed*, and the man of experience *entertained*.

WILLIAM HURD.





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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF THE

Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Customs

OF THE

Whole World.

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*The History of the Patriarchal Religion, and that of the Ancient Jews.*

HAVING taken notice of the general plan of our work in the preface, we think it unnecessary to say any thing more by way of introduction, but will immediately begin with the Patriarchal Religion, which may be divided into two parts; first, respecting its state before the deluge; secondly, with regard to its situation from the time of Noah till the calling of Abraham. With respect to the first, we must be directed by what we find in the sacred history; for we have no other authorities, besides some traditions of the heathens, which are so much blended with fable that no confidence ought to be placed in them. To love God without consciousness of sin was the business of our first parents in a state of innocence, when there was no fault to deplore; but no sooner did sin take place in the world, in consequence of their disobedience, than every thing was changed, and the earth was cursed for their guilt. Dreadful, however, as that curse was, God did not forget the work of his hands; he looked in compassion on those who had offended, and he pointed out a remedy, in promising, that in time, a most glorious person, who, according to the flesh, was to descend from Adam, should make an atonement for the sins of a guilty world. Although the sacred scriptures do not point out all the particulars of the promise, yet there can be no doubt but God had told our first parents, that the seed of the woman, the promised Messiah, was to offer himself up a sacrifice for the sins of his people.—It is, therefore, from the fall of man that we must date the origin of sacrifices; which were enjoined

to point out the great sacrifice which was to be made on Mount Calvary, for the sins of a guilty world.

That such was the practice during the life of Adam, will appear evident to any one who peruses the account of Cain and Abel (Gen. iv.) for sacrifices are there mentioned as the principal part of religion. It is true, the form and manner in which they were offered up is not mentioned; nor does it appear that any thing of a particular nature was required. Cain, as a person who cultivated the ground, brought, as an offering, the fruits of the earth: And Abel, who was a shepherd, presented to the Lord some of the best lambs of his flock: they came, however, with different dispositions; the one was accepted, the other rejected. The temples for these sacrifices, in those early ages, were the world at large, and the canopy of heaven was the roof which covered them. The altars were no more than clods of earth, or turf, laid up in heaps; for architecture was then little known. When the sacrifice was laid upon the altar, if it was approved of by the Divine Being, he sent down a miraculous fire to consume it; and this was considered as a mark of approbation and acceptance. Fire pointed out the sufferings of the Divine Redeemer, who was to endure, in his own person, all the wrath of God for sin; and the consuming of the sacrifice, that he was to make a complete and final atonement. That this was the practice during the remainder of the Antediluvian world, cannot be doubted; for we are told that Noah, after the deluge had subsided, built an altar to the Lord; which was no more than what

he had learned before God destroyed men for their wickedness. At that time, every man, the father of a family, was a legislator and a priest; there was no sacerdotal ordinations; and it is probable, that till the confusion of tongues at Babel, all the descendants of Noah were of one religion.

The sentiments of those men who lived soon after the deluge, seem to be plain, artless, and simple; they looked upon God as their maker, they trusted in his providence, and their views were directed forwards to that glorious person, who was to make an atonement for their sins. It appears evident, that soon after the dispersion of the children of Noah, by the confusion of tongues, many human inventions took place in religion, which occasioned the calling of Abraham, that, in his family, he might preserve the worship of the true God.

Abraham lived in the land of the Chaldeans, since called Persia, and like most of the people of that age being a shepherd, it was no difficult matter for him to remove from the place of his nativity; for landed property was not then known. During the whole of his history, we find him at different times, and in different places, erecting altars to the true God, and offering sacrifices upon them. These altars were what we have already mentioned, namely, little hillocks of turf heaped upon each other; and the person who offered the sacrifice, walked round the pile till the holy fire came down from heaven to consume it, taking care to drive away from it all sorts of birds and beasts, because it was sacred to the Lord of creation, providence and grace. Of this we have a striking instance in Gen. xv; where we are told, that when the birds came down upon the sacrifice, Abraham drove them away.

It seems plain, that before the deluge nothing was more common than to offer in sacrifice the fruits of the earth; but after that period, living creatures only were to be sacrificed: and this is what the Apostle Paul says (chap. x.) in his Epistle to the Hebrews, without shedding of blood, there was no remission. Isaac, as the son of promise from whom the Messiah was to spring, was given to Abraham in a miraculous manner; beyond the power of man to conceive, and contrary to the ordinary course of generation. This will account in the clearest manner, why his father so cheerfully complied with the Divine command, in submitting to offer him up as a burnt offering. The circumstances of the narration are affecting, but they are instructive. Abraham himself was the priest; he was to cut the throat of that son who had been given him on the sacred word of promise from the Divine Being, not doubting but he would raise him up to him again. Abraham was the priest who was to offer up the sacrifice, and his only son was the victim; which may serve to shew, that there was at

that time, a sacerdotal as well as civil power, lodged in the master of every family. It does not, indeed, appear, that the patriarchs of old ever offered their slaves in sacrifice; but the case of Isaac was of a peculiar nature, and no way applicable to the common state of affairs in this world, which would put an end to the existence of civil society.

During the life of the patriarch Isaac, as well as that of his father Abraham, there seems to have been but little difference between the religious ceremonies of the heathens and those of the patriarchs; only, that the one worshipped the true God, the others were idolators. The person who swore to perform any commanded duty, put his right hand under the thigh of his master, and then invoked the Great Jehovah to be witness of his fidelity. Altars still continued to be made of stones and turf; for as the people wandered from place to place, consequently they could not have temples erected where they might regularly attend on divine worship. It was much the same during the life of the patriarch Jacob, who supported his family by keeping his flocks in the wilderness; and so it continued till Joseph was sold as a slave to the Ishmaelites, who carried him into Egypt. There is no doubt, but that during the time the children of Israel were in Egypt, they were little better than idolators; and it appears that they were there at least two hundred and thirty years. All those who went into Egypt were dead before Moses was called upon to lead their successors to the land of promise; and it seems probable, that when he led them across the red sea, they had little knowledge of the true God; or rather, that they were idolators, who worshipped the gods of the heathens.

Soon after the Jews, or children of Israel, were delivered from Egyptian slavery, Moses, their leader delivered them a law which he received from God on Mount Sinai. This law was delivered in the most marvellous and miraculous manner, and consisted of precepts relating to their duty both to God and to each other; but such were the corrupt notions of those people, that while Moses remained in the mount, they actually made to themselves the image of a golden calf, which they worshipped as the true God; and this was done in imitation of what they had seen in Egypt. They danced and sung round the idol till the holy messenger of God returned from the mount, and then they were chastised for their disobedience. It was therefore necessary, that many rites and ceremonies should be observed by that people, who seem to have been hard-hearted and stiff-necked from the beginning. The most distinguishing of all their ceremonies was that of circumcision; and this was always performed on the eighth day after the birth, to distinguish them from some of the heathens, particularly the descen-







*Religious penance observed by the ancient Jews.*

dants of Ishmael, who made it a fixed rule to circumcise their children in their thirteenth year. The seventh day of the week was to be kept sacred; but this was no more than the revival of an ancient institution, as appears from Genesis ii. Sacrifices were enjoined, to point out the necessity of the great sacrifice which the Divine Redeemer was to offer up in his own person on the cross. A distinction was made between clean and unclean animals; which seem to have been rather political than religious; for had swine's flesh been eaten in the wilderness, or even in the land of Canaan, it might have been prejudicial to their health. It is true, another reason has been assigned for this prohibition; namely, to make a distinction between them and all other nations in the universe.

At the celebration of their grand solemnities persons were to bring the victim to the priest, who laid his hand upon its head, and then read over to the congregation aloud, all the sins which the parties confessed. The victim was then slain, and when all the blood was extracted from the body, the fat was burnt to ashes, and the other parts remained the property of the priests. During the time the children of Israel remained in the wilderness they had no temple, because they had no fixed place of residence: but, to supply that deficiency, God commanded Moses and Aaron to make an ark, or tabernacle, which was carried by the Levites from place to place. However, during that time, Moses drew up to them a body of laws, dictated by unerring wisdom, than which we find that nothing could be more consistent with the divine attributes, or more suitable to the genius and interests of the people.

But of all the ceremonies imposed on the Jews, none serves more to point out the notion of an atonement by the blood of Christ, than that of the "Scape Goat." This ceremony was performed once in every year, and it was done in the following manner.

The goat was taken to the tabernacle, and, in the hearing of all the people, the priest read a list of the sins which had been confessed. The people acknowledged their guilt, and then, taking the scroll, he fixed it upon the goat, which was immediately conducted to the wilderness, and never more heard of. This being over, the messengers returned, and then the people received absolution. This served to point out, that the sins of men were to be laid upon Christ, the promised Messiah, who was to remove them for ever, and finally bring in an everlasting righteousness. The law delivered by Moses to the Jews, and which was given under the sanction of divine authority, contained not only directions for the manner in which sacrifices were to be offered, and indeed the whole service, first of the tabernacle, and then of the temple; but likewise a complete system of

moral precepts, nay morality itself; whether we apply the word to Ethics, Economics, or Politics. The distinctions of persons, according to the different ranks in life, were clearly pointed out; women were not permitted to wear the same habit as the men, for this plain reason, that had the different sexes been permitted to dress indiscriminately, many dangerous and even fatal consequences would have taken place; nay, it might have happened, that the most unnatural crimes would have been committed; and the God of order, who seeks to promote the happiness of his creatures, would have been blasphemed as the author of sin. Young persons were commanded to stand up in a reverend manner before the aged, and to treat them with every mark of respect. This was in all respects, consistent with the first principles of natural religion; for the respect we owe to the aged, points out the duty we are bound to discharge to that glorious Being, by whose wisdom we were formed, by whose goodness we have been preserved, and by whose grace we have been redeemed from the power and guilt of sin.

Their law was to be of a uniform nature, and the same justice was to be done to strangers as to free-born subjects. No stranger was to be chosen king over them, for this reason, that as they were surrounded by heathen nations, so a stranger, having the civil power in his hands, might have led them into idolatry. They were permitted to lend money to strangers upon usury; but when they lent any thing to their brethren, nothing but the principal was to be demanded. They were commanded not to abhor, nor treat with contempt, the Edomites, because they were the descendants of Esau, the elder brother of Jacob. These Edomites were a circumcised people, and, although in latter times, we find them commencing idolaters, yet, in consequence of their descent from Abraham, and the tenderness which Esau himself shewed to Jacob, they were to be treated as brethren. Nor were they to treat the Egyptians with cruelty for the following reasons. First, their ancestors had been once tenderly treated by the Egyptians. Secondly, the children of Israel had been kept in a severe state of bondage by those people. The consideration of the first, was to keep alive in their minds sentiments of gratitude. The second, to humanize their natures, by teaching them charity, benevolence, compassion, mercy, and all those other virtues which can adorn the human mind, and make men ornaments of civil society.

Slavery was permitted by the law of Moses, but slaves or bond-men were not to be treated with cruelty; and the reason assigned was, that the children of Israel had themselves been slaves in the land of Egypt. Every widow, and every orphan, were to be considered as objects of compassion; and



those who treated them with cruelty, were to be considered as objects of the divine displeasure. Nay, it was further threatened in this divine law, that those who oppressed the widow and fatherless, should die an ignominious death; that their widows should be exposed to want, and their children subjected to all the hardships of an injurious, unfeeling world.

The duty of charity was strongly inculcated by the Mosaic economy; for whatever was left of the fruits of the earth in the field, they were not to go back to gather; it was for the poor and needy: the slaves were to enjoy it, and so were the widows and fatherless. The tribe of Levi, to whom the priesthood was confined by law, were not to have any local inheritance, but they were to dwell in the presence of their brethren, and one tenth part of the fruits of the earth was to be set aside for their subsistence. These Levites, however, were commanded to relieve the widow and the fatherless; and in consequence of their actions, being in all respects consistent with the purity of the divine law, they were either to be acquitted or condemned.

In every city, town or village, some of the most respectable of the inhabitants, or elders of the people were to be appointed judges, and in the administration of justice, they were strictly commanded to act impartially. No respect was to be paid to the characters, or ranks of persons; and a dreadful curse was pronounced against such as should take bribes. These judges sat in the gates of the cities, which practice still prevails in many of the eastern nations. The origin of this practice is of great antiquity; but the end and design of it has never been properly accounted for, which is the more surprising because the thing itself is very emblematical and expressive.

Judges sitting in the gates of cities, point out, first, that justice and equity are the most secure guards and safety of a people. Secondly, that justice, in its executive part, should be in that place which divides citizens from those who inhabit the country. Lastly, it was, that justice might be public, that all those who were going to, or coming from the city, might be impressed with a proper sense of the laws, the nature of rewards and punishments, the necessity they were under to obey them, the force of moral obligation, and above all, the fear and love of God. There was, however, an appeal from these inferior courts, whether relating to matters of a civil or a criminal nature. And this appeal was very solemn: the party who thought himself injured, entered his appeal before the supreme judge or the king, who called to his assistance the whole body of priests and Levites, and the majority of the votes determined the affair. If either of the contending parties refused to abide by the final decision, he was

condemned to suffer death; for not to acknowledge such a solemn judgment, was to deny the authority of God himself, who had delegated his authority to the judges, priests and Levites.

The person who spoke disrespectfully of a judge, was considered as a blasphemer; and if he was found guilty, by the evidence of two or three witnesses, then he was to be put to death, for to revile a judge was to revile God, he being considered as his representative on earth.

The nature of servitude among the Jews, has never been properly attended to, and the Mosaic law has often been ridiculed, merely because the weak could not, and the wicked would not understand it. If we consider the state of a people living without commerce, confined to agriculture, we must naturally believe, that many persons would be often out of employment; and had many of those persons been set at liberty, they would have perished for want of subsistence. The Jewish slavery was twofold, and arose from a variety of circumstances. When men were reduced to poverty, it was in the power of their creditors to sell them: but they were not to be treated as strangers; they were to be treated in the same manner as we do hired servants; and when the year of jubilee took place, they and their wives, with their children, were to be set at liberty, and they were to return to the possessions of their ancestors. These persons who were purchased, or in other words, took into a state of servitude, were not to be sold by their masters, nor were they to be treated with any sort of severity. When a servant was discharged, his master was to give him as much corn, wine, oil, and other necessities, as he and his wife and children could carry home to their houses. This was done to keep them in mind of the slavery they had suffered in the land of Egypt, and the liberal manner in which God, by an act of his almighty power, delivered them from bondage.

In the patriarchal age, the power of masters over their servants was unlimited, for they had a right to put them to death whenever they pleased; but after the children of Israel had returned from Egypt, this power was confined within proper bounds; for there is a wide difference between a state of nature, and a state of society. Such as engaged for a limited time were to have leave to go out at the expiration of it, and if he was married when he entered into servitude, his wife and children were to be set at liberty; but if his master gave him a wife, both she and the children were to remain the property of the master. This circumstance, however, seldom took place, for the law had provided a remedy.

It frequently happened, that when the term of servitude expired, the servant having no prospect of procuring a subsistence, and, at the same time, unwilling to part with his wife and children, told



his master he would serve him during the remainder of his life. In such cases, the masters took him before the elders, or judges, and in their presence, an awl was bored through his ear, and fixed to a post in the gate of the city, and he and his wife and children were to serve the master till their deaths.

It was the same with women-servants, who were bound by the same obligations. Much has been said and written on the nature of this ceremony, and by some it has been considered as extremely cruel. To this it is answered, that when we consider in what manner the ears of our women are prepared for the use of rings, which seldom puts them to much pain, then there does not appear any cruelty in it. From the humanity that runs through every part of the Mosaic law, we may naturally and reasonably conclude, that the servant himself was not put to much pain, but that the ceremony was rather formal than cruel. With respect to strangers, or the people who came from other countries, they were, at all times, permitted to redeem themselves, and this was to be done in an equitable manner before the judges. All the arrears due to them were to be paid, and if the time of their servitude was not expired, then they were to make a proper deduction, so that the master should not receive the least injury.

The children of those who lived in the heathen nations, were to be treated by the children of Israel as slaves, they were to be bought and sold as private property, but they were to be treated with tenderness. This practice was not wholly confined to the Jews, for we find many instances of it in the histories of other nations. The heathens, who lived around the land of Palestine, were divided into small tribes, under chieftains or commanders, who led them out annually to rob and plunder; and during these excursions, it often happened, that many innocent persons were made captives, and sold as slaves. These persons were transferred to all those who purchased the estate upon which they resided, and they were to remain slaves for ever, unless they could redeem themselves. It was common to assign some of those slaves as a marriage-portion to a bride, and of this we have many instances in the Greek and Roman history. Nay, we may add, to the dishonour of Christians, the present age affords us many melancholy examples of this inhuman practice. Mr. Granville Sharp, one of the greatest ornaments of the literary world, has made it appear almost to a demonstration, that as the Jewish commonwealth was abolished, in consequence of cruelty to slaves and strangers, so the slave trade, as was formerly carried on by the inhabitants of this country, would at last bring destruction upon us.

When a master struck his servant, and the wound proved mortal, so that the servant died within the

compass of a day or two, then the crime was to be considered as capital, and the master was to suffer death for it; but if he lived beyond that time, then the master was to be discharged, because the slave was his property. It is needless to make any comments on this part of the Jewish law, because the circumstances of the times required some sort of severity; and the children of Israel being a hard-hearted people, it was necessary that their minds should be properly impressed with the nature of rewards and punishments in this life. When a master struck out the eye or the tooth of his servant, then he was obliged to let him go free; because in such an instance, the master exceeded the bounds prescribed by the law, and inflicted such cruelty as was inconsistent with the dictates of natural reason and religion.

It was in the power of parents to sell their daughters; a practice which has taken place in the eastern nations, from the most early ages of time; but when the master seduced a damsel, he was not permitted to sell her, because he had not acted towards her consistent with the nature of moral obligation.—However if the master betrothed the young woman to his son, she was to be treated as a free-born subject; but if the young man took another wife, then he was to deliver up every thing belonging to the slave, and she was to be free to act in what manner she pleased.

When a slave ran away from his master, he was not to be reclaimed by him, but was to remain with the person where he chose to settle; and this was a rational principle, for we naturally suppose, that in those ages, and in that nation, no servant would have left his master, unless he had been treated with cruelty.

The power that fathers had over their children was great; but it was suited to the circumstances of the times and place. If a son refused to obey his father or mother, or treated them with indignity, they were to chastise him; and if no reformation took place in his conduct, then he was to be taken before the elders, or judges of the city, who upon hearing such evidence as served to prove his guilt, he was delivered over to the common executioners, who immediately ordered him to be stoned to death. None of the children of Israel were permitted to sell their daughters as common prostitutes, because purity was enjoined by the divine law. It was the custom of the heathens to boil kids in the milk of their dam; but by the Mosaic law, this was forbidden; because the practice itself was unnatural, so that it was utterly prohibited for any person to seeth a kid in his mother's milk. The Mosaic law was a transcript of the law of nature; it was designed to point out the state of fallen man, with the character of the divine attributes, from this, and from this alone, can our state in this world be known.

As will appear in the course of this work, many of the heathen nations lived in the most incestuous manner; but this practice was not tolerated under the law of Moses. The degrees of consanguinity were so strictly attended to, that no person was to break through them; and a table of those degrees has always been prefixed or affixed to our English translations of the bible. This was in all respects extremely necessary; because had it been otherwise, confusion would have taken place, parents would not have attended to the duty they owed to their children; and children, in many instances, would have been ashamed to acknowledge their parents.—A man was not to marry two sisters, lest it should have created family dissensions; but in all things were to act consistent with the duty they owed to themselves, to their families, to the community at large, and to God.

If a man died without having children, and if he had a brother alive unmarried, then the bachelor was to espouse the widow, for the two following reasons: first, that by descendants the name of the family might be kept up; but the first born child was to succeed to the name and estate of the first husband. Secondly, it was done to prevent them from intermixing with the heathen nations, which might have been the means of introducing idolatry among them.

As nothing was more odious among the Jews, than for men or women to live unmarried, so if the brother-in-law refused to marry his sister-in-law, to preserve the name of his family, the widow was to go before the judges in the gate of the city, and there exhibit her complaint. This being done, the brother-in-law was called before the judges, and examined concerning the nature of his objections; and when it was found that he absolutely refused to marry the woman, then she was called in, and the refusal intimated to her; the judges then were to tell her to act according as the law of Moses directed; and she stooping down, unloosed the shoe from off his right foot, and spitting in his face, declared her abhorrence of the man who refused to perpetuate the name of his family, and the name of his brother; and from that time forward, he was called "The man whose shoe was loosed in Israel."

A woman was not to marry into any tribe but that to which her father belonged; and this seems to have been done to keep up the grand distinctions among the twelve tribes, especially that of Judah; from whom, according to the flesh, the Messiah was to come to enlighten a darkened world.

Previous to their going to take possession of the land of Canaan, they were commanded to destroy all the different tribes of those idolatrous nations; they were not to shew any mercy to them; and if they were suffered to remain alive on the borders of

the country, they were not to suffer their children, whether sons or daughters, to intermix with them by marriage: and the reason assigned for this was, that they might not be led into idolatry; because nothing will sooner change the inclinations of men with respect to religion, than an attachment to a beautiful woman.

Dr. Spencer, in his laws of the Hebrews, makes some just remarks on the nature and practice of divorces among the Jews; and this is necessary to be taken notice of here, because divorces between married persons are generally attended with some unhappy circumstances. So the deists have objected, that it could never make a part of the divine law. To this it is answered, that divorces did not take place in the patriarchal ages; for in the beginning, God created but one of each sex; and our Saviour, disputing with the Jews concerning the legality of divorces, told the pharisees, that from the beginning it was not so.

However, as the Jews had resided many years in Egypt, and learned many of the customs of that idolatrous nation, so Moses, their great law-giver, by authority of divine inspiration, permitted a man to put away his wife, and both parties were allowed to marry again. But if a husband divorced his wife, and she married a second husband, who afterwards died, then the first husband was not to take the woman again. This was done to discourage divorces as much as possible; for although God may permit many things, in consequence of the hardness of peoples' hearts, yet we have the testimony of our Saviour to prove, that the divine Being does not take pleasure in such things.

Every man was exempted from going to war, and from all public business during the first year of his marriage; and the reason was, that there might not be too many young widows or fatherless children among them. The law of Moses allowed a man to make a vow, to give for the service of the tabernacle any part of his goods or money, so as he did not injure his family; but he was not obliged to do any thing of that nature, contrary to his own inclinations. However, if he did once make the vow, which was done in a solemn manner before the altar, then he was obliged to abide by it, and to perform what he had promised.

It is evident from several passages in the old testament, that women were permitted to make vows, on condition of obtaining the consent of their fathers and husbands. If the fathers or husbands were present when the vow was made, and did not object to it, then the woman was bound to the performance. On the other hand, if either the father or husband objected to the vow, then it could not stand good, and the priests were commanded to see that it was not performed. But all widows, and such women

as had been divorced, and lived single, were obliged to perform their vows, otherwise they were to be treated as persons guilty of sacrilege; and this seems to point out, that God would not have his creatures to part with any of their property in a trifling, unguarded manner.

In military affairs, the law of Moses was well calculated to promote the interest of the commonwealth, and altogether suitable to the genius, times, and circumstances of the people. Every family was obliged to return to the chiefs of the tribes a list of all the males, upwards of twenty years of age, fit to carry arms. When the return was made, which was done in the most regular manner, the males of each tribe were called together, and the following questions were asked them, one by one: Has any man built a house, and has not had time to dedicate it? Has any man planted a vineyard, and not yet eaten of the fruit of it? Has any man betrothed a wife, and not yet married her? Is any man fearful or faint-hearted to go against the enemy? Then let all those return home and attend to their domestic duties.

That nothing might be wanting in the divine law, the great Jehovah ordered, that Moses should teach the people the bounds of that authority they were to have over the irrational creatures. Birds were permitted to be taken when found in nests, but the dam or mother was not to be retained; and the reason assigned was, that the species might not be extinguished, which might have been the case in their confined territories, had both the old and the young been taken together. Another circumstance in their law was, that no cattle were permitted to gender with those of a different species. But here an objection has been started, namely, that mules were in great use, and much esteemed among the Jews; and it is well known, that they are gendered between two creatures of different species. To this it is answered, first, that although the Jews were commanded not to permit creatures of different species to gender together, yet it was not always in their power to prevent it. From the most early accounts we have of the Jews, they kept vast flocks of sheep, oxen, horses, asses, goats, &c. and as only a few persons were sent to attend and watch these flocks, it must have frequently happened that creatures would gender together during the absence, or neglect of the shepherds.

In the methods of war, there was something in the Jewish law both humane and majestic. When they attacked a city, they were to offer terms of peace to the inhabitants, upon condition of surrendering themselves up prisoners of war, and submitting to the will of the conqueror, which was, that they should pay a certain tribute. But if the citizens refused to accept of the offered terms, then the

place was to be attacked, and if taken, all the males were to be put to the sword. The women and children were to be sold as slaves, the cattle and all the goods were to be taken and distributed equally among the soldiers, after which the city was to be reduced to ashes.

But this privilege was not to extend to any of those cities among the Canaanites, whom God had devoted to destruction, lest, that by suffering pagan captives to remain among them, their minds might be seduced from the worship of the true God, and idolatry embraced by a people, who had always a strong propensity to the worship of false gods. They were permitted to eat the fruits of the trees they found in the land of an enemy; but the trees were to be cut down in order to raise bulwarks against the next city which they should have occasion to besiege.

All the lands taken by conquest, were to be divided by lot among the soldiers, but each was to have his share, according to the rank he bore in the army. The Levites, as they were obliged to attend the service of the tabernacle, so they were exempted from every duty of a civil or military nature; and this was appointed to exist throughout all generations: although we meet with many deviations from it in the latter times of their history, particularly after they returned from the Babylonish captivity. Great regard was paid to succession, in order to keep the proper distinction of families.

If a man died without leaving a son, then the inheritance was to pass to his daughter; and if there was no daughter, then it was to go to the brothers; and if there were no brethren, then it was to ascend upwards to the brothers of the grandfather, and to all the collateral branches, according to their consanguinity.

As polygamy was permitted among the Jews, great care was taken that no abuses should happen, in consequence of a too fond partiality taking place, in favour of the children of the second or third wife, in preference to those of the first. It was ordered, that although the first wife should be despised, or even hated by her husband, yet her first-born son should succeed to the inheritance; and the judges were under the most solemn and sacred obligations to see this part of the law properly executed. Provision, however, was made for the rest of the children, and amongst them the personal estate was divided, without any partial respect; but if there was no personal estate, then two-thirds of the real estate was given to the first born, and the third divided equally among the rest.

The houses in the eastern countries of Asia were, in consequence of the heat of the climate, built with battlements around the upper parts of the roofs; and as it often happened, that in consequence of the



ignorance or negligence of the architect, stones fell down, by which passengers were killed; so it was strictly enjoined, that care should be taken in the construction of the fabrics; for the public safety was a great object of the law, as it ought always to be in all nations in the universe.

The Jews were permitted to lend money upon usury to strangers, but not to any of their own brethren, nor were they to sleep one night with their brother's pledge. This notion was inculcated, that they might learn the great duty of humanity, and that benevolence to their fellow creatures should regulate every part of their conduct.

If an estate was mortgaged, the person who held it was obliged to restore it at the end of seven years, upon condition of receiving the money he had advanced, but he was not under the same obligation to strangers. And if a man borrowed a beast of his neighbour, and an accident happened to it, so as it received any injury, then he was to make good the loss, unless the owner happened to be present. This was enacted, that no injury should be done to individuals; for if a man borrows a horse from his neighbour, it is but just that he should take proper care of it; but if the proprietor goes along with it, to see in what manner it is treated, and is witness to the accident that happens, then it must be supposed that he knows in whose power it was to prevent it.

With respect to fidelity in keeping any thing delivered to a person, the Jewish law discovers striking marks of its divine authenticity. Thus if a man delivered any thing to another to-keep, and it was stolen, the thief, if found, was to pay double; but if the thief was not found, then the person to whom it was intrusted, was to be brought before the judges, to declare upon oath, whether he had injured his neighbour, by making away with his goods, or having been privy to any transaction of that nature. The oath of the suspected person was to be supported by such evidence as he could produce; and that was to be opposed by what the prosecutor could advance.

The matter having been heard with calmness, the judges were to consider of it in a deliberate manner; and if it appeared that the accused person was innocent, then he was acquitted; but, if through his own neglect the goods were stolen, then he was to return double to the owner. This was enjoined, that men should carefully preserve the property intrusted to them; and, certainly in all civil societies, such things should be attended to. If there was no evidence produced by the person accused, nor any to support the accusation, then the judges were to decide, according to their own wisdom and discretion.

Among the Jews, there were several things exempted from being pledged; amongst which were

mill-stones, for this reason, that such things were necessary towards preserving the lives of men, because wheat would have been of very little use unless it had been ground to flour. When a pledge was deposited, the person who advanced the money was not to go into the debtor's house to demand the money, but he was to stand without the door until it was brought to him. This was ordered to prevent family disputes, and to keep peace among a body of people who were commanded to live together as brethren. The clothes of widows were not to be taken in pledge; and the same degree of humanity was to extend to the strangers, to the fatherless, and the slaves. Great regard was paid to their standard weights and measures; for, although the people were extremely numerous, yet they were all obliged to have the same measures, and the same weights, so that in their common dealings, justice should be equally distributed.

Every sale or bargain relating to the conveyance of estates, was of a conditional nature; and if any of the descendants or relations of those who assigned it away, produced the money advanced for it, at the end of forty-nine years, then it was to be restored; for the possession of it during that time, was considered as an ample recompence to the purchaser.

On such occasions trumpets were to be sounded in all the towns and villages, that the people might have proper notice that the jubilee was approaching. Then, during the fiftieth year, all servants or slaves were to be set at liberty; and an opportunity was offered for persons to redeem such estates as had been sold. In the redemption of estates, an account was taken before the judges concerning the nature of the improved rent, during the time they had been in the possession of the purchaser, and the overplus was delivered up, either to the person who sold them, or to his relations who made the claim.

All houses in walled cities, namely, such as were fortified, could be redeemed within the compass of one year, but they could never be redeemed afterwards, not even in the year of jubilee; because the person in possession was under the highest obligation to lay down his life in support of its rights and privileges. It was different with respect to the villages which were not walled round, because they were considered as part of the country at large, so that they were permitted to be redeemed in the year of jubilee. However, the houses of the Levites were not to be sold without redemption, whether they were in cities or villages: for, trifling as their possessions were, yet they were considered as of a sacred nature; and all those who enjoyed them, were the immediate servants of the most high God.

The Jewish law was so strict with respect to humanity, in the conduct of masters to servants, that when they were hired by the day, they were to

receive their wages before sun-set; and the reason assigned for it was, that because the poor man wanted his hire, consequently he would set his heart upon it, that is, hunger, and the regard he had for his poor wife and children, would make him unwilling to return home. This humane provision serves to point out, that if God made choice of the children of Israel from among all nations, to commit to them the knowledge of his name, he, at the same time, mixed the divine law with such principles of private and public virtue, as must be of great service to society in all succeeding generations.

However odious the term slavery may appear to us who live in a commercial land of real liberty, yet it was not so among the Jews. As there was a necessity that poor persons should procure a subsistence by way of servitude, so God in his infinite wisdom, provided that none of them should be treated with cruelty; nor was this compassion confined to men, only, the divine Being looks beyond the state of his rational creatures.

Thus we find, that the ox, who contributed towards cultivating the fruits of the earth, and who assisted in treading out the corn, should not be muzzled, but should be suffered to eat as much as he could while he was employed. In Asia, corn is not thrashed as in Europe; but a stone, like a millstone, is drawn round a circle by oxen, much in the same manner as tanners in England bruise their bark; and Dr. Shaw tells us, that this practice prevails in all those countries which lie visited near the Levant.

It has been asked, by several of the late deistical writers, particularly such as have lived in France, why Moses appointed one day in seven to be set apart for the purpose of religious worship? To this it is answered, that here our adversaries furnish us with a fair opportunity, and a just right to beg the question by asking another, Why have the inhabitants of most of the illiterate barbarous heathen nations set apart some time for the service of their idols? As there never was a nation in the universe, where the inhabitants refused to acknowledge one or more beings to whom they ascribed divine honours, so all those nations had their stated festivals.

It is said, six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh thou shalt rest. Now, if we consider the beautiful regularity in this distribution of time, it will appear that human wisdom could not point it out. Every man, even the most unenlightened must acknowledge, that some part of his time should be set apart for the adoration of that Being whom he worships: But what human wisdom could point out the definitive number of days? Six days the Jews were to labour for the subsistence of their families, and on the seventh day, in order to keep alive in their minds the flame of divine knowledge, they were to commemorate the great works of cre-

ation, and all the providential circumstances which God had wrought in their favour.

As covetousness was forbidden by the Mosaic law, so theft, its inseparable companion, and natural effect, was punished in such a manner as points out marks of divine wisdom. Cattle being stolen and disposed of, so as to be irrecoverable, the thief, on conviction, was to make a five-fold restitution; but if the cattle were found alive with him, then he was to restore them and pay double. Every person was empowered to kill a house-breaker if he was found in the fact during the night, but if in the day, then he was either to make restitution, or be sold for a slave.

In walking through a vineyard, every stranger was permitted to pull what fruit he chose to eat, but he was not to carry any away, and nothing could be more unreasonable; for certainly if men's circumstances are not very opulent, then it is sufficient that they relieve the immediate wants of their fellow creatures, without doing any thing more for them at the expense of duty, and the obligation they are under to their own families. It was the same with respect to fields of corn, where every man was permitted to pull as much as he could eat, but he was not to put in a sickle to cut down so much as one of the stalks.

That they might live together in a state of brotherly love, it was ordained in their law, that nuisances, by which men's lives or properties could be injured, should be removed; or if an accident happened in consequence of neglect, a proper recompence was to be made to the loser. Thus, if a man left a pit uncovered, and his neighbour's beast fell into it and was killed, or any ways disabled, then the person guilty of the neglect, was to make up the loss. In the same manner, if any man killed the beast of his neighbour, he was either to restore another equal in value, or pay the price.

All those who found cattle wandering astray, were to take them to their own folds, and keep them till they were claimed by the owners. It was the same with respect to every thing lost, for whoever found it, and did not embrace the first opportunity of restoring it, was considered as a thief, and punished as such.

Justice, mercy and compassion were, by this law, carried still higher than any thing yet mentioned, for the people were commanded not only to be compassionate to their enemies, but it was further enjoined, that if they saw their enemy's ox or ass fall into a pit, then they were to do all in their power to save its life. This may serve to prove, that the law of Moses was not such a barbarous one as has been represented by the Deists, but rather a complete system of political humanity.

If fire happened through negligence, the person

who neglected to take proper care, was to make restitution to the injured person; and the same was to be done where a man suffered his beast to eat the corn in the field of his neighbour. If a man or woman happened to be killed by an ox, then the ox was to be stoned to death, and his flesh was not to be eaten; but if sufficient evidence appeared to the judges, that the ox was a vicious animal, accustomed to push at every person who came in his way, and the owner did not take proper measures to restrain him, then the ox was to be stoned, and the owner was to be put to death. It was, however, permitted for the owner of the ox to redeem his own life, by paying a certain sum of money to the widow or children of the deceased.

When an ox killed a slave, his owner was to pay to the master of the slave thirty shekels of silver; and if it happened that one ox hurt another, the live ox was to be sold along with the dead one, and the money equally divided between the proprietors.

To prevent the commission of injuries is one of the grand principles in all civil societies, and we find the Jewish law guarding against it with that wisdom which points out its divine original. Thus the landmarks, as the boundaries of civil property, were not to be removed; wanton cruelty was not to be exercised in laying stumbling blocks before the blind; nor was the deaf to be mocked.

Wilful murder was to be punished with death: for thus it was written in the Mosaic law.

And if he smite him with an instrument of iron (so that he die) he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death. And if he smite him with throwing a stone, (wherewith he may die) and he die, he is a murderer. In the same manner, if he smote him with an instrument of wood, so that he died, he was a murderer; but still no crime could be called murder, unless there was malice in the offending party. In all such cases, the nearest of kin had a right to put the murderer to death with his own hands, unless he made his escape to the city of refuge.

The difference between murder and manslaughter was pointed out, and a straight line of distinction drawn. Thus, if there had been no malice between the contending parties, and it happened that one of them killed the other suddenly, then the aggressor was to flee to the city of refuge, where he was kept in a state of safety, until the judges had enquired into the affair. This was done in a very solemn manner, and what is remarkable, the evidence was delivered in the hearing of all those who lived in the district where the affair happened. And from that we may learn, although there are now many arbitrary governments in the world, yet in ancient times, all trials were in one shape or other by juries.

When a solemn enquiry was made, and it was

found that the aggressor entertained malice against the deceased: then he was delivered up to the avenger of blood to be put to death. But if it was found that no malice had existed between the parties, then the judges were to see the offender safely conducted to the city of refuge, where he was to remain as an inhabitant, till the death of the high priest. During that time, if he ventured to go out of the city of refuge, the avenger of blood had a right to put him to death; but when the high priest died, he was restored to the peaceable enjoyment of his temporal possessions.

When it happened that a pregnant woman was injured, so as to occasion her miscarrying, then the husband was to demand a fine from the offending party, and the judges were to determine how much was equitable. It was common in the eastern countries, for dissolute persons to steal children, and sell them to be brought up as slaves; but the law of Moses absolutely prohibited this practice, and the offender was to be put to death.

In some cases, offenders were permitted to take shelter on the horns of the altar, the place to which the victim was bound; but if he was a murderer and found guilty by the judges, then the executioners had a right to drag him from the altar, and put him to death; but we shall have occasion to enlarge more fully on this practice, in our account of the Roman Catholics.

As the Jewish state was that of a theocracy, or an immediate government under the most high God, so every violation of the law, delivered to Moses, was punished as high treason. The people were to be considered as guilty of high treason, when they worshipped any of the idols of the heathen nations; and as no human being can, in this life, behold God in his glorious majesty, so it was high treason to set up an image of him. So strongly did God, by the mouth of Moses, prohibit the worship of images, that he threatened to inflict the severest punishments on such as were guilty of it.

In particular, they were strictly commanded not to worship the sun, moon, or the stars, and for this, two reasons were assigned; first, because these were the most tempting objects of worship to a carnal mind; secondly, because they were worshipped by heathens.

What we in this country call misprision of treason, was punished capitally among the Jews. Thus if one man saw another go to worship in a heathen temple, and did not reveal it to the judges, then he was to be put to death; for to conceal treason, was considered as approving of it.

In all cases the traitor was punished by stoning, and the witnesses, or witness, were obliged to perform the execution. Nay, so strict was the law, with respect to treason, that if one person advised



another to idolatry, then the person advised, had a right to kill him. If all the inhabitants of a city became idolaters, then that city was to be razed to the ground, the people were all to be put to death, and the place was to remain a heap of ruins for ever. It frequently happened, that some impostors rose up, under the characters of prophets; but if such enticed the people to commit idolatry, then they were to be stoned to death; nor were their highest pretensions to inspiration to screen them from punishment.

All those who pretended to be wizards, who had familiar spirits, who could reveal the knowledge of future events, were considered as traitors, and they were to be put to death. Every one, whether man or woman, who spoke irreverently of the name of God, was to be put to death; from which principle making such a great part of the Mosaic economy, we may learn, that the great end God had in view was, to separate the children of Israel from all nations in the universe, to preserve the knowledge of his name, and the purity of that religion he had revealed.

If a man and woman were taken in the act of adultery, both were to be stoned to death; and the same punishment was inflicted on the man who seduced a betrothed virgin previous to her marriage; and the virgin herself was to die along with the seducer; but this was only done when the crime was committed in a city, for when it happened in the fields, then the man alone was to suffer, because it was presumed that he had ravished her.

That every man should suffer for the crime he committed, we find, that, consistent with the nature of the divine perfections, a father was not to suffer for his son, nor a son for his father. This was, in all respects, just and equitable; for in these latter ages, we have seen many innocent children ruined because their fathers had been rebels. When the punishment was such as permitted a power in the judge to order a criminal to be scourged, then he was to command him to lie down in open court, and forty stripes were to be given him, but he was not to exceed that number; but according to the practice, they seldom exceeded the number of thirty-nine. If more than forty stripes had been inflicted on the offending party, he would have been considered as infamous ever after, and by only inflicting thirty-nine, it was done from motives of humanity, lest the party should be in danger of losing his life.

The accused person lay down on his belly, and the stripes were inflicted on his back, and generally with some circumstances of severity, but much less than our punishments inflicted upon soldiers in the army. The judges, however, were strictly charged not to punish any man till they had the clearest proof of his guilt, and this is what should be attended to in every nation in Europe, and in the world. In-

deed, the equity of the Jewish law has laid the foundation of all the benefits we enjoy, in consequence of our municipal institutions, for all that is good in our law, has been derived from that of the Jews.

The law, relating to incontinency, was consistent with the rules of civil society; for it was enjoined, that if a man seduced a young woman who was not betrothed, he was either to marry her, or allow her the common marriage portion given to virgins, according to her rank. If a man lay with a woman who was a slave and betrothed, the woman was to be scourged and the man was to offer a ram as a trespass offering; neither of them were to be put to death, because the woman was not free. Bastards were not permitted to enjoy the same privileges, as those who were born in wedlock; and that incontinency might be discouraged as much as possible, this prohibition was to attend, even to the tenth generation; from which principle, the emperor Justinian ordered, that all consanguinity, or relationship among Christians, was to expire in the tenth of the descending line.

This order or statute, however, did not prohibit bastards from worshipping the true God, either in the tabernacle or temple; for they were treated in the same manner as the heathens, who renounced idolatry, namely, as proselytes, who worshipped God without the veil of the temple, and in many civil respects, they were not considered as members of the Jewish community.

That no injury should be done to young women, but that the tender sex should be treated with decency, and protected from violence, it was ordered, that if a man lay with a virgin who was not betrothed, then he was to pay to her father fifty shekels of silver, as part of the composition for the injury, and at the same time he was obliged to marry her, nor could he, on any account whatever, obtain a divorce from her, because in the act of seduction he had first set her a bad example.

With respect to a witness giving evidence in a court of justice, the law of Moses provided in the most sacred manner against perjury, and it would be well for mankind, that the same rule had been attended to in modern European nations. It was absolutely necessary, that there should be either two or three witnesses to prove the truth of every criminal accusation, because two individuals can swear to a single fact. In case a man, who appeared as a witness against an accused person, should have been suspected of delivering false evidence, then both parties were to appear in the tabernacle before the judges and the priests, and they were to consider of the matter in the most deliberate manner. If it appeared to the judges, that the witness had perjured himself, then they were to order that the same punish-

ment should be inflicted upon him, as would have been inflicted upon the accused person, had he been legally convicted.

The practice of making the witnesses the executioners of the criminal, had something in it sacred, solemn and majestic; for a man may swear falsely in a court of justice, from interested or sinister motives, but if he has the least spark of conscience remaining within him, he must shudder at the thoughts of becoming the executioner of the man, who, by his evidence, was illegally condemned. Retaliation made a great part of the Jewish law: thus, he who put out the eye of another, was to have his own put out; he who struck out the tooth of another, was to have his own tooth struck out; he who disabled another, was himself to be disabled; and whoever burnt down the house of his neighbour, was to have his own house reduced to ashes.

To what has already been advanced, we may add, that all punishments among the Jews, were considered as adequate to the crimes with which prisoners were charged. Equality of guilt, and adequate punishments, should always go hand in hand together; but such is the imperfection of human nature, that a deviation often takes place. As the Jews were a peculiar people, chosen out of the other nations of the world, and separated from them; so it was necessary that they should live in a peculiar manner. If it should appear, that the punishments they inflicted on criminals were inconsistent with the dictates of humanity, let us only consider what humanity is. Every act of humanity is to extend to God's creatures at large, and therefore those who would, by any means whatever, oppose the Mosaic law, are under an indispensable obligation to prove, that their notions are superior to those of natural religion.

There is not a want in human life, nor an injury that could happen, but what was guarded against by the law of Moses. It was consistent with the nature of the divine attributes, and suitable to the state of mankind.

What we have alluded to with respect to the children suffering for the sins of their parents, was common among the heathen nations, and that sentiment has prevailed too much in the nations we now inhabit. But the Jewish law made a distinction, by pointing out, that the sons should not die for the sins of their fathers, nor the fathers for those of their children, but every man should answer for his own guilt.

We find the whole of the Jewish law was a system of equity; solemn in its own nature, an honour to that God by whom it was framed, happy for society, and beneficent to the poor.

If a man was found guilty of a capital offence, and condemned to be hanged, his body was not to remain after sun-set on the tree, but (says the divine

law) thou shalt bury him that day; that thy land be not defiled: for he that is hanged is accursed of God. Deut. xxi. 22, 23.

This shews that the punishment was not the same with Roman crucifixion, for they nailed men alive to the cross, and there let them expire; but this was only hanging up their dead bodies, and exposing them to open shame for a time. See 2 Sam. iv. 12.

Such was the nature of the ancient law of the Jews; and if we view it with attention, we shall find, that considering the times when it was promulgated, the circumstances of the people as attached to the Egyptian rites and ceremonies, their hardness of heart, their proneness to unbelief, and their strong desire to return to idolatry, every precept will appear consistent with the divine attributes, and suitable to the state of those disobedient people. It is probable, that during the time they remained in captivity in Babylon, they acquired some knowledge of the Chaldean religion; and from that we may date the origin of those sects, by which they were distinguished about the time that our Saviour made his appearance in the world. The Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, were the chief sectaries, but there were many subordinate ones; nor indeed are the Essenes so much as mentioned in the New Testament. Of these sects we shall proceed to give a proper account, and then point out the principles of the modern Jewish religion.

The most respectable sect among the Jews, were the Pharisees, whether we consider their number, their learning, their pretensions to religion, or their influence over the lower classes of the people. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was embraced and believed by them; and from the law of Moses they inferred, that there was a future state of rewards and punishments. They adhered to all the false glosses put upon the pure and genuine sense of the law, by the Rabbies; and to use the words of our Divine Redeemer, "they made the word of God of none effect by their tradition, teaching for doctrines, the commandments of men." They pretended to high degrees of sanctity; they made an ostentatious display of religion in its exterior forms; they looked down with sovereign contempt on all those who differed from them in sentiments; they fasted often; and gave alms to the poor in the streets, to be seen of men; and yet our Lord told us, that they devoured widows, and for a pretence made long prayers, for which they were to receive the greater condemnation.

Next to the Pharisees, the Sadducees were the most numerous sect among the Jews; but so far as we are able to judge of their tenets, they were much the same as the Epicureans among the heathens. They denied the immortality of the soul; they mocked at the doctrine of angels and spirits; they

rejected a particular providence; they believed the soul to be material; and they taught that all happiness was confined to this life. Notions of such a carnal nature, calculated to lull the conscience into security, to remove the force of moral obligation, and to reduce men to the same state with the beasts that perish, were readily embraced, and relished by such as had no regard for the divine law. It is remarkable, that some of them were high priests, and many of them sat as judges in the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. Both they and the Pharisees attended the temple service; which may point out to us, that at the time of our Saviour's appearance, religion was at a low ebb among the Jews.

Herodians are often mentioned in the New Testament; but they appear to have been rather a political than a religious sect, who took part with the Romans against the general sense of their countrymen, in conformity with the practice of Herod the Great and his successors, who left nothing undone to enslave the body of the Jewish people, at that time struggling under a great load of bondage.

As to the Essenes, they appear to have been an austere, though an innocent people, whose notions gave no disturbance to the community at large; but neither in Josephus, nor in any other writer, do we find that they were admitted to places of trust or emolument. They rejected several of the Levitical ceremonies; they refused to bear arms, or pay tithes; but we do not find they were concerned in any of the conspiracies which too often took place in the Jewish commonwealth, during the time our Saviour was on earth. Probably, they had become extinct before that time, otherwise there is reason to believe, we should have found some account of them in the Evangelists, and in the Acts of the Apostles.

The Jesuits, Le Comte and Du Halde, have both told us, that there are Jews in China, and that in their rites and ceremonies, they differ from all others in the known world. That there might have been, and still are, Jews in China is not impossible, although very improbable; but if so, little regard must be paid to the evidence of men, who, like all other Roman Catholics, are interested in the event of the sentiment which they espouse.

### *Of the Modern Jews.*

By the modern Jews we are to understand, not only those who live at present, but also their predecessors, who lived in different ages and nations, since the time that their city and temple were destroyed. The destruction of the temple, and the dispersion of the people, are a remarkable epocha in civil history; for while it serves to confirm the

truth of the Christian Religion, it should point out to the Jews the effect of their impenitence. Afflicted, and cruelly persecuted, as those people have been for many ages, yet they are still suffered to exist as a living monument of the divine veracity. They have not, properly speaking, any fixed habitation in this world; they are, as it were, outcasts from all nations; and yet the Divine Being seems still to consider them as a people whose darkness he will one day enlighten, and whom he will in the end make objects of his mercy. Many have treated them with indignity, who were ignorant of their tenets and sentiments; but from what we shall now relate, it will appear, that except in rejecting the gospel, and in the observance of a few ridiculous rites and ceremonies, they are, in all respects, entitled to the protection of the civil power.

To begin, therefore, with the fundamental principles of their religion, we shall present the reader with a summary of their faith, consisting of thirteen articles; and, excepting that which relates to the coming of the Messiah, they are such as may be subscribed by a moral Heathen, and even by a Christian.

#### *The thirteen Creeds.*

I. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God is the Creator of all things: that he doth guide and support all creatures: that he alone has made every thing; and that he still acts, and will act during the whole of eternity.

II. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God is one, there is no unity like his: he alone hath been, is, and shall be eternally our God.

III. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God is not corporeal, he cannot have any material properties; and no corporeal essence can be compared with him.

IV. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God is the beginning and end of all things.

V. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God alone ought to be worshipped, and none but him ought to be adored.

VI. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that whatever hath been taught by the prophets, is true.

VII. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, the doctrine and prophecy of Moses is true: he is the father and head of all the doctors that lived before, or since, or shall live after him.

VIII. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, the law that we have is the same as was given to Moses.

IX. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that this law shall never be altered, and God will give no other.

X. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God knoweth all the thoughts and actions of men.



XI. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God will reward the works of all those who perform his commandments, and punish those who transgress his laws.

XII. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that the Messiah is to come; although he tarrieth, I will wait and expect daily his coming.

XIII. I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, the resurrection of the dead shall happen when God shall think fit. Blessed and glorified eternally be the name of the Creator.

Before we proceed to mention their religious worship, with their other rites and ceremonies, it will be necessary to describe the nature and structure of their synagogues, and point out the time when they were first erected.

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, many of them went and settled in different parts of the world; and as they could not at stated times, attend the temple service at Jerusalem, and, as it was necessary that the knowledge of the law should be preserved, therefore, in every city or town where they were dispersed, synagogues, or places of worship were erected. Those synagogues were at first erected in the suburbs of cities, surrounded with trees; but in latter times they were built in cities; with this difference, that they were always raised above the height of common houses.—Sacrifices were not to be offered up in them. In all their synagogues, the door must be opposite to where the ark stands, and that is generally in the East.

They are not to converse of any business while they are in the synagogue: they must be modest in their deportment, and refrain from sleeping.

Their synagogues are consecrated with great solemnity, as will appear from the following account of the consecration of the Portuguese synagogue, at Amsterdam. In the morning, the most considerable persons among the Jews, with the law carried before them, walked in procession to the new-erected synagogue, where they performed several solemn acts of devotion; and repeated it during eight successive days. On each day, they had pieces of sacred music sung, and several sermons preached, suitable to the solemnity. A large collection was made for the poor, and some flattering orations delivered in praise of the Prince of Orange, who had generously granted them a toleration. This synagogue, which is a fine piece of architecture, stands on the east of the city, and is able to contain upwards of two thousand persons.

In most countries, adjoining to their synagogues, they have schools, where the law is explained, according to the glosses put upon it by the Rabbies or Doctors, and many things of very little importance are taught. So strict are the Rabbies in observing

their oral traditions, that the scholars must go into the academy in haste, and leave it with seeming reluctance.

These Rabbies are men acquainted with the law of Moses, and they are both the teachers of the people and the instructors of youth. Great respect is paid them, and they have the privilege of determining in all points of controversy, particularly with respect to what things are allowed, or forbidden in the law. They are ordained by imposition of hands; a ceremony of great antiquity, as appears from Dent. xxxiv. when Moses, just before his death, laid his hands on the head of Joshua.

When the Jews enter their synagogues, they put on the Taled, which is a white square veil, and they either cover their heads with it, or twist it round their shoulders during the time of worship, in imitation of Moses, who was obliged to put on a veil when he descended from Mount Sinai, to conceal the glory of the Lord which shone from his countenance. The strings and tassels belonging to the Taled, are called Zizith, and each string has five knots in it, according to the number of the books of the Pentateuch. When they put it on, they say, "Blessed be God who hath sanctified me by his law, and ordained me to wear the Zizith." Six hundred and thirteen precepts of the Talmud, are bound up in the Zizith, and it is considered by them as entitled to the most sacred respect.

Such of the Jews as are religiously disposed, wear upon their arms, and on their foreheads, two pieces of parchment, called Tiffitin, containing the ten commandments; but they are not allowed to be worn by the women, nor by the men when they attend a funeral, or come near a dead corpse.

The Jews are enjoined to praise God as soon as they arise from bed in the morning, and on sabbaths and festivals; when they enter into the synagogues, they bow to the east, and repeat several passages out of the psalms, beginning with the following:

"How goodly are thy courts, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel! and I come into thy house  
"in the multitude of thy mercies, and in thy fear  
"will I worship towards thy holy temple. Lord, I  
"have loved the habitation of thy house, and the  
"place where thine honour dwelleth; and I worship  
"[bow down and kneel] before the Lord my maker.  
"My prayers are unto thee, O Lord! in an acceptable time. O God! in thy mercy, hear me in the  
"truth of thy salvation."

When the reader goes into the desk, he repeats aloud, "The Lord of the world that reigned before  
"any thing was formed or created, who, at the time  
"when all by his will was made, then King his name  
"was called; and after every thing ends, alone he  
"will end tremendous. He hath been, he is, and  
"will be with glory." Many prayers and thanks-

givings are added; but as most of them are taken out of the Psalms, so it would be altogether needless to repeat them here.

Having read part of the law, every one present stands up, and goes three steps backward, while the Chazan, or Choir, chant the eighteen Benedictions, consisting of so many verses from the Psalms. Then each person says a short prayer by himself, which is done standing, with his feet equally joined together. They then bow their heads, and again retire to their own private devotions. During the whole of divine service, they have belts girt round their bodies, to separate the heart from the lower parts, and their hands and faces are to be washed clean. They keep their heads covered, and they must spend one hour in secret prayer, before the public service begins.—Whatever part of the world they are in, they first turn their faces towards Jerusalem, with their hands on their hearts, and their eyes fixed on the ground.

When they open the door of the ark, the people say, "And when the ark set forwards, Moses said, 'Rise up, Lord! and let thine enemies be scattered,' and let them that hate thee, flee before thee; for from Zion came forth the law, and the word of the 'Lord from Jerusalem.'"

When the law is lifted out of the ark, they say, "Blessed is the Lord that gave the law to his people of Israel in its holiness." When the law is taken out, it is given to the reader, who, holding it under his arm, says aloud, "Magnify the Lord with me, and we will exalt his name together;" and the people say, "Unto thee, O Lord, is the greatness, and the strength, and the beauty, and the conquest, and the majesty of all that is in heaven, and on earth: unto thee, O Lord! is the kingdom, and the raising of every thing to preferment." While the reader walketh from the ark to the altar, with the law in arms, the people say, "we will exalt the Lord our God, and we will bow down before his footstool," for he is holy: we will exalt the Lord our God; and we will bow down to the mount of his holiness, for holy is the Lord our God." When the law is laid on the altar, and unrolled, the reader says, "And he shall assist, and he shall remember, and he shall save all those who trust in him."

Then the reader calls different persons by their names, and reads part of the law to each of them. He then calls another person, who, on coming to the altar, says, "Praise ye the Lord, who is blessed;" and the people answer, "Blessed is the Lord, who 'is blessed for ever and ever.'" Then the person called to hear the law, says, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God! King of the world! that has chosen 'us out of all nations, and has given unto us thy law, blessed art thou, O Lord! the giver of the law.'"

After the reader hath read part of the law, the

person called up, says, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God! King of the world! Thou hast given 'unto us the true law, and the life of the world 'thou hast planted among us: blessed art thou, O Lord! the giver of the law.'" If the person has escaped an accident, or arrived from sea, he says, "Blessed art thou, O Lord God! King of the world, 'who granteth good deeds, even to the guilty; for 'thou hast granted unto me all goodness.'" Then the congregation say, "He who hath performed 'unto thee all goodness, he shall perform all goodness unto thee for ever."

Then the person called up, puts money into a box for the poor. Then a chapter for the day is read, and the law is lifted up, when the people say, "And 'this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel, from the mouth of the Lord, by the hands of Moses. The tree of life she is to the keepers of her, and her support is worthy. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths 'are peace: length of days is in her right hand, and 'in her left hand riches and honour. The Lord desireth, for the sake of his righteousness, the 'aggrandizing of the law, and its strength."

When the law is carried from the altar, to be put into the ark by the reader, he says, "They shall 'praise the name of the Lord, for he is a defence 'with his name alone!" And the people answer, "Give praises of majesty on the earth, and in heaven, and there shall be exaltings to his people; 'applaudings to all his gracious ones; the children 'of Israel, the nations near to him, praise ye the 'Lord! Hallelujah."

They must walk out of the synagogue very slowly, and before they lose sight of the ark, they must put up an ejaculatory prayer; nor must they fix their eyes on any beautiful object lest it should make them forget the sacred service they have been engaged in.

The Jews confess their sins to their Rabbies, and the penance, or punishment, is according to the nature of the guilt. It is common for the Jewish devotees to lash themselves; but they are not to give themselves more than thirty-nine stripes; and one devotee generally inflicts it on another. During the flagellation, the penitent lies on the ground, with his face to the north, and his feet to the south; but he must not lie from east to west, for that would be considered as a profanation. The person who scourges the penitent, repeats the following words from Psalm lxxviii. 38. "But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity and destroyed them not; 'yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and 'did not stir up all his wrath;" and at each word gives him a stroke; so that there being thirteen Hebrew words in the verse, it is repeated three times, which makes the number thirty-nine.

The Jews deal in the most liberal manner with their poor; they supply the wants of such as are industrious, although reduced to distress; but when they find any who are able to work, and will not follow some employment, they totally discard them. In the morning, they are obliged to wash themselves in baths; but this is not attended to by any but those who are rich, or rather, by such as are devotees. While they remain in the bath, they must look either to the north or south; (but not to the east or west) these being the places where God resides.

In their ecclesiastical censures, the Jews are remarkably strict; which they follow, in conformity with the practices of the Pharisees of old. Some of the offences which bring upon them the vengeance of the elders, are not proper to be mentioned, because they might give offence to a modest reader. Adultery is more severely punished than any other crime. The offender is plunged into cold water, several days together, in the depth of winter; and if the water is frozen over, the ice must be broken, and he must stand up to the chin, till an egg is boiled hard. If the crime is committed in summer he is stripped naked, and for several days exposed to bees and ants.

The Jews have likewise their forms of excommunication; one of which is called the lesser; and the other the greater. The lesser must not exceed thirty days; and it is generally inflicted for neglect of attending the synagogue, for treating the doctors with disrespect, and for many other trifling things not necessary to be mentioned. As for the greater excommunication, it is of a different nature, and in its form and manner more dreadful than can be well expressed. It is inflicted for mocking the law, or laughing at any of their rites and ceremonies. They curse the offender by heaven and earth; they devote him to the power of evil angels; they beg that God would destroy him soon; to make all creatures his enemies; to torment him with every disease; to hasten his death; and to consign him to utter darkness for ever. No one must presume to approach within six feet of him, and all human assistance is denied him, even if he should be perishing for the necessities of life.

They place a stone over his grave, to denote that he ought to be stoned; no relation must go into mourning for him, but they are to bless God for taking him out of the world.

The respect the Jews have for the sabbath, is such, that it exceeds the bounds of moral obligation. The sabbath commences on Friday evening, half an hour before sun-set; and at that time every Jew must have his lamp lighted, although he should beg the oil from his neighbours. The women are obliged to light the lamps, in memory of Eve, who,

by her disobedience, extinguished the light of the world. On Friday, every Jew is obliged to pare his nails, in the following manner. They begin with the little finger of the left hand, and then go on to the middle finger; after which they return to the fourth finger, and so on in return to the thumb. In the right hand they begin with the middle finger, and then proceed from the thumb to the little finger. The parings must either be buried in the ground, or burnt in the fire. Previous to the commencement of the sabbath, they have a feast, which the master of the house blesseth, and while he is repeating the blessing he looks towards the burning lamps. On the sabbath one of their Rabbies preaches a sermon, for the most part full of unintelligible jargon; but they never say any thing against the civil power.

But that they are loyal subjects will appear from the following prayer, which is read in their synagogues every sabbath day.

"May he that dispenseth salvation unto kings, and dominions unto princes; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; that delivered his servant David from the destructive sword: who maketh a way in the sea, and a path through the mighty waters; bless, preserve, guard, and assist our most gracious sovereign lord king George the third, our most gracious queen Charlotte, and all the other branches of the royal family: may the supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercies, preserve them, and grant them life, and deliver them from all manner of trouble and danger: may the supreme King of kings aggrandize, and highly exalt our sovereign lord the king, and grant him long and prosperously to reign; may the supreme King of kings inspire him, and his council, and the state of his kingdom, with benevolence towards us, and all Israel our brethren; in his and our days may Judah be saved, and Israel dwell in safety; and may the Redeemer come unto Zion; which God, of his infinite mercy grant; and let us say, AMEN."

The Jews pay much regard to the New Moon; but it does not appear that they consider it as an object of divine worship, but only as a proof, that God is the author of all things in nature; and that the return of the seasons are effected by his wisdom and power. In our month of August they confess all their sins, and resolve to amend their lives; and this ceremony is announced by blowing a horn in the synagogue, in imitation of the horns being blown in the tabernacle, in the wilderness, when Moses went up the second time to Mount Sinai. They believe that the sound of the horn drives away the devil, and this is the reason assigned for consecrating it before the person blows it. The person who sounds the horn, stands in the place where the law is read, with all the congregation standing around



him in the most devout posture, with their hands lifted up, and their eyes fixed on the earth. They use a ram's horn, in imitation of Isaac's ram, and they have it crooked to point out the state of the sinner, and posture of humiliation. It is, probably, because they have no land of their own, that they neglect the ceremony of the Scape-goat, and instead thereof, shake their clothes over a pool of water; making use of the following words, out of the prophet Micah, chapter vii. 19. "He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us, he will subdue our iniquities, and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depth of the sea."

The first ten days of the year are spent in acts of humiliation, for they believe, that on the first nine days, God searches into their hearts, and on the tenth day he passes judgment upon them, by entering the names of the penitent in the book of life, and the impenitent in the book of death.

They have another ceremony which although very common formerly, is now but little practised. The father of every family made choice of a white cock, and every woman of a hen; but such as were pregnant, took both a cock and a hen. With these fowls they strike their heads twice, and at each blow the father of the family said, "Let this cock stand in my room; he shall atone for my sins, he shall die, but I shall live." This being done, the necks of the fowls were twisted round, and then their throats were cut, intimating that every sinner ought to have his blood spilt. At first they gave the fowls to the poor, but afterwards reflecting that it was improper to eat creatures loaded with so many sins, they distributed the full value in money.

Their feast of expiation is observed with great solemnity, and the evening previous to it, all those who have had any difference must be reconciled. Each man carries a lighted candle to the synagogue, and the women light up others at home. They are so superstitious, that they prognosticate good or evil, according as the candle burns; which notion, one would imagine, they had borrowed from the heathens.

During this feast, all the sins committed the preceding year are forgiven by the Rabbi stretching out his hands, and repeating the benediction of Moses, whilst the people keep their faces covered in imitation of Moses, who covered his face when he came down from the Mount.

The feast of the Passover is observed with more solemnity than any of the others, nor is it to be wondered at, when we consider what miracles God wrought in their favour, in the land of Egypt. They prepare the corn of which they make their bread, at least thirty days before; a saddle must be on the horse's back who carries it to be ground, lest it should

be heated. On the sabbath, previous to the passover, they have a sermon preached in the synagogue, on the Paschal Lamb; and two days afterwards, all their furniture must be washed clean. They search their houses, that no leavened bread be found. Most commonly, the master of the house makes the bread, and if any of the leaven falls to the ground, the dogs and cats are not suffered to eat it. It must be kneaded in a place where the sun does not shine; and the cake which used formerly to be given to the priests, is burned to ashes.

They are obliged to sit down at table like persons in haste, to begin a journey, in memory of their departure out of Egypt. The master of the family sits down with his children and domestics, when some cakes, and part of a lamb are set before them. They are then served with a composition of fruits in a pie, made in the form of a brick, to put them in remembrance of the bricks made by their ancestors in Egypt. During the eating of the passover, they lean with their left arm upon the table, thereby pointing out the liberty they enjoyed, when delivered from Egyptian bondage. They afterwards eat bitter herbs, to put them in remembrance of the bitterness of the Egyptian slavery; and the shoulder of a lamb being held up in a dish, the master of the house repeats the following words. "Behold the bread of sorrow and oppression, which our forefathers did once eat in Egypt; let him that is hungry, draw near and eat; this is the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb." The shoulder is held up to represent the powerful arm of the Lord, by which they were delivered from bondage. This ceremony being over, a hymn is sung by all the company present; and when they come to that part, relating to the ten plagues of Egypt, they pour a little wine on the ground, wishing that those plagues may be far removed from them. Then they drink off the wine, and finish the hymn. The master of the house then washes his hands in clean water, and breaking one of the cakes, presents a part of it to each of the guests. This being over they begin to eat the lamb, and what is left must be burnt, and the ceremony concludes with drinking a glass of wine. Formerly, they eat the passover without shoes, and having their loins girded round; but now they have dropped that ceremony, because the daily sacrifice is removed from Jerusalem, and the city and temple which were once their glory, are now destroyed.

The feast of Pentecost is observed as a time of thanksgiving for gathering in the fruits of the earth; and although the season does not agree with the time of harvest in our European nations, yet the Jews still adhere to it, believing that they shall be one day restored to the possession of the land of Canaan. During this festival, the book of Ruth is read by five different persons, and the people regale

themselves with all sorts of dainties, made of milk, which they say is emblematical of the law, on account of its whiteness and sweetness. They adorn their synagogues with lamps, and spread herbs and flowers around the desk where the law is read.

The other great festival, is that of the feast of tents, or tabernacles, kept up in memory of their living in tents, in the wilderness. During this festival, which lasts eight days, they dwell in tents adjoining to their houses, but there must be neither roof nor tree over them. They go to the synagogue every day, each having in his right hand one branch of palm, three of myrtle, and two of willows, all tied up together; and in their left a branch of citron, with its fruits. When they come to the synagogue, they turn the branches round, first to the east, then to the south, then to the west, and lastly to the north. These ceremonies are allegorical; the palm is an emblem of hypocrisy: the myrtle points out good works; the willow is an image of the wicked, and the citron of the righteous.

On the seventh day of this festival, the people walk round the desk with the branches, and the prayers are repeated in the most precipitate manner, in commemoration of the afflicted and unsettled state they were in, while they travelled through the wilderness. During the whole of the ceremony, they give such a loose to wanton jollity, that their worship has more the appearance of a ridiculous farce, than of any thing that bears the name of piety or religion.

The festival of the law is kept on the twenty-third day of September, being the ninth day after the feast of tabernacles. On the evening preceding the ninth day, all the books of the law are taken out of the ark, and carried in procession round the desk; during which time the people continue singing and making loud acclamation.

The feast of lights, or lamps, was instituted by the Rabbies, in commemoration of the famous Maccabees, and it is celebrated eight days successively because of the circumcision, which was suspended during the reign of the emperor Epiphanus. The feast of Purim, which signifies Lots, continues two days; and it was first instituted in memory of their deliverance from destruction, when Haman instigated Ahasuerus to put them all to death. In the morning they give bread to the poor, and in the evening they repair to the synagogue, where the whole book of Esther is read over, and explained to the people at large.

During the reading of this lesson, the reader kneels, whereas he is obliged to stand when he reads the law, and he repeats three prayers, wherein he blesses God for having delivered them from the plot formed against them by Haman. Prayers being

over, they indulge themselves in all sorts of luxury; so that this may be justly called the Jewish carnival.

When a person professes his inclination to become a proselyte to the Jewish religion, the governors of the synagogue examine him strictly in order to find out the motives of his resolution; and if they find it proceeds from interest, they refuse him admittance among them; but if otherwise, then they circumcise him, and after he is healed, they wash him all over with pure water in presence of the elders, and then he is looked upon as a perfect Jew. At present the Jews are not fond of admitting proselytes, for they content themselves with living as a distinct people, attending to trade and business. When their women bathe, in order to purify themselves, they must have other women along with them, who are to swear that they have been washed all over, lest any uncleanness should remain about them; for no women, labouring under any female disorders, can be admitted into the tabernacle; but the German and Portuguese Jews differ much concerning this ceremony.

The Jews are very strict in the education of their children; from their most early youth, they are obliged to go with their heads covered, and to wear a girdle, to separate the heart from the lungs. In the morning he must repeat, "Blessed be God, who hath girded Israel with strength." They must not pronounce the name of God irreverently, and they are strictly enjoined to observe all the precepts of the law, and all the rules of the synagogue. Every child is declared to be of age, when he is thirteen years and a day old, after which his father is not answerable for his conduct. From eighteen to twenty is the time allotted for their marriage, and those who neglect it, are never much regarded by their brethren.

In ancient times, the Jews had a plurality of wives; but that custom seems to have been disused ever since their return from the Babylonish captivity; and at present with respect to wedlock, they live in the same manner as Christians. The espousals are made before witnesses, and the bridegroom, putting a ring upon the finger of his intended bride, says, "Be thou my spouse;" but sometimes, several months elapse before the consummation takes place. The marriage articles being settled, eight days are spent by the relations in all sorts of pleasure, and on the evening of the eighth day, the bride, accompanied by women, washes herself clean in a bath.

The bridegroom gives the bride a girdle with silver in it, and the bride returns him one with gold. On the morning of the wedding-day, both bride and bridegroom dress in the most gaudy manner possible; and the bride is conducted to the house

where the nuptials are to be celebrated, attended by her female relations, whether married or unmarried. She walks bare-headed, and when she arrives at the house, she is seated between two aged matrons, while her young relations dress her hair and put on her veil in imitation of Rebecca of old; for the bride must not see her intended husband till the marriage is over. Thus dressed she is led to a throne, or platform, erected either in a garden, or in the largest room in the house, where the Rabbi pronounces the nuptial benediction; and when the bridegroom approaches, all that are present cry out, "Blessed be the man that cometh." Then the young persons, holding torches in their hands, sing the marriage-song. The song being finished, the bride walks three times round the bridegroom, and lies twice round the bride; which they ground upon Jer. xxxi. 22. "A woman shall compass a man." These ceremonies, however, differ in some countries; for in Holland and Germany, the guests throw handfuls of corn at the new married couple, telling "them to increase and multiply." In some places the bride stands on the right-hand of the bridegroom, according to Psal. xlv. ver. 9, "Upon thy right hand did stand the queen;" and in other places the Rabbi puts the taled or veil with which the bride is covered, over the head of the bridegroom; in imitation of Boaz, who threw the skirts of his garments over Ruth. Ruth iii. 9. After this wine is brought to the new married couple, of which they drink a little, and throw the rest on the floor.

The wedding dinner is as sumptuous as their circumstances will permit; and, amongst other things, they always have fowls. A roasted hen, with an egg is first presented to the bride, who eats a little of it, and then gives the remainder to the guests. The hen denotes the fruitfulness of the bride, and that she shall be delivered with as much ease as a hen is of an egg. After the marriage is consummated, the husband does not come near his wife for a certain number of days, which custom seems to have been practised of old.

Divorces among the Jews are not so frequent at present as they were when our Saviour was on earth, which in some measure is owing to the obligations they are under to conform, as much as possible, to the laws of those countries where they reside. However, when it does take place, it is conducted with the following ceremonies, in Germany, Holland, and in most other parts of the world.

The woman, being accused on the evidence of two witnesses, is ordered to attend the synagogue, to answer the charge exhibited against her. The chief Rabbi stands at the door, attended by two other Rabbies, a Notary, and the two witnesses. The husband stands beside the Notary; and the

woman faces the chief Rabbi: the Rabbi then asks the husband such questions as are necessary; concluding, by demanding whether he is determined to leave off all manner of connections with his wife. Having answered the last question in the affirmative, the Rabbi reads the bill of divorce allowed; and then asks the Notary whether he wrote it, and the witnesses whether they subscribed it. In the next place the wife is examined; and when she receives the bill of divorce, her rings must be pulled off, and her hands open. The Rabbi folds up the bill, and gives it to the husband, who delivers it to the wife, and she puts it into her pocket, or somewhere under her clothes. The Rabbi then looking stedfastly at the woman, demands the writing, and reads it over a second time, and again examines the husband, Notary, and witnesses. This cautious manner of proceeding is truly commendable, for the warmth of irregular passions, and the force of jealousy, often lead people to do that in an unguarded hour, which embitters the remainder of their lives, and spoils all the comforts they can expect in this world.

When there is no opposition made, the Rabbi pronounces the sentence, and tells the woman that she must not marry again in less than three months; after which he cuts the bill into the form of a cross, and keeps it; while the Rabbi pronounces the sentence, the woman must have her face uncovered.

The ancient ceremony of the brother marrying the sister-in-law, is still kept up among the Jews, and the ceremony is as follows; The widow, with the brother-in-law, comes to the reading-desk in the synagogue, where the Rabbi asks several questions, such as, whether the husband has been dead three months? Whether the widow is full twelve years old? Which last question can be but seldom asked, because few of them marry sooner than the people among whom they live. Whether the deceased and him to whom the widow lays claim, were children of the same father? And whether the widow be fasting? For this ceremony is performed in the morning. If the brother-in-law covenants to marry the widow, then they proceed in the same manner as was mentioned before; but if he refuses, the shoe of the deceased is put upon his right foot, while he leans against the wall; then the woman comes forward, and takes off the shoe of her brother-in-law with her right hand, holds it up, and then throws it upon the ground with every mark of contempt.

She then spits on his feet, and he is hissed out of the assembly. If the woman's right hand is disabled, she must pull off the shoe with her teeth, and in that manner dash it on the ground.

It does not appear from any part of the sacred scriptures, that ever the Jews, in their most corrupted state, worshipped angels; nor do the modern Jews do so at present, but they anciently did, and



still do believe in the ministry of angels, a doctrine which was embraced by the primitive fathers, and by many Protestant divines. When a Jew travels into a country where he cannot meet with any of his own people he repeats a prayer every morning, with his face towards Jerusalem, begging that God would send an angel to direct him in his way; and this notion is founded on the following passage in Exod. xxiii. 20, 21, 22. "Behold, I send an angel before thee to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him. But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries."

We have several instances of the ministration of angels, both in the Old and New Testament; but whether the Jews are right, when they invoke their assistance in prayer, seems rather doubtful; for it is certainly the duty of every man to pray to God, and leave the Divine Being to appoint whatever means he thinks proper.

When a Jew is first taken ill, and it is supposed by his relations that his disorder will prove mortal, the Rabbi comes and reads to him Psalm xx. xxxviii. and xc. after which he prays with him, and gives him absolution, while he is expiring; they who come to visit him tear off pieces of his clothes, which they keep in memory of him, and all who are present salute him, as taking their last farewell; which custom is not peculiar to Jews, for we find many instances of it, both in ancient and modern times. As soon as the breath is departed from the body, they close the eyes of the deceased, cover his face, and wrap him up in a sheet: the thumb is bent close to the palm of the hand, and tied with the strings of his taled; for he must enter into eternity covered with his veil. The Jews say, that the thumb being thus tied up, preserves the deceased from the devil's clutches; but in all other respects his hand is open, thereby pointing out that he relinquishes all claims to worldly goods.

While the attendants are washing the body, as a sign of purity, an egg is put into a basin of wine burnt, and the head of the deceased is anointed with it. They are buried in clean linen; and such as were not reconciled to the deceased before he died, must touch his great toe, and ask pardon, lest he should accuse them at the tribunal of God. When they carry the body out of doors to be interred, those who remain at home, throw a brick after it, thereby pointing out, that they cast off all manner of sorrow, and at the grave a funeral oration is pronounced by a Rabbi, in which is declared their firm belief of the resurrection of the body.

The coffin is not nailed down till they come to the grave, and then ten of the nearest friends or relations walk seven times round it, offering up prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased. When the coffin is put into the grave, every person present throws a handful of earth over it, after which it is closed up and the mourners return home. The Jews never mourn for such as have laid violent hands on themselves, nor for those who die excommunicated; but they put a stone upon their graves, thereby pointing out, that they ought to have been stoned to death for their crimes. During the whole time of their mourning, they eat their victuals barefooted on the ground. Their friends come every day, to pray and condole with them, and to beseech Almighty God to have mercy on the soul of the deceased. After seven days spent in this manner, the mourner goes to the synagogue, and gives money to the poor; but it is thirty days before he is permitted to bathe, and during that time, particular prayers are to be repeated every day. From this circumstance, it appears, that the Jews believe in something of an intermediate state, resembling that of the popish purgatory; for all these prayers are for the repose of the soul of the deceased person; contrary to the belief of Protestants, "That as death leaves us, so judgment will find us." Some of the more zealous devotees among the Jews, go frequently to say prayers at the tombs of their deceased relations; which may serve to shew, that although they do not worship images, yet their religion consists of many superstitions.

Such is the state of religion among the modern Jews, and it is proper that we should close this article with such reflections as are most likely to make a lasting impression on the mind of the reader, to divest him of partiality, and to lead him to consider the ways of Divine Providence, as in all respects equal; consistent with the attributes of the Divine Being, and the state of fallen man. The Mosaic economy was a law of carnal ordinances, suitable to the then state of the Jews, who were a hard-hearted stubborn people; and since their dispersion among the gentile nations, their successors have added many rites and ceremonies, which were unknown of old. But this leads to two considerations; first, the present state of the Jews, and secondly, the manner in which they ought to be treated by us.

And first, with respect to their present state, we must look back to what was foretold should happen to them by their great prophet Moses; who, in many instances, was a type or figure of that glorious Messiah, whom they not only rejected, but still continue to despise and treat with contempt. Indeed, the more we attend to the prophetic writings, the more we shall be convinced, that Jesus of Naza-

reth was the Messiah promised of old, and that the sole reason why the Jews rejected him, when he made his appearance on earth, was, that he did not come with all the grandeur of a temporal prince and governor.

Moses, by divine inspiration, a little before his death, looked forward to the state of his beloved countrymen; and seeing that they would disobey the divine commands, foretold what punishments God would inflict upon them; and dreadful as those threatenings were, yet they have, in every respect been literally fulfilled. They were to be taken captive by a fierce people, whose language they were not to understand; but whose idols they were to worship. Now this was fulfilled, when they were led captive by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who dispersed them as slaves in different provinces; where many of them became idolators, and were treated with the utmost cruelty by their rigorous task-masters. They were to be hooted, and laughed at by every one, they were to hear their God blasphemed in a strange land, and see their wives and children torn from them. This took place during the Babylonish captivity, of which we have a most beautiful, though mournful account in Psalm cxxxvii. They were to be besieged by a people from afar; their city was to be blocked up; they were to be reduced to famine; and women were to eat their own children. This took place when the Romans besieged Jerusalem; for, according to Josephus, they not only eat the flesh of horses, dogs and cats; but even mothers, the most sympathizing part of the creation, killed their own children, and eat them as the most delicious morsels; so true are the words, "My council shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure."

They were to be sold as slaves to all who would purchase them, and we are told by St. Jerome, who himself was a Jew, that those who sold our Lord for thirty pieces of silver, were sold by the Romans for thirty a penny, which in our money, amounts to a little more than one farthing each. They were to be scattered among all nations, they were to be outcasts from human society, and they were to find no rest, but to be driven from place to place, as if they had been unworthy of a residence in this lower world. And has not this been literally accomplished? Are they not now considered as the off-scourings and refuse of the world; as vagabonds, who have no settled habitations, but are obliged to take shelter where ever the lenity of civil government will grant them permission? With respect to their having no rest, no man, acquainted with history, will dispute. The emperor Adrian caused many thousands of them to be massacred, and he ordered that no Jews should reside in any of the cities of the Roman empire. They were exposed to the inclemencies of the

seasons, and thousands of them saw their wives and children perish for want of the common necessities of life. God was to set a mark upon them, by which they were to be distinguished from all other persons in the universe, and what man can look upon a Jew without knowing that he is such? The person who beholds a Jew, and denies divine revelation, must be an infidel indeed. They were to be cruelly treated by all those people, among whom they were to be scattered; and of this we have many striking instances in history; such indeed as are a disgrace to human nature. In Spain, in France, and indeed, in almost all nations, thousands of them have been murdered in a day, and England has shared in the guilt.

The Jews being prohibited from purchasing land, had recourse to usury and commerce for a subsistence, which often brought many miseries upon them. Always dependant, and always in danger, had they refused to lend money, they would have been massacred as infidels: and when they did lend it, and demanded payment, such was the conduct of their merciless unprincipled debtors, that they stigmatized them with the name of usurers, and let loose upon them the whole rage of the civil and ecclesiastical power. Of this we have many striking instances in our history, and such as will ever bring dishonour upon those concerned in the persecution.

During the coronation of Richard I. 1189, above six thousand Jews were massacred in the city of London. And although several of the rioters were deservedly put to death, yet that was but a small compensation for the loss of so many persons, who had not given any offence to the civil power. A few years afterwards, above two thousand of the Jews were burnt to death in one house at York; and Edward III. stripped them of all the property they were possessed of, under the stale pretence of their being usurers.

To give some sort of sanction to these cruelties, it was said, that the Jews, on Good-Friday, crucified a child, and drank of his blood. This fable is not new; for the heathens, under the Roman emperors, accused the Christians of the same crime. There is reason to believe, that tricks were put upon the Jews; and, because of their industry, they were accused of crimes they never committed. It was no difficult matter for a person, who had borrowed money from a Jew, and who was either unable, or unwilling to pay him, to take a dead child out of the grave, and nail it to a cross, near to where one of the Jews lived. This stratagem answered the end proposed; for the villainous debtor, not only got absolved from his obligation, but he, at the same time, brought such an odium upon the people, that they were put to death without mercy. It is more than probable, that the Jews were never



guilty of any such crime, as that of crucifying children: and as for their drinking the blood, it is contrary to their own law, even to taste the blood of animals. But all these false accusations were brought against them, by permission from God, in consequence of their having transgressed against his commandments, broken his law, despised his sacred ordinances, and rejected that glorious Messiah, who was the sum and substance of all their ancient prophecies.

Having thus taken a view of the many afflictions which the Jews suffered, in consequence of their disobedience to the divine law, and their rejecting the Messiah; let us, in the second place, consider in what manner we, as Christians and Protestants should treat them. This is, indeed, a serious consideration, and such as should sink deep into our hearts. God made choice of them from among all nations of the earth; to them were committed the divine oracles, the giving of the law and the promises; from them, according to the flesh, the glorious Messiah came: whose kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and of whose dominions there shall be no end. While our ancestors were worshipping idols, and offering up human sacrifices, the Jews were adoring the true God, and waiting for the consolation of Israel. In the fulness of time, God made manifest to them his purpose of saving a lost world, and although they could not comprehend the nature of the gospel covenant, yet we received inestimable benefits from their unbelief; and our darkness was turned into light, in consequence of their lamp of knowledge being extinguished. The nations who sat in the region and shadow of death, saw great light, and upon the ignorant, knowledge was poured out.

When a favour is conferred upon a man, gratitude becomes a duty, and when a Christian is injured, his religion obliges him to forgive. We have, in the dispensation of the gospel, received such favours from the Jews, as if properly improved, will bring us to everlasting happiness. Have they done us any injuries? as Christians, we are obliged to forget them. Did they put our divine Redeemer to death? Let us remember that he died for our sins.

Each of our sins became a nail;

And unbelief the spear.

Do the Jews labour under a most stubborn hardness of heart? Are they aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise? Then what great objects of pity should we consider them? Do we consider their souls as of everlasting value, and shall we not pray incessantly, that God would remove the veil by which their understandings are darkened? Has their disobedience brought upon them the divine displeasure, and shall we be the executioners of Almighty vengeance? God forbid.—It is remarkable, that those who have oppressed the

Jews in different ages and nations, were the worst of men; and shall we follow their example? No; our divine master has given us a lesson of a very different nature. By precept, and by example, we are to teach the pure doctrines of the gospel, and thus convince the unbelieving Jews, that we wish for nothing more than their salvation. Do we behold them as cast out of the society of men? Let us remember, that there was a time when they were highly favoured of God, while our ancestors were abominable in his sight. Do we hear them accused of crimes? Let us look to ourselves, and inquire, whether under all the privileges we enjoy, we are not more guilty than they? From those to which much is given, much will be required. Undoubtedly blindness in part has happened to Israel; but let us not be high-minded, but fear: for when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, then all Israel shall be saved; God will make known to his ancient people, the nature of his promises, and they will embrace that gospel which they have for many years rejected.

Let us, therefore, consider the Jews as our elder brethren, according to divine revelation; let their state in the world serve as a proof of all we read in the sacred history of the Old and New Testament: let the afflictions we have heard of their labouring under, in different ages and nations, teach us not to abuse our privileges; and let the benefits which have been transmitted to us through them, teach us to treat them with tenderness and benevolence; with compassion and charity.

Every sincere believer desires to have an evidence of his religion; and can the Christian ever obtain a greater than that of the present state of the Jews? God, however, has not left us that evidence to be trampled on or abused; we are to improve it to a proper advantage, and nothing can be more proper than shewing mercy to those unhappy people, whose hearts at present are clouded with darkness. It is not in our power to form any notion concerning their sentiments of toleration, supposing they had the civil power in their hands; but this we know, that Christians have no right to persecute; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to bring every soul in subjection to Christ. By cruelty and persecution, we may force the Jews to blaspheme; but we can never make them believe, by any coercive means whatever; our tenderness, our benevolence, our humility, and our compassion, joined to our affectionate instructions, may lead them to admire, to love, and to worship their Messiah, who alone can procure them eternal happiness. The goodness of the Divine Being is best displayed in the charitable disposition of his creatures; and those who are most convinced of their own unworthiness, will be the first to forgive such as differ from them in sentiment.

## RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

IN order to understand, in a proper manner, the ancient religion of the Egyptians, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of what happened before Jacob and his children went down into that country. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was called away from his native country, somewhat less than three hundred years after the deluge, which naturally leads us to inquire into the origin of idolatry. Abraham, as a wanderer and sojourner in a strange country, had not been above ten years absent from Ur, of the Chaldeans, when a famine obliged him to go into Egypt, at that time a very flourishing monarchy. That Egypt should have had a regal form of government within three hundred years after the deluge, has been objected to by many of our deistical writers; but when attentively considered, we cannot find any thing in it, of an extraordinary nature. People in those early ages lived in the most frugal manner, and few of them died before they had attained to years of maturity; so that there is no reason for us to be surprised, when we find the children of Mizraim founding a monarchy, in the fertile plains of Egypt, as soon as a sufficient number of the human species had been collected together.

It does not, however, appear that these people were idolaters, in the strict sense of the word, although it is more than probable, that in many instances, they deviated from the worship of the true God, according to its original purity. Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, at that time, calls the God of Abraham, JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, both of which are the highest titles that can be ascribed to the Divine Being, because they include all his inconceivable attributes.

There is no doubt but idolatry was then beginning to take place in the nations of the universe; but still they had not lost the knowledge of the true God. From the time of Abraham's return from Egypt, we have no account of that country transmitted to us, till Jacob with his family went down there, at the request of his son Joseph. That they were not gross idolaters, at that time is evident, from the king of Egypt's mentioning, with the highest respect, the God of the Hebrews; and that Egypt was at that time no more than a small colony of emigrants, will appear evident, when we consider what was said by their king to Jacob.

The patriarch being asked where he would desire to settle, made choice of the land of Goshen, and his request was complied with, because he had flocks

to maintain; but had there not been much waste ground in the country, his request could not have been complied with. From this circumstance, we may learn, that there were but few people at that time in Egypt, otherwise the king could not have had it in his power to make a grant of such a large tract of ground to strangers, with whom he was in a manner but little acquainted. But still it does not appear, that the Egyptians were at this time gross idolaters, though the knowledge of the true God was beginning to vanish from the earth; and there is too much reason to believe, that after the death of Joseph, his kingsmen, the children of Israel, became idolaters in Egypt, in compliance with the common custom.

A revolution, the particulars of which we are left unacquainted with, took place about the time of Joseph's death; and an Ethiopian usurper being placed on the throne, the Jews were reduced to the utmost hardships, which naturally leads us to inquire into the state of the Egyptian religion at that time, and its progress, till it was totally abolished.

That the Jews were idolaters, during their captivity in Egypt, cannot be doubted by any person who has read the sacred scriptures; and who upon inquiry, it will appear, that before Moses came to lead them from that country, idol temples had been established, otherwise they would never have made a molten calf in the wilderness, which gave so much offence to the great JEHOVAH, that he threatened to destroy them from off the face of the earth. Thus St. Stephen, in his celebrated speech before the Jewish Sanhedrim, says, "And they made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol; and rejoiced in the works of their own hands. Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heavens, as it is written in the book of the prophet. (See Amos v. 25.) O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts, and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan; figures which you made to worship them: and I will carry you away beyond Babylon." From these emphatic expressions, some notion may be formed of the nature of the Egyptian idolatry, in ancient times: but we shall now proceed to describe it in a more particular manner, as conveyed down to us by Herodotus, and many other celebrated authors.

In Egypt, the priests held the next rank to kings, and from among them were chosen the great officers



of state. They enjoyed many privileges; and, among others, that of having their lands exempted from the payment of taxes, of which we have a remarkable instance, in Genesis xlvii. 26, where we read, that, "Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's." As they had the sole management of the religious rites and ceremonies, so they were at the head of all the public seminaries of learning; and to their care was committed the education of the youth, especially such as were designed for high employments. That the progress of idolatry was very rapid after the deluge, cannot be doubted; and yet the Egyptians pretend, that they were the first people who instituted festivals, sacrifices, and processions in honour of the gods. These festivals were held in the most celebrated cities, where all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to attend, unless prevented by sickness; and when that happened, they were to illuminate their windows with torches. They sacrificed many different sorts of beasts; and at every sacrifice, the people drew near, one by one, and laid their hands upon the head of the victim, praying that God would inflict upon that creature, all the punishment due to him for his sins. Then the priest stabbed the victim, part of which was burnt, and part eaten; for no person was thought to gain any benefit from the sacrifice, who did not taste less or more of it.

The Egyptians believed, that the souls of men, at death, went into other bodies; such as had been virtuous, going into such persons as were to be happy in the world; but the vicious, into the bodies of such as were to be miserable, and sometimes into those of serpents. In that state of punishment, they were to remain a certain number of years, till they had been purified from their guilt, and then they were to inhabit more exalted beings. The priests had the keeping of all the sacred books, whether relating to religion, or to civil polity; and, therefore, to the common people, every thing was delivered in a mysterious emblematical manner. Silence, with respect to their sacred rites, was pointed out by a figure called Harpoerates, resembling a man holding his finger upon his lips; intimating, that mysteries were not to be revealed to the vulgar. They had likewise, at the gates of all their temples, images of a similar nature, called Sphinxes; and every thing in their religion was symbolical: the figure of a bare pointed out attention, or watchfulness; because that creature has been always esteemed as one of the most fearful in the universe. A judge was painted without hands, with his eyes fixed on the ground, thereby intimating, that a magistrate should judge with impartiality, without considering the characters or stations of the persons who are brought before him.

From attending in a careful manner, to the perusal of the Egyptian history, it would seem, that while idolatry was in some measure cultivated by the neighbouring nations, there it flourished in a state of perfection. The number of their idols was endless; but those who seem to have been most regarded by them, in ancient times, were Orisis and Isis, which we have much reason to believe were the sun and moon. These, however, were only the general gods of Egypt, and such as were worshipped by the king and his courtiers; for almost every district had its particular deity. Some worshipped dogs, others oxen, some hawks, some owls, some crocodiles, some cats, and others ibis, a sort of an Egyptian stork. The worship of these animals was confined to certain places; and it often happened, that those who adored the crocodile, were ridiculed by such as paid divine honours to the cat. To support the honour of their different idols, bloody wars often took place; and whole provinces were depopulated to decide the question, whether a crocodile or a cat was a god? And yet it is remarkable, that although they disputed concerning the attributes of their idols, yet they all agreed in this, that every person was guilty of a capital offence, who injured any of those animals, whose figures were set up in their temples; of this we have a remarkable instance in Diodorus Siculus, who was an eye witness to the fact which he relates.

A Roman soldier, during the time of Mark Anthony, having inadvertently killed a cat, at Alexandria, the populace rose in a tumultuous manner, dragged him from his house, and murdered him. Nay, such was the respect the Egyptians had for these animals; that during an extreme famine, they chose rather to eat one another than to hurt them. But of all the idols worshipped by the Egyptians, the Apis, or Bull, had the preference; and it is undoubtedly from his figure, that the Jews formed the golden calf in the wilderness. The most magnificent temples were erected for him; he was adored by all ranks of people while living, and when he died (for he was a living bull) all Egypt went into mourning for him. We are told by Pliny, that, during the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the Bull Apis died of extreme old age, and such was the pompous manner in which he was interred, that the funeral expenses amounted to a sum equal to that of twelve thousand pounds sterling. The next thing to be done, was to provide a successor for this god, and all Egypt was ransacked on purpose. He was to be distinguished by certain marks from all other animals of his own species; particularly he was to have on his forehead a white mark, resembling a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle, on his tongue, that of a beetle. As soon as an ox answering that description was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was to be heard

of in Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new discovered god, or rather beast, was brought to Memphis, to take possession of his dignity, and there placed upon a throne, with a great number of ceremonies. Indeed, the Egyptians seem to have given such encouragement to superstition, that not content with worshipping the vilest of all reptiles, they actually paid divine honours to vegetables.

For this they are severely and justly ridiculed, by Juvenal, in his fifteenth satire.

Who has not heard, where Egypt's realms are nam'd,  
What monster-gods her fertile sons have fram'd ?  
Here Ibis gorg'd, with well-grown serpents, there,  
The crocodile command religious fear ;  
Where Memnon's statue, magic springs inspire  
With vocal sounds that emulate the lyre ;  
And Thebes, such, fate, are thy disastrous turns,  
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns ;  
A monkey god, prodigious to be told !  
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold :  
To godship here, blue Triton's scally herd,  
The river Progeny is there prefer'd ;  
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,  
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise :  
And should you leeks, or onions eat, no time  
Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.  
Religious nations, sure, and bless'd abodes,  
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods.

That such absurdities should have taken place among a people, justly celebrated for their knowledge of the sciences, is what we are hardly able to account for : but that it did so, we have the greatest authority to assert, from the whole evidence of antiquity. To read of animals, and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in the most pompous temples erected at a most extravagant expense ; that those who killed them should be put to death, and that those animals were embalmed after death, and treated with divine honours, is what a sober heathen would hardly believe, and yet we have it from the testimony of the most sober heathens.

We may add further, that to hear that leeks and onions were worshipped as deities : nay, were invoked in all cases of necessity, are such surprising instances of the weakness of the human understanding, and the corruption of the human nature ; that we have reason to bless God for the times, and the places where we were born. Lucian, a profane heathen poet, who lived about the middle of the third century of the Christian æra, seems to have had very just notions of the ridiculous rites and ceremonies of the Egyptians in his time. His words are, "You may enter into one of their most magnificent temples, adorned with gold and silver ; but look around you for a god, and you behold a stork, an ape, or a cat."

It is, therefore, proper that we should inquire what motives could induce those people to act in such a manner ; but here we are led into a large field indeed. The ancient Egyptians had a tradition, that, at a certain period, men rebelled against the gods, and drove them out of heaven. Upon this disaster taking place, the gods fled into Egypt, where they concealed themselves under the form of different animals ; and this was the first reason assigned for the worship of those creatures. But there was another reason assigned for the worship of these animals, namely, the benefits which men often received from them, particularly in Egypt.

Oxen, by their labour, helped to cultivate the ground, sheep clothed them with their wool, dogs, among many other services, prevented their houses from being robbed ; the ibis, a bird, somewhat resembling a stork, was of great service in destroying the winged serpents, with which Egypt abounded ; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, was worshipped, because it prevented the wild Arabs from making incursions ; the ichneumon, a little animal, was of great service to them in different ways ; he watches the crocodile's absence and breaks his eggs, and when he lays down to sleep on the banks of the Nile, which he always does, with his mouth open, this little creature jumps out of the mud, and leaping into his throat, forces his way down to his entrails, which he gnaws, then he pierces his belly, and thus triumphs over this most dreadful animal.

The first Christian fathers ridiculed the Egyptian idolatry ; and painted the absurdity of it in the most lively colours ; and asked the heathen priests how they could dishonour the great God of heaven and earth, by offering sacrifices to the vilest, and most contemptible animals and reptiles ; such as snakes, crocodiles, serpents, and cats. Indeed, God, in his righteous judgment, gave them up to a reprobate mind ; and whilst they professed themselves to be wise, they became fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image, made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.

The funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians deserve particular notice ; for no people, of whom we have any account transmitted us, ever paid so much regard to the bodies of their departed friends. Of this we have a striking instance, in what still remains of pyramids, the most stupendous buildings that ever were erected to perpetuate the memory of their princes. This ostentation, like most other customs, originated first in the courts of their kings ; but in time was imitated, as far as lay in their power, by the lower ranks of people.

When any of their relations died, the whole family quitted the place of their abode ; and during sixty or seventy days, according to the rank and quality of



the deceased, abstained from all the comforts of life, excepting such as were necessary to support nature. They embalmed the bodies, and many persons were employed in performing this ceremony. The brains were drawn through the nostrils by an instrument, and the intestines were emptied by cutting a hole in the abdomen, or belly, with a sharp stone; after which, the cavities were filled up with perfumes, and the finest odoriferous spices; but the person who made the incision in the body for this purpose, and who was commonly a slave, was obliged to run away immediately after, or the people present would have stoned him to death; but those who embalmed the body, were treated with the utmost respect.

The interior parts of the body were filled with all sorts of curious spices, which they purchased from the Arabians; and after a certain number of days had expired, it was wrapped up in fine linen, glued together with gum, and then spread over with the richest perfumes. The body being thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, and placed either in a sepulchre, or in their own houses, according to their rank and ability. It stood in a wooden chest, erect; and all those who visited the family, treated it with some marks of respect. This was done, that those who knew them while alive, should endeavour to imitate their conduct after death. Of this we have a striking instance in the account of the funeral of Joseph, in Egypt, and the regard that was paid to his remains, long after his decease. The Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately upon every person, let his rank be ever so elevated; for characters given to the deceased, were bestowed by the judges, who represented the people at large. The judges, who were to examine into the merits of the deceased, met on the opposite side of a lake, of which there were many in Egypt; and while they crossed the lake, he who sat at the helm, was called Charon, which gave rise to the fable among the Greeks, that Charon conducted the souls of deceased persons in the Elysian fields, or the infernal regions. When the judges met, all those who had any thing to object against the deceased person were heard; and if it appeared that he had been a wicked person, then his name was condemned to perpetual infamy; nor could his dearest relations erect any monument to perpetuate his memory.

This made a deep impression on the minds of the people; for nothing operates more strongly than the fear of shame, and the consideration of our deceased relations being consigned to infamy hereafter. Kings themselves were not exempted from this inquiry; all their actions were canvassed at large by the judges, and the same impartial decision took place, as if it had been upon one of the meanest of the subjects. Of this we have some instances in scrip-

ture, where we read, that wicked kings were not suffered to be interred in the sepulchres of their ancestors. Happy for mankind, that this was more attended to in our days; then wicked princes and sovereigns would learn, that notwithstanding their elevated rank in life, yet the justice of their country, which they often trample on, will scrutinize, with severity, their actions, while their bodies are consigned to the silent tomb.

If no objection was made to the conduct of the deceased, then a funeral oration was delivered in memory of him, reciting his most worthy actions; but no notice was taken of his birth, because every Egyptian was considered as noble. No praises were bestowed, but such as related to temporal merit; and he was applauded for having cultivated piety to the gods, and discharged his duty to his fellow creatures. Then all the people shouted with voices of applause, and the body was honourably interred. The Egyptians, however, believed much in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and likewise, that for some time after death, the souls of the deceased hovered round the bodies; which among many others, was one of the reasons why they deferred the interment of their relations so long.

That the ancient Egyptians had some notions of the resurrection of the body, cannot be denied; but their endeavouring to preserve human bodies from a state of corruption, was one of the most absurd thoughts that could ever take place in the mind of a rational creature. "Dust thou art; and unto dust thou shalt return." And, certainly, those who believe that God Almighty, by his omnipotent power, could create all things out of nothing, can have no manner of doubt concerning his ability, to bring, in one moment, together the scattered atoms of our consumed bodies, and raise them up to glory, honour, and immortality.

From what has been said concerning the idolatry of the ancient Egyptians, we may learn many important truths: first, the origin of idolatry; for it is certain, that the worship of images took place sooner in Egypt, than in any other country in the world. To what is this to be ascribed; to the fertility of their soil, which surpassed all others. Shocking abuse of heavenly mercies! For shall the Divine Being shower down mercies upon us, that we may make beasts of ourselves? Shocking considerations; but not more shocking than true.

But secondly, God often works by means to which we are utter strangers; and while we see a people endued with so much of human learning, as to have been the admiration of all the world beside, and at the same time destitute of every religious principle, we should look down upon their conditions, with pity, and rest satisfied, that it is the will of God it should be so. We are equally unacquainted

with the secrets of nature, of providence, and grace ; therefore we should study humility, and consider it as no dishonour to acknowledge our ignorance of such things as are beyond our comprehension.

Thirdly, as the grand design God had in view was to prepare the world for the reception of the Glorious Redeemer ; so he made choice of but one family, or nation, to keep up the knowledge of his name, leaving all others to the freedom of their own wills ; and shocking, indeed, was the use they made of it. But even with respect to those infatuated idolators, God did not leave himself without a witness. With respect to temporal things, he bore with their provocations, and as an earnest, that one day they would embrace the gospel, the Divine Messiah was, almost as soon as he came into this world, sent to reside sometime among them. It may be further added, that many flourishing churches were established in Egypt, in the most early times of Christianity ; and there it was that the great Athanasius lived.

Lastly, Christians are too ready to give up those

heathens to perdition, who were never favoured with a Divine Revelation. The learned and pious bishop Wilkins, says, "That the mercy of God, like all his other attributes, is a great depth ; and as God has not told us what he will do with the heathens, is it proper that we should instruct him ?" The law of nature, written on their hearts by the finger of God, was, in every sense of the word, a Divine Revelation ; and according to the apostle, (see Rom. i. 19, 20.) they will be judged by that law. If it should be objected, that there is no salvation in any other but Christ Jesus ; we must answer, that he was the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world ; and how do we know but God might, by means unknown to us, communicate his grace and favour to those people, whom we are too apt to consider as objects of his displeasure ? Let us conclude, in the words of Moses, (see Deut. xxix. 29.) "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God : but those things which are revealed, belong unto us, and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law."

## RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGENIANS AND TYRIANS.

IN giving an account of the religions of ancient nations, we must be directed by two guides ; namely, sacred and profane history. The former gives us a general view of their abominations ; the latter lays open all that now can be known concerning their public and private rites and ceremonies. Phœnice, Tyre, and Carthage, were all peopled by the sons of Ham ; they had the same form of religion, spoke the same language, encouraged the same arts and sciences, used the same instruments in war, and inflicted the same punishments upon criminals. Thus their civil and religious history is so blended together, that we cannot illustrate the latter, without taking some notice of the former. The Phœnicians were a remnant of the ancient Canaanites, who were suffered by the Divine Being to remain unextirpated, that they should be a scourge upon the children of Israel, as often as they relapsed into idolatry. In scripture they are often mentioned, as a warlike people, under the name of Philistines, for the word Phœnica is Greek. They inhabited that part of Asia adjoining to the Mediterranean sea, and worshipped an idol named Dagon, much in the same form as a mermaid is represented by the fabulous writers ; a human body from the navel upwards, and the lower part that of a fish. The figure itself was very expressive ; for it pointed out, not only their

situation near the sea, but likewise that they were connected, both with sea and land. Invaded in their continental territories by the neighbouring nations, they settled in an island nearly adjoining, which they called Tyre : and they remained in possession of it till the time of Alexander the Great. As a trading people, they sent colonies into different parts of Africa ; but most of these were comprehended under the name of Carthagenians ; and such regard had Tyre and Carthage for each other, that when Cambyes resolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians refused to accompany him ; alleging, in excuse, that they could not fight against their brethren, which obliged that prince to lay aside his design. Nay, the Carthagenians sent an annual tribute to the Tyrians, part of which was for the support of the government, and part of the maintenance of the priests and religion.

The religion of the Carthagenians, which was the same as that of the Tyrians, Phœnicians, Philistines, and Canaanites, was most horrid and barbarous ; and so regular were they in practising what will ever dishonour human nature, that Christians, in attending to their duty, may take an example from them. Nothing of any moment was undertaken without consulting the gods, which they did by a variety of ridiculous rites and ceremonies.

Hercules was the god in whom they placed most confidence, at least, he was the same to them, as Mars was to the Romans, so that he was invoked before they went upon any expedition; and when they obtained a victory, sacrifices and thanksgivings were offered up to him. They had many other deities whom they worshipped; but the chief of these was Urania, or the Moon, whom they addressed under different calamities; such as drought, rain, hail, thunder, or any dreadful storms. The Christian fathers, having attained to the knowledge of the truth, often in their writings ridicule these imaginary deities, particularly St. Austin, who was a native of Hippo in Africa, and consequently had reason to point out the absurdities of their idolatry. Urania, or the Moon, is the same which the prophet calls the queen of heaven, (see Jer. vii. 18.) and there we find the inspired writer, reproving the Jewish women for offering up cakes and other sorts of sacrifices to her.

Saturn was the other deity whom the Carthaginians principally worshipped; and he was the same with what is called Moloch in scripture. This idol was the deity to whom they offered up human sacrifices, and to this we owe the fable of Saturn's having devoured his own children. Princes and great men, under particular calamities, used to offer up their most beloved children to this idol. Private persons imitated the conduct of their princes; and thus, in time, the practice became general; nay, to such a height did they carry their infatuation, that those who had no children of their own, purchased those of the poor, that they might not be deprived of the benefits of such a sacrifice, which was to procure them the completion of their wishes. This horrid custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians, the Tyrians, and the Carthaginians, and from them the Israelites borrowed it, although expressly contrary to the order of God.

The original practice was to burn those innocent children in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnom, so often mentioned in scripture, and sometimes they put them into a hollow brass statue of Saturn, flaming hot. To drown the cries of the unhappy victims, musicians were ordered to play on different instruments, and mothers (shocking thought!) made it a sort of merit to divest themselves of natural affections, while they beheld the barbarous spectacle. If it happened that a tear dropped from the eyes of a mother, then the sacrifice was considered as of no effect; and the parent who had that remaining spark of tenderness, was considered as an enemy to the public religion. This savage barbarity, which will for ever remain a disgrace to corrupted nature, was carried to such an height, that even mothers, divesting themselves of that tenderness peculiar to their sex and character, would often embrace their children, and then cheerfully

commit them to the flames. In latter times, they contented themselves with making their children walk between two slow fires to the statue of the idol; but this was only a more slow and excruciating torture, for the innocent victims always perished. This is what in scripture is called, the making their sons and daughters pass through the fire to Moloch; and barbarous as it was, yet those very Israelites, in whose favour God had wrought so many wonders, demeaned themselves so low as to comply with it.

It appears from Tertullian, who was himself a native of Carthage, that this inhuman practice continued to take place long after the Carthaginians had been subdued by the Romans. That celebrated father tells us, that children were sacrificed to Saturn, or Moloch, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses raised to expiate their crimes, of which the soldiers were witnesses, who assisted at these executions. In all times of pestilence, they used to sacrifice a vast number of children to their idols; and thus, by endeavouring to atone for their sins, they only increased the number. Sometimes they cut open the bowels of the victim, and then threw it into the fire, but the most common practice was to burn it alive.

Diodorus relates an instance of this more than savage barbarity, which is sufficient to fill any mind with horror. He tells us, that when Agathocles was going to besiege Carthage; the people, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the anger of their god Saturn, because, that instead of offering up to him children nobly born, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of slaves and foreigners. That a sufficient atonement should be made for this crime, as the infatuated people considered it, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed, and no less than three hundred of the citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, that is, they went into the fire without compulsion.

Such was the religion of the ancient Carthaginians, the Phœnicians, the Tyrians, and indeed the Philistines, who were, as we have already observed, a remnant of the Canaanites. In our account of the Egyptian religion, we have taken notice of their ridiculous absurdities; but here we are presented with an account of barbarities unknown to the people of Egypt, and so far as we know, abhorred by the Greeks and Romans. A great man, now alive, states the question: what could induce men to offer up the most valuable of their species, to please their gods? what notion could they form of that being, who took pleasure in cruelty? his lordship answers, that perverted minds unenlightened with knowledge, consider the object of their wor-



slip as a being like themselves; or to use the words of the Psalmist, they thought God was such a one as themselves, and did approve of their sins. (see Psalm l. 22.) They imagined, that the more valuable the victim sacrificed, the sooner would the gods be reconciled to them. Of this we have a striking instance in the conduct of the king of Moab (2 Kings, iii. 27) who offered up his son as a sacrifice, in order to procure that victory which he never obtained. There is a strange propensity in the minds of men to transfer their guilt from each other, and appoint a substitute in their room. Vicarious sacrifices are of great antiquity, and to this Homer alludes in his account of Agamemnon's having taken away by force the daughter of the priest of Apollo, which created dissention between him and Achilles, and, in the end, almost occasioned the destruction of the whole Grecian army. Mr. Pope's translation of the above passage, is extremely beautiful.

Latona's son, a dire contagion spread,  
And fill'd the camp with mountains of the dead:  
The king of men, his reverend priest defied,  
And for the king's offence the people died.

Plutarch, one of the wisest of all the heathen philosophers, writing concerning the offering up of human sacrifices, delivers his sentiments in such a manner as would do honour to a Christian. "Can we (says that great man) be said to entertain an honourable notion of the gods, while we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, and thirsty for human blood? Religion is placed between two extremes; infidelity on the one hand, and superstition on the other. The one teaches us to doubt the truth of every thing, and the other induces us to believe the grossest absurdities. Impiety induces us to believe that there is no God to reward or punish, while superstition, in order to appease the agonizing pains of a guilty conscience, teaches us to forge new gods, and to ascribe to them unheard of attributes." Such were the sentiments of a sober, wise, and learned heathen, and such should be those of every Christian who believes in Divine Revelation. God is honoured, in consequence of the notions we form of his attributes; but we dishonour him, when we offer up to him such sacrifices as he never required of us.

## RELIGION OF THE DRUIDS.

OF all the ancient heathen systems of religion, the Druidical comes nearest to that of the Carthaginians; but then it will be naturally asked, how, or in what manner did the ancient Britons become acquainted with the religion of a people, who, in point of locality, were situated at a vast distance from them? To answer this question, the following things must be attended to: first, the Druidical religion was not confined to the British isles, it was publicly professed and taught among the Gauls and Germans. Nay, it may be added, that long before the destruction of Carthage, all those northern and western nations, whom the Romans called Transalpin Gauls, had the same deities, the same religious ceremonies, and they differed but little in their manners and customs. Secondly, it is evident, that the Druids retained among them many of the religious rites and ceremonies, which had been embraced by the Canaanites soon after the deluge, and much about the time of the calling of Abraham. To a thinking person, this will afford much instruction, because it will serve to convince him, that the account of the dispersion of Noah's children, as related in Genesis x. is genuine; and that all idolatry originated from the mistaken notions which men embraced, after their dispersion on the face of the

earth, when they vainly attempted to build the Tower of Babel. Lastly, the Carthaginians, or Phœnicians, carried on a very extensive commerce with the natives of Britain; a circumstance which could not easily have taken place in those barbarous ages, unless their religions, manners and customs had nearly resembled each other. That they did so, we have many evidences remaining in Britain, particularly in Devonshire and Cornwall; and to support this assertion, we have the testimony of the best Greek and Roman historians.

The Druidical religion was at first extremely simple; but such is the corruption of human nature, that it was soon debased by abominable rites and ceremonies, in the same manner as was practised by the Canaanites, the Carthaginians, and by all the heathens in the other parts of the world.

The following were the leading principles of the Druidical religion:

1.—They were to honour the Divine Being as the supreme maker and governor of the universe; but under him they were to seek the assistance of subordinate deities, who were supposed to act rather as messengers than as having any power of their own.

2.—They taught the people to believe, that the souls of men were immortal, but that they passed



from one body to another; a sentiment which could never have taken place, had they been reconciled to the events of Divine Providence: for they could not comprehend how virtue and vice went unrewarded, and likewise unpunished here below.

3.—They taught, that all such as had been found guilty of notorious blasphemy, should be put to death; and in such cases the priests were the sole judges.

4.—That men should do unto others as they would be done by; neither to wrong their neighbours, nor to injure themselves.

5.—That it was highly criminal to eat flesh, milk, or eggs, because it was supposed that human souls might have inhabited those animal bodies.

6.—That the first appearance of the new-moon, was to be attended to with reverence; as it was supposed that that planet had great influence on the actions of men here below.

7.—Women were common among them, but the man who first deflowered the virgin was the responsible father.

Lastly, Those who did any thing unjust, while in human bodies, were to be tormented in the bodies of snakes, or other sorts of reptiles, till such time as they had made an atonement for their sins, according to the directions of the priests.

Such were the theological, or rather mythological sentiments which the Druids taught their followers long before the gospel was known in any of the western parts of the world; and notwithstanding, some of them are extremely erroneous, when compared with the Christian system, yet they do not appear in such a horrid disagreeable light, as the refinements of the Greeks, and the masterly policy of the Romans. But the principal thing we have in view is, their rites and ceremonies, which were most horrid indeed; and considering, that such was the religion of our ancestors, we may be supposed as more nearly connected with it than we are, or ever could be with the heathenish religions of other nations.

In the more early ages, the Druids worshipped their gods in groves, and under tall oaks; which ceremony seems to have prevailed among all those nations, who were subdued by the children of Israel, when they took possession of the land of Canaan: and yet those Israelites soon learned to follow the example of those idolaters whom they had conquered. That many abominations took place in these groves, is evident from the testimony both of Cæsar and Tacitus. The high-priest, or Arch-Druid, on every great festival, appeared under a tall venerable oak, dressed in fine linen, with a cope or mitre on his head, and attended by the priests of a subordinate rank. Prisoners taken in battle were sacrificed to the gods; and barbarous indeed was the manner in

which it was done: the victim, stripped naked, and his head adorned with flowers, was chained with his back to an oak, opposite the place where the Arch-Druid stood; and while music of all sorts, then in use, was playing, the Druid, having invoked the gods to accept of the sacrifice, walked forward with a knife in his hand, and stabbed the victim in the bowels. The music prevented his cries from being heard by the people; it was sometimes four or five hours before he expired. The people danced to the music; and the sacrificing Druid pretended to relate future events, from the manner in which the blood flowed.

The Druids, in common with the Carthaginians, Gauls, and Germans, offered up to their idols many of the prisoners whom they took in war; and this practice was attended with some of the most horrid circumstances of barbarity. The unhappy victims were, by hundreds at a time, inclosed in a wicker machine, to which the Arch-Druid, attended by his inferiors, set fire, and they were all reduced to ashes. During this ceremony, the priests sung, and the people danced around the pile; the cries of the sufferers were drowned by the music; the infernal deities were supposed to be pleased; and the people became daily more and more barbarous in their manners.

But notwithstanding the Druids paying so much regard to sacred groves, yet we have many monuments still remaining in Britain, which may serve to shew, that their rites and ceremonies were not of an uniform nature. In the more barren parts of the country, where there are few woods or groves, they erected pillars each of one stone, with a broad base, and a spiral top. These stones were placed, so as to form a large circle, and one of them more conspicuous than the rest, was appointed for the Arch-Druid to stand at; and opposite to him, chained to another pillar, stood the victim, who was sacrificed in the same manner as in the groves.

The Druids had such regard for the mistletoe, which grows on the oak, that when the season for its appearance approached, persons were sent out to procure the most early intelligence; when the Arch-Druid, assisted by his inferior priests, cut it off with a golden bill, or knife; and then it was carried to the principal grove in triumph. The mistletoe was considered as a sovereign remedy for all diseases, and a preservative against apparitions, or any thing that could be done by evil spirits. It was supposed to have many other virtues; and it was considered as sacrilege in any person to cut it besides the priests. During all their ceremonies of a public nature, the priest stood looking with his eyes to heaven, and his face towards the east. This ceremony was peculiar to all those heathen nations who lived westward of the Hellespont, as well as the ancient Britons; and

although they had all formed the most unworthy notions of the Divine Being, yet the hopes of a great person being born in the east, seems to have prevailed every where among them. This undoubtedly was handed down to them by tradition; and there is great reason to believe, that they expected he would rectify all the abuses that had crept into their religion, and that he would reign for ever among men. Thus in every nation we meet with something of a traditional hope of the coming of the Messiah, although some are ignorant of the character he is to assume.

Some traces of the Druidical religion remained in Gaul and Germany till the time of the emperor Constantine the Great; but in that part of Britain, now called England, it was totally suppressed, in consequence of the following incident. In or about the year 62, the Romans having cruelly oppressed the Britons, who were at that time subject to them by conquest, the latter took up arms, and massacred many of their invaders. News of this having been sent to Rome, Suetonius, a gallant commander, was sent over to Britain, in order to subdue the insurgents, and the whole body of the Druids, calling in the aid of superstition, retired to the island of Mona, since called Anglesey, in North Wales. To that island the Roman general pursued them; and such were the hopes that the Druids had of success, that when the Romans made their appearance, they lighted up fires in their groves, in order to consume them. The Romans, however, put most of the Britons to the sword; and having taken the Druids prisoners, burnt them alive on their altar, and cut down their consecrated groves.

From that time we have but few accounts of the Druids in the southern parts of Britain, although there is the strongest reason to believe, that both in the western parts, and likewise in Ireland, their re-

ligion continued much longer. Some of their priests were extremely ingenious, and made amulet, or rings of glass, variegated in the most curious manner, of which many are still to be seen. They were worn as we do rings on the finger; and having been consecrated by one of the Druids, they were considered as charms, or preservatives against witchcraft, or all the machinations of evil spirits. From what remains of these amulets, or rings, they seem to have been extremely beautiful, composed of blue, red, and green, intermixed with white spots; all of which contained something emblematical, either of the life of the persons who wore them, or of the state to which they were supposed to enter into at death.

The funeral rites according to the Druidical religion, had something in them both majestic and decent. The warlike instruments used by the men, were buried along with them; and along with the women were interred such things as they had considered as objects of worship while alive. Sometimes stones were set up in order to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, but more commonly a hillock of earth was raised over the grave.

There cannot remain the least doubt but they believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, although they had confused notions concerning it; and this should teach us who live in the present age, to bless the Divine Being that the light of the gospel has been made public to us. The barbarous idolatry of the Druids served only to harden their minds, and deprive the most tender parent of human feelings; but our holy religion, by throwing aside the veil of darkness which overshadowed the eyes of our ancestors, has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel, and pointed out the way to heaven, in such a clear manner, that the weakest may easily discover it.

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## RELIGION OF THE ASSYRIANS.

**I**N treating of the religion of the ancient Assyrians, we must be partly directed by sacred history; but more particularly by what has been transmitted to us by Pagan writers. It is, in general, allowed that Nimrod, the great grandson of Noah, was the first founder of idolatry; and there remains no manner of doubt but he was the same, who was afterwards worshipped under the title of Belus, which, in the eastern language means strength. He is in scripture called a mighty hunter before the Lord,

and different opinions have been formed concerning the singularity of this very extraordinary character, but the whole may be reduced to a very narrow compass.

The descendants of Noah soon forgot the knowledge of the true God, and plunged themselves into the grossest idolatries; but as the passions of men are often made subservient towards promoting the ends of Divine Providence, and, as the worst intentions of men often become beneficial in the end, so

Nimrod by his ambition, laid the foundation of an empire, which existed for many years after his death; and, in the end became a scourge to those people whom God made choice of. That he was a mighty hunter, cannot be doubted, and under that character he displayed his political abilities in two respects. The country in which he lived was infested with wild beasts, and therefore he acquired popularity by delivering the people from the ravages made by those furious creatures. And secondly, by hunting, he trained up the youth in all sorts of martial exercises, and inured them to all sorts of hardships. He formed them to the use of arms and discipline, that in a proper time he might make them subservient to his purposes, in extending his power over his peaceful neighbours. That he resided for some time at Babylon, or rather at the place which has since obtained that name, cannot be doubted, but Nineveh was the grand seat of his empire. This city was built on the eastern banks of the river Tigris, and it was one of the largest ever known in the world. It was above sixty miles in circumference, the walls were one hundred feet high, and so broad, that chariots could pass each other upon them. The walls were adorned with fifteen hundred towers, and each of these two hundred feet high, which may, in some measure account for what we read in the book of Jonah, that Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey.

Her lofty towers shone like meridian beams,  
And as a world within herself she seems.

Fortified within such an extensive city, and regardless of the duty he owed to the great parent of the universe, Nimrod gave himself up to all manner of debauchery; and while he continued to trample upon the rights of his fellow creatures, he proceeded to the highest degree of impiety, namely, to set up idols in temples which he had built, and even to worship the works of his own hands.

From what we shall learn in the course of this work, it will appear that the most ancient species of idolatry, was that of worshipping the sun and moon. This idolatry was founded on a mistaken notion of gratitude, which instead of ascending up to the Supreme Being, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him; had those idolators considered things in a proper manner, they would have been able to distinguish between the great God himself, and such of his works as point out his communicable attributes.

Men have, in all ages, been convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and themselves, and the adoration of God supposes him to be attentive to men's desires, and, consistent with his perfections, capable of complying with them.

But the distance of the sun and moon, is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish and inconsiderate men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their hands on their mouths, and then lifting them up to their false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, notwithstanding their being so far separated. We have a striking instance of this in the book of Job, which properly attended to, will throw a considerable light on ancient Pagan idolatry. Job was a native of the confines of Assyria, and being one of those who believed in the true God, says, in his own vindication, "If I beheld the sun while it shined, or the moon walking in brightness: and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth had kissed my hand, &c." Job xxxi. 26, 27.

This was a solemn oath, and the ceremony performed in the following manner:

The person who stood before his accusers, or before the judge's tribunal, where he was tried, bowed his head and kissed his hand three times, and looking up to the sun, invoked him as an Almighty Being, to take the highest vengeance upon him, if he uttered a falsehood.

As the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies were the first objects of worship among the Assyrians, so, inconsistent with the corruption of human nature, they adored the fire as their substitute, and that sort of adoration was common among the Assyrians and Chaldeans, as will appear from the following passage in Eusebius, who lived in the fourth century.

"Ur, which signifies fire, was the idol they worshipped, and as fire will, in general, consume every thing thrown into it, so the Assyrians published abroad, that the gods of other nations could not stand before theirs. Many experiments were tried, and vast numbers of idols were brought from foreign parts; but they being of wood, the all-devouring god Ur, or fire, consumed them. At last, an Egyptian priest found out the art to destroy the reputation of this mighty idol, which had so long been the terror of distant nations. He caused the figure of an idol to be made of porous earth, and the belly of it was filled with water. On each side of the belly, holes were made, but filled up with wax. This being done, he challenged the god Ur, to oppose his god Canopus, which was accepted of by the Chaldean priest; but no sooner did the wax which stopped up the holes in the belly of Canopus begin to melt, than the water burst out and drowned the fire."

Adramelech was another idol belonging to the Assyrians: but his supposed power seems to have been confined to some of the more distant provinces; for we read, that when Salmanassar took captive the greatest part of the ten tribes, he sent in their room



the inhabitants of a province called Sepharvaim ; and these people were most horrid and barbarous idolators, for they burnt their children alive, and committed such other abominations as are not proper to be mentioned.

In the latter times of the Assyrian empire, before it was joined to that of Babylon, Nisrock was the god worshipped in Nineveh ; and it was in the temple of this idol, that the Great Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons, Adramelech and Sennazzar. Both the ancients and the moderns agree, that this idol was represented in the shape of a fowl, but they differ much concerning the species ; some think it was a dove, and others an eagle. The Jewish Rabbies tell us, that it was made of a plank of Noah's ark, which had been preserved on the mountains of Armenia.

Our great poet Milton considers this idol as one much esteemed among the heathen nations, and as a principal speaker in the council of the rebel angels :

—In the assembly next upstood  
Nisrock, of principalities the prince.  
Paradise Lost, b. 6. v. 447.

Among the Assyrians, as well as many other eastern nations, some worshipped the fire, and some images ; but both agreed in sacrificing their children to their idols. In time, the number of their idols increased, till at last Esrahaddon removed the seat of empire to Babylon ; soon after which the city and temples of Nineveh were neglected, and their magi, or wise men, who had been long in esteem among them, followed the court.

As it was the universal practice of the ancient heathen nations to worship their idols in groves before temples were erected, it may be proper here to inquire what gave rise to that notion ? It is a principle acquired by experience without reading, that in every act of devotion the mind should be fixed on the grand object of worship. Every one who has walked in a grove, will acknowledge, that there was more than a common reverential awe upon his mind, which must be owing to the small number of objects that presented themselves. We may justly call them the haunts of meditation ; but still, it cannot be denied, that many abominable crimes were committed in them ; some parts near their altars were set apart for secret lewdness, and even for such unnatural practices as not ought to be related. Strange, that

men cannot use things properly without abusing them ; or, as the poet says,

—Ah ! how basely men their honours use,  
And the rich gifts of bounteous heaven abuse :  
How better far to want immoderate store  
Of worldly wealth, and live serenely poor ;  
To spend in peace and solitude our days,  
Than be seduc'd from sacred virtue's ways.

*Mitchell's Jonah.*

It is remarkable, that none of those eastern nations burnt the bodies of their deceased relations, although they offered in sacrifice those of their living ones. They buried the dead bodies in the earth ; and this they did in consequence of a tradition common among them, that the first man was buried.

Their marriages were civil contracts between the parties, and polygamy, or a plurality of wives, were universally allowed. In their temples, discourses were delivered after the sacrifice was over, consisting chiefly of explanations of some of their mysteries, and exhortations to the people to be obedient to their sovereigns. That the idolatry of the Assyrians had been great, we have the evidence of many of the prophecies, and all these prophecies have been literally fulfilled. It is true they repented, for some time, at the preaching of Jonah, but they soon relapsed into the practice of their former enormities ; and God has now, in his infinite justice, left nothing of them besides the name. So true are the words of sacred scripture, namely, that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Let the following considerations, therefore, sink deep into the hearts of our readers :

First, that the least deviation from the truth is dangerous ; for such is the corruption of human nature, such is the propensity of man, to every thing evil ; that he seldom knows where to stop. All idolatry was originally simple, but its professors soon added to it rites of the most odious and horrid nature.

Secondly, let every person learn to form worthy notions of the divine attributes ; for the want of that is one of the causes of idolatry, and of false religion in general. Let us once imagine God to be such a being as ourselves, and then we shall assuredly offer him up such sacrifice as is unworthy.

Lastly, while we bless God for the purity of religion, let us fear to offend him, lest he should deprive us of the many privileges we enjoy.



## RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS.

THE city of Babylon owes its origin to the vanity and madness of those people who built a tower on the spot, and not to Nimrod, as many ancient heathen writers would have us to believe; for Nimrod was alive at the time when the confusion of languages took place, and therefore, we cannot reasonably imagine, he would boldly set himself at defiance against heaven, after he had seen such a signal instance of the divine displeasure. Thus we may naturally conclude, that what was left of the tower, was some years after enclosed within a wall, but the exact time of its being enlarged, so as to deserve the name of a city, cannot now be known. In time, however, it rose to grandeur; but idolatry increased so fast in it, that many of the prophets denounced the most dreadful judgments upon it. Like the Assyrians, they worshipped the fire and images, of which we have a striking instance in the book of Daniel, chapter iii. Like most other ancient nations, the Babylonians had strange notions concerning the origin of their empire, and likewise concerning the first promulgation of their religion. Whether they worshipped fire or images, yet they indiscriminately gave the names of Bell, or Belus, to their deities. This idol was the same with what is called Baal, in the old testament, and always signifies strength. Some are of opinion that it was Nimrod, but more probably his son Ninus, who, according to ancient testimony, founded the city and kingdom of Babylon. Berosius, a very ancient writer, tells us that the god Belus having but the chaos of darkness, divided the heaven and earth from each other, and reduced the world into proper order; but seeing that there were no people to inhabit it, he commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and mix the earth with the blood, from whence proceeded men with the several species of animals, and Belus regulated the motions of the sun, moon, and stars, with all the rest of the heavenly bodies.

This idol, Bell, was of such repute among the people of Babylon, that a most magnificent temple was erected for him on the ruins of the famous tower, which was built by the descendants of Noah, in order to perpetuate their name upon the earth. This, we are told by Herodotus, was one of the most magnificent temples in the world. It was adorned with many curious statues; among which was one of gold, forty feet high, and the rest of the furniture of the temple amounted to eight hundred talents of gold. It is probable, nor indeed has it ever been disputed

amongst the learned, that this famous image was the same which king Nebuchadnezzar set up in the plains of Babylon, and commanded all his subjects to worship it.

It is not our intention to consider any of the books called Apocryphical, as written by divine inspiration, and yet we cannot see why the same degree of credit should not be paid to them as to other human compositions, if the evidence by which they are supported, is rational. And let us now appeal to every unprejudiced person, whether the history of Bell and the Dragon has not a more rational appearance than some things related by the best heathen authors.—Nothing was more common than for the Pagan priests to make their votaries believe, that all the sacrifices offered in their temples, were eaten up by their idols, although the priests sold them in the markets. The story of Bell and the Dragon is as follows: Cyrus, having taken Babylon, like most of the ancient conquerors, worshipped Bell, or Belus, the god of the country; but the rites and ceremonies not being so simple as those in Persia, where he had been educated, he began to entertain some doubts concerning them. Daniel being, without dispute, at that time, prime minister to Cyrus, and the king, being a man of an inquisitive turn of mind, naturally entered into conversation with Daniel, concerning the religion of the Jews. In this there is nothing at all surprising; for first, the Jews were a people different in their manners, customs and religion, from all others in the world; and, secondly, they were then about to return from captivity.

The great fame of Daniel had undoubtedly procured him admittance into the temple of Belus, not to worship, but to discover the knavery of the priests. Zealous to promote the worship of the true God, he mentioned to the king the circumstance of his being imposed on by the priests, and pointed out the way to detect them; namely, by causing the floor of the temple to be sprinkled with ashes. The priests, who were seventy in number, desired the king to seal up the door; which was done; but they had a private passage under the table or altar, through which they, with their wives and children, passed and eat up the provisions set before the idol, and what was not eaten up, they carried away. In the morning, the king, accompanied by Daniel, went to the temple, where he found the door sealed, but on going in, saw the marks of feet on the pavement. The king being much incensed, ordered the priests

to shew him the privy door, and as soon as he had extorted from them a confession of their guilt, he ordered them all to be massacred, with their wives and children; a practice very common in that age, and in other periods of time, of which many examples will be given.

Nor is the account of the Dragon less probable; for, besides Bell, the Babylonians had many other idols whom they worshipped; and what serves most to support the truth of the narrative is, that a great insurrection took place in Babylon, on account of the king's partiality to the Jews. It is true, Cyrus was prophesied of, above two hundred years before he was born, as a great prince, who was to deliver the Jews from captivity; but the means to be used by him were not pointed out. God, in his all-wise government of the world, often produces great events from causes which we look upon as trifling. But here we meet with something striking and natural, and consistent with all those rules by which the evidence of history has, in all ages, been regulated.

Cyrus had not been brought up in the religion of the Babylonians; and although as a political prince, he complied with their outward form of worship, yet no sooner had he discovered the tricks practised by their priests, than he let loose his vengeance upon them, and granted many privileges to the Jews.—The only objection that can be brought against any part of this narrative is, that the author mistakes some names and facts, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the best historians of antiquity have done so.

The Babylonians had a most horrid practice with respect to the promiscuous use of women; and prostitution was not only tolerated, but enjoined as an article of religion. The temple of Mylitta, a goddess resembling Venus, was a common brothel. On a certain festival, once in every year, all the young women in the city were obliged to attend in the temple, and submit to public prostitution; and not only in their temples, but likewise in the streets and on the highways.

Baruch says, chap. vi. 43, "The women also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken." Well might the poet say,

Here adoration to the stones is made,  
There guilty lovers in the streets are laid.

*Mitchell.*

Another idol worshipped in Babylon, was called Merodach; of whom we read, "Babylon is taken, Bell is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces." Jer. i. 2.

It is not certain who this Merodach was, but probably he was an ancient king of Babylon, who having performed some wonderful exploit, was afterwards considered as a deity; as was common among other heathen nations. Several of their kings seem to have been named after him; such as Evil-Merodach, and Merodach-Baladan; which last began to reign about seven hundred and seventeen years before the birth of Christ.

Succoth-Benoth, was another idol worshipped by the Babylonians, as is evident from what we read in 2 Kings, xvii. 29, 30. "Howbeit, every nation made gods of their own, and the men of Babylon made Succoth-Benoth."

The Babylonians who worshipped this idol, were a colony sent to Samaria; and the image represented a hen and chickens, thereby pointing out fertility. There was a temple erected for this goddess, where all the young women were obliged to submit to prostitution once every year: for the truth of which we have the testimony of Herodotus.

The Babylonians buried their dead in the same manner as the Assyrians, namely, by laying the bodies in the earth; and dark and confused as their notions were in many respects, yet they believed in a future state of rewards and punishments. This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider that their religion was little more than a system of crimes; but then let us reflect, that the people knew no better: they had forgotten even tradition itself, and were become slaves to the worst of all passions.

Having said this much concerning the religion of the ancient Babylonians, we shall now proceed to describe in what manner that magnificent city was destroyed; which, were we to omit, would be utterly inconsistent with the plan we have laid down. This, indeed, is one of the most remarkable events upon record, and serves to point out the wisdom and justice of the Divine Being. Here let the profligate tremble, and the deist hide his face! That the children of Israel should be taken captives to Babylon, was foretold long before the event took place; but the same prophets, who pointed out their afflictions, predicted at the same time the fate of this haughty city. Nay, it was promised, that at the end of seventy years, the Jews should be delivered, and that God would bring everlasting destruction upon Babylon. We mortals are too apt to be filled with pride, when we consider the victories obtained by conquerors, who although instruments in the hands of God, to accomplish the designs of Providence, yet are considered by him in the most diminutive point of view; or rather, as most illustrious robbers and murderers, as scourges for men's iniquities, and such as God will in his vengeance cut off.

The causes which brought on the destruction of



Babylon were many; but they may be all comprised in the three following:

First, her pride: she believed herself to be invincible; she said, I am the queen of nations, I shall remain for ever; for no power is equal to mine. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood, for the gods shall protect me for ever.

Secondly, her cruelty. When God suffered his chosen, but rebellious people, to be led into captivity, he designed to chastise them, in the same manner as a father doth his children, but not to have them used in a barbarous manner. But so far were the Babylonians from confining themselves to treating the Jews as common slaves, that they would not suffer their dead bodies to be buried, and actually dashed out the brains of their children against the stones. Of this we find shocking instances in the book of Tobit, and in Psalm cxxxvii. all which is confirmed by the testimony of Josephus.

Lastly, their sacrilegious iniquity, especially in Belshazzar, the last of their kings. That dissolute monarch, to all the wickedness of his ancestors, added such impiety as seemed peculiar to himself. It was not sufficient for him to blaspheme the great God of heaven and earth; he carried his wickedness still further, and considered himself as able to triumph over his maker. Having invited his nobles to a feast, he sent for the sacred vessels, which had been taken during the siege of Jerusalem, and in them drank to his idols; which provoking circumstance brought down the vengeance of heaven upon him.

It had been prophesied long before, that this great city should be taken by the Medes and Persians, under the command of Cyrus; and that it was to be attacked in a very extraordinary manner. They reckoned their strength to consist in the river Euphrates, and yet that river proved their folly, by being the means of their destruction. The city was to be taken in the night, during a great festival. Their king was to be seized in an instant, and so was Belshazzar, when Cyrus took their city. Lastly, their king was to have no burial, and Belshazzar's carcase was thrown to the dogs. See Jer. l. 51. with many other passages in the prophetic writings.

Cyrus having besieged the city of Babylon upwards of two years, contrived to cut a vast ditch, or canal, to draw off the stream of the Euphrates, and just about the time he had got it completed, he was told that there was to be a solemn feast in the city, and he availed himself of that circumstance. During the night, the inhabitants of Babylon were lost in all manner of debauchery, and the king, as if intending to mock the great God, sent for the sacred vessels which had been brought from Jerusalem; but mark the justice of God, at a time when men forgot him. During the feast, a hand appeared, writing the fol-

lowing words on the wall. *Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin.* Daniel v. 25.

The king being much terrified, sent for the magicians, desiring them to interpret the meaning of the words, which none of them could do; for they were written in those characters which are now called Syriac. The king, not knowing what to make of this extraordinary circumstance, was desirous by the queen to send for Daniel; and this queen, whom the Greeks call Nitocris, must have been either the mother or grandmother of Belshazzar; for she had been long acquainted with Daniel, and he was at that time a very old man. Daniel explained the words to the king, but he was too much lost in drunkenness to pay any regard to them.

In the mean time, Cyrus opened the sluices of his canals, which drawing off the water of the river at two different parts, his army marched into the city without opposition. Belshazzar, roused from the stupidity into which his wine had thrown him, came out to meet his enemies; but was soon killed, with all those who attended him, and all who were found in the streets. Such was the end of the city of Babylon, after it had flourished many years; and Cyrus having removed the seat of empire to Shushan in Persia, it soon became a desert, and the place where it stood, is not now exactly known. Alexander the Great attempted to rebuild Babylon; but that the purpose of God might stand, and that the prophecies might be fulfilled, the ambitious tyrant was taken off by death before he could complete his design. It was prophesied, that Babylon should become the habitation of wild beasts, and that at last it should be turned into pools of water. Let us now see how this was literally fulfilled.

When it was first deserted of its inhabitants, the Persian kings turned it into a park for hunting, and there they kept their wild beasts. When the Persian empire declined, the beasts broke loose, so that when Alexander the Great marched eastward, he found Babylon a perfect desert. He intended to have restored Euphrates to its ancient channel, but that only served to complete the ruin of the place; for the design not being completed, the river overflowed its banks, and the greatest part of that once celebrated city became a lake or pool of water. Theodorus, who lived about four hundred years after Christ, tells us, that Babylon was the receptacle of snakes, serpents, and all sorts of noxious animals, so that it was dangerous to visit it. Benjamin of Taledo, a Jew, who visited it in 1112, tells us, that few remains of it were left, nor were there any inhabitants within many miles of it. Rawolfse, a German, who travelled into the east in 1572, found it very difficult to discover the place upon which it stood, nor could the neighbouring inhabitants give him proper direc-

tions. Many latter travellers have sought for her situation in vain, particularly Mr. Hanway, who visited that part of the world about thirty-four years ago.

That great and good man tells us, that he spent several days to find out the situation of Babylon, but could not, although he had every assistance a modern traveller could procure. Nay, so uncertain was he of its ancient situation, that the more he inquired, the more he was left in the dark. It was once a nest of vile idolators, and afterwards became a cage for unclean beasts, but now we have nothing left but the name. Let this consideration strike deep into the heart of every British subject, and let us learn wisdom and piety from the vices of those who have lived in ages before us. Let us learn to carry a holy jealousy with us in every part of our conduct,

and never forget that sin, as an offence against God, will, at all times, bring down upon us the divine vengeance. If we, as Britons, should follow the Babylonians in their sins, we may expect to share in their punishments. That almighty power which turned Babylon into a desert, is able to deprive us of all the invaluable blessings we so much boast of, and too much abuse. We can never form right notions of Divine Providence, without attending to such historical events as are here recorded; but if properly improved, they may be of great advantage to us in time, and infinitely so in eternity. As inhabitants of the same kingdom, and as fellow-subjects, let us never forget, that national calamities are brought on by national sins.

## RELIGION OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

THE ancient kingdoms of Persia and Media were so nearly connected by a variety of concurring circumstances, that they cannot be separated in this article. Nay, it is much better that they should be kept joined, especially as they were many-ages under one sovereignty. During the continuance of the Assyrian empire, the Medes had no regular form of government, but lived in clans or tribes, much in the same manner as the ancient Britons. At last Deyoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, projected the scheme of bringing them all under one monarchy. He was a man of great prudence, and much esteemed by his countrymen; he had beheld with concern, the many disorders which had taken place from the jarring contentions among petty tyrants, and he resolved to avail himself of such favourable circumstances. His reputation was so great, that the people of his own district made him their judge, and his decrees were so much approved of, that his popularity increased every day. The next part of his plan was, to pretend that he could not neglect his own domestic affairs to serve the public, and therefore desired to retire from business. Then it was that the good effects which had flowed from his wise administration began to be sensibly felt; for no sooner was it known that Deyoces had resigned, than all sorts of licentiousness took place among the lower orders of the people.

These disorders, which threatened destruction to the state, occasioned a meeting of the chiefs to be held, and Deyoces having sent his emissaries thither, a motion was made, that a king should be chosen, and the election fell unanimously on him. Deyoces

obtaining the end of his ambition, set himself about reforming abuses, and polishing the minds of his subjects. For this purpose he set about building a city and palace; for before that period, the people lived in huts in the woods. This city was called Ecbatana, and it was most magnificent and beautiful. It was built in a circular form on an eminence, from whence there was a most delightful prospect over a plain, diversified with woods and rivers. His next business was that of composing a body of laws for his people; and from what he read in ancient history, they were well calculated towards promoting order among men, who had not till then been under a regular form of government.

Persia had been long under the government of its own kings, and continued so till the reign of Cyrus the Great, who united them, not by conquest, but by right of succession. Shushan, the royal city, seems to have been built long before the times of Cyrus; for we find it mentioned as a flourishing place about the time that great prince issued his order for the Jews to return to their own country. The religion of the Medes and Persians was of great antiquity, and probably taught by one of the grandsons of Noah, who planted colonies in those parts, soon after the confusion of languages. Noah had taught his children the knowledge of the true God; and that they were to trust in his mercy through the mediation of a Redeemer, who was to be revealed to them at a future period of time; for the necessity of a mediator between God and man, was a general notion from the beginning. But as no clear revelation was then made of this Divine Person, the peo-

ple began to chuse mediators for themselves, from among the heavenly bodies, such as the sun, moon, and stars, whom they considered as in a middle state between God and men. This was the origin of all the idolatry in the heathen world; and at first they worshipped those orbs themselves, but as they found that they were as often under the horizon as above it, they were at a loss how to address them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to making images, which after their consecration, they believed endowed with divine power, and this was the origin of images worship. This religion first began among the Chaldeans, and it was to avoid being guilty of idolatry that Abraham left that country. In Persia, the first idolators were called Sabians, who adored the rising sun with the profoundest veneration. To that planet they consecrated a most magnificent chariot, to be drawn by horses of the greatest beauty and magnitude, on every solemn festival. The same ceremony was practised by many other heathens, who undoubtedly learned it from the Persians, and other eastern nations.

In consequence of the veneration they paid the sun, they worshipped fire, and invoked it in all their sacrifices. They carried it before their kings, and none but the priests were permitted to touch it, because they made the people believe that it came down from heaven. But their adoration was not confined to the sun; they worshipped the water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities. Human sacrifices were offered by them, and they burnt their children in fiery furnaces, appropriated to their idols. These Medes and Persians at first worshipped two gods, namely, Arimanius, the god of evil, and Oromasdes, the giver of all good. By some it was believed, that the good god was from eternity, and the evil one created; but they all agreed, that they would continue to the end of time; and that the good god would overcome the evil one. They considered darkness as the symbol of the evil god, and light as the image of the good one. They held Arimanius, the evil god, in such detestation, that they always wrote his name backward. Some ancient writers have given us a very odd account of the origin of this god, Aramianus, which may serve to point out their ignorance of divine things. Oromasdes, (say they) considering that he was alone, said to himself, "If I have no one to oppose me, where then is all my glory?" This single reflection of his, created Arimanius, who by his everlasting opposition to the divine will, contributed against inclinations to the glory of Oromasdes.

We are told by Plutarch, that Oromasdes created several inferior gods, or genii: such as wisdom, goodness, justice, truth, the comforts of life, and all lawful enjoyments. On the other hand, Arimanius created as many devils, such as lies, wickedness,

and all sorts of abominations. The former likewise created twenty-four devils, and inclosed them in an egg; the latter broke the egg, and by that means created a mixture of good and evil. This doctrine of the origin of good and evil, bears such a striking resemblance to that of God and the devil, that it must have been borrowed from the tradition concerning the fall of angels, which was undoubtedly known to the ancient Persians; or it might be taken from the account which Moses has transmitted to us, concerning the creation of light and darkness.

The religion of the Persians underwent a variety of very remarkable revolutions; for the Sabians having fallen into disgrace, they were succeeded by another sect, called the Magi; who, on account of their pretensions to superior knowledge and sanctity, became extremely popular among the vulgar. Nay, such was the respect paid to them, that no king could take possession of the throne, till he had been first instructed in their principles; nor could they determine any affair of importance, till it had received their approbation. They were at the head both of religion and philosophy; and the education of all the youth in the kingdom was committed to their care.

It is the general opinion, that the founder of the Magian religion was one Zoroaster, who lived about the year of the world 2900, and it continued to be the established religion of the country for many years after. They kept up continual fires in their temples, and standing before these fires with mitres on their heads, they daily repeated a great number of prayers. The name of their chief temple was Amanus, or Hama-nus, which signifies the sun; and is the same with what we find under the name of Baal in scripture. Their great reputation induced people to visit them from all parts of the known world, to be instructed by them in the principles of philosophy and mythology; and we are assured, that the great Pythagoras studied many years under them. They believed, with the Egyptians, and many other heathen nations, that the soul passed from one body to another; and this sentiment daily gaining ground, gave way for the propagation of others of a more pernicious nature.

The chief priest of the Magi was called Archimagus, or worshipper of fire; but, in latter times, the kings of Persia assumed that dignity to themselves: but there was an inferior order of priests called Harbards, who were obliged to have very long beards; their caps were round, falling over their ears; and they had a girdle with four tassels, to remind them of four established maxims. First, that there is but one God. Secondly, that they were to believe all the articles of the Magian religion. Thirdly, that Zoroaster was God's true and faithful apostle. And lastly, that they must never be weary of well-doing,







The Gulbas of Persia, holding a Dog to the mouth of an Expiring Man  
 whose Soul they say, is received by that Animal. of H. & W. 1. 140







*Various & numerous Customs in the East. Notice when a Woman has obtained leave  
to Part herself, there with her "Groomed Husband"*

*Engraved for J. Murray's Edition*

as the only thing that could promote their honour in time, and their happiness in eternity.

While they washed themselves, or sat at meals, they observed the most strict silence, no person being permitted to speak a word; and this probably gave rise to some of the sentiments taught by Pythagoras to his scholars, that they were to be silent in school, and always to adore fire.

The religion of the ancient Magi fell into contempt, both in Media and Persia, in consequence of the priests of that order having usurped the supreme authority upon the death of Cambyses; and the slaughter which was made of the chief men among them, sunk them so low, that they never rose to their original greatness: but still the affection which the people had to a religion which had prevailed among them upwards of six hundred years, was not to be easily rooted out; and therefore an impostor, under the name of Zoroaster, undertook to revive and reform it.

Having seen the mischievous effects of adoring two Gods, this artful impostor introduced one superior to both; and the learned Dr. Prideaux is of opinion, that he took this hint from what we read in Isaiah (Chap. xlv. 7.) "I am the Lord and there is none else; I form the light and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil." In a word, Zoroaster held that there was but one supreme God, who had under him two principals, one good and the other bad; that there is a perpetual struggle between them which shall last to the end of the world; that then the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall be punished in everlasting darkness; and the angel of light and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall be rewarded in everlasting happiness.

This Zoroaster was the first who built temples for the worship of the fire; for before this time, the Magi performed their devotions on the tops or summits of hills, in the open air, by which they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, which often extinguished their sacred fires. This second Zoroaster pretended to have received fire from heaven, which he placed on the altar of the temple of Nis in Media, from whence the priests gave out, it was sent to all the other cities and temples in the Median and Persian empire. The Magian priests kept their sacred fire with the greatest diligence, watching it continually without ever suffering it to go out. They fed it with wood stripped of the bark; and they were prohibited from blowing it with their breath, or with bellows, lest it should have been polluted; and to have done either was death by their law. The Magian religion, as reformed by Zoroaster, seems to have been, in many points, copied from that of the Jews; and this is not much to be wondered at, when we consider that Zoroaster lived

at the time when the Jews were captives in Babylon, and where he had an opportunity of conversing with them. The Jews had a real fire from heaven, and the Magi pretended to have the same, from all which it is evident, that during the time the Jews were in captivity, much of their religion was known to the Persians, and some of their latter systems founded upon it.

The Magian priests were all of one tribe, like those among the Jews; and none but the sons of the priest could be ordained of their order: Nay, so strict were they in keeping the priesthood among their families, that rather than mix with the rest of the people, they trampled on one of the most sacred laws of nature, by committing incest with their sisters, and (horrid to mention) with their mothers. Thus the Roman poet ridicules them:

The Magi must from the incestious mixture spring  
Of sons and mothers: so the Magi sing.

The Persians praise the monstrous breed, nor blaine,  
And screen foul incests with religion's name.

The Magian priests were divided into three orders, the arch-priests, their deputies, and the inferior ones; who, for the most part, resided in the country. The second Zoroaster had the address to get his religion established in the Persian empire; and there it continued to flourish till the Mahometans, by force of arms, established their own on its ruins.

He compiled a book for the use of the priests, who were to explain it to the public at large, who attended the sacrifices. This book was called the Zend, a word which signifies a kindler of fire, because it was for the use of those who worshipped the fire; but the allegorical meaning was, to kindle the fire of religion in their hearts. The first part of this book contains the liturgy of the Magians; and although Mahomitanism is now established in Persia, yet there are still some worshippers of fire among them; for the truth of which we have the testimony of Mr. Hanway, who was present on the spot, where he saw the nature of their service. When Zoroaster had finished this book, he presented it to Darius Hystaspis, bound up in several volumes, making, in the whole, twelve hundred skins of parchment. In this book there are so many passages taken out of the Old Testament, that some learned men have supposed the author was a Jew. He gave almost the same account of the creation of the world as we find written in the book of Genesis; and of the ancient Patriarchs as recorded in scripture. He enjoins relating to clean and unclean beasts, the same as was done by Moses, and in the same manner orders the people to pay tithes to the priests. The rest of the book contains the life of the author; his pretended visions; the methods he used in order to establish his religion; and concludes with exhortations to obedience. But



notwithstanding such striking similarities between the Zend and the Law of Moses, yet it will not follow from hence that he was a Jew. The Jews had been seventy years in captivity, and many of them being men of learning, no doubt but such a great man as Daniel, or such an illustrious queen as Esther, would get them placed at the head of their seminaries of learning. Josephus tells us, that the great fame of Daniel in revealing and interpreting the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar diffused itself throughout the whole empire. The Chaldeans and Persians were an inquisitive people, they even sent students to India and Egypt; and finding the Jews in a state of captivity among them, they would naturally inquire into the mysteries of their religion. That Zoroaster was not a Jew, will appear from the following considerations.

First, the Jews were not idolators, neither did they pay divine honours to the fire. Let any person peruse Psalm cxxxvii, where in the midst of an idolatrous nation, the Jews refused to sing even one of their songs to the heathens.

Secondly, The Persians, long after the death of Zoroaster, continued to hate the Jews, and mocked at their religion; a circumstance which could not have taken place if Zoroaster had been one of those people. Many heathens observed rites and ceremonies similar to those of the Jews, but we always find them mixing idolatry with them, which may serve to shew that they were not of a divine original.

Lastly, The Jews were very tenacious of their law,

and rather than profane it after their return from captivity, many of them suffered the most excruciating tortures under the tyrant Antiochus. Now Zoroaster only abridged some parts of their laws, so as to suit his own purpose: and probably with a view of making proselytes among such of the Jews as had settled in Persia, after the great body of that people had returned from captivity. Upon the whole, it seems evident, that Zoroaster was a native Persian and an idolator; but having received some part of his education under some learned Jews, he knew what part of their religion would suit his countrymen; and mixing those rites with idolatry, he laid the foundation of that system which continued many years after, and of which there are still some remains.

In considering every system of ancient idolatry, new reflections present themselves to our minds. Thus in Persia, two ancient systems of Idolatry took place, and, at last, an artful impostor established another on its ruins. But although it might not be so gross as some of those that went before, yet still it was idolatry, which may serve to shew that, without divine revelation, no man can come to the knowledge of the truth. Abraham would have been an idolator, had not God called him from Ur of the Chaldeans; and when Christ came in the flesh, he found the whole world lying in wickedness. How wretched then must the condition of those persons be who reject the gospel of our Saviour! Well might it be said of such persons that they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

## RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT CANAANITES, SYRIANS, ARABIANS, &c.

**A**LL those nations, who inhabited the land afterwards called Palestine, were descended from Canaan the son of Ham; for although we find many subdivisions among them, under as many different names, yet the general one was that of Canaanites; and here it is necessary that we should answer a deistical objection made by Lord Bolingbroke, and some others, against a passage in the sacred scripture; and this we the more readily comply with, because many weak, though otherwise well-meaning persons, have been led into an error by those designing men.

In Genesis ix. we read of Noah having got drunk with the fruit of the vine, and that while he was in a state of intoxication in his tent, Ham, his youngest son, came in and beheld his nakedness; but

Shem and Japhet went backward and covered him. When Noah awoke, and found how different the behaviour of his sons had been, he said (verse 25) "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Now Canaan is no where mentioned the aggressor; but there cannot remain the least doubt, but he was, at that time, along with his father, and like Ham, mocked at the aged patriarch; a crime attended with many aggravating circumstances.

But the deistical objection is this, "It was inconsistent, say they, with the goodness of God, to inflict a curse on a nation in latter ages for the guilt of an ancestor." Now let every unprejudiced reader attend to the passage, and then he will find that the whole was a prediction, and not an imprecation.



Noah, by the spirit of prophecy, foreseeing that the descendants of his son Ham, would commit the grossest idolatries, only foretold what would happen to them in latter times, and that their names should perish from off the earth. That all this happened in the manner that Noah foretold will appear from the following narrative.

From some circumstances, it appears, that when Abraham came to sojourn among these people, they were not all equally corrupt; and we do not read of any images among them; but as images will be often mentioned in the course of this work, we shall here say something concerning their original.

The first images or statues were made in honour of great men, who had performed extraordinary exploits; and these being set up in particular places, great veneration was paid to them, which, in the end, turned to religious adoration. It appears, from Pliny, that those statues were at first made of brick, such as that used in building the famous tower of Babel.

But to give beauty to those eastern statues, they painted them over with various colours. Next to earth, wood seems to have been most commonly used in the construction of images, as appears from what we read in the prophet Isaiah (xlv. 14.) who reproves the idolaters of those times for making to themselves graven images of cedar, cypress, and oak. In process of time, as the arts were more cultivated, they began to make their images or idols of richer materials, such as silver and gold, many of which they adorned with precious stones. It is, however, certain, that many of the more learned and wise among the heathens, neither worshipped images, nor did they acknowledge a plurality of gods. They considered them as subordinate mediators, always looking up to one Supreme Being, as the Sovereign Lord of all things. This, however, was no better than idolatry; of which we shall have occasion to speak largely hereafter. It begot a thousand unnatural crimes, not proper to be mentioned; of which we have a melancholy account in the conduct of the men of Sodom, who for their abominations were justly destroyed, by fire and brimstone being rained down upon them from heaven.

The tribes of the Canaanites were never united under one form of government, every little district having a chief of its own, and every district had its particular god. Thus Baal-zebub, or Achor, was called the god of flies; the priests having given out that no flies dared to come near his altars, while the people attended on sacrifices. This idol was in great repute, as appears from Abaziah, king of Israel, sending his servants to inquire at his oracle, whether he should recover from a fall he had from a window. 2 Kings i.

Baal-Berith, or lord of the covenant, was an idol

worshipped by the Sechemites, and many of the idolatrous Israelites erected altars to him. To him human sacrifices were offered; and it was common to appeal to him as a witness and judge in all matters of controversy: and especially when promises, covenants, engagements, or treaties of peace were entered into. The Moabites and Midianites, who lived near the borders of the Canaanites, worshipped Baal-Peor; for we are told that the Israelites joined themselves to him, and that the great king Solomon built him an altar. Who this Baal-Peor was, we are not certainly informed; but all the Jewish Rabbies agree, that he was the god of lewdness, and that the most abusive rites were observed in his temple.

He had groves planted, and altars erected, on the top of a mountain in Moab, called Peor, from which, probably, he took his name; for Jupiter is often called Olympius, because his first temple stood on that mountain. It is certain that his priests offered human sacrifices; and what was still more unnatural, they eat of the victims that were sacrificed. Thus we read in Psalm cvi. "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and eat the sacrifices of the dead."

Baal-Zephon was another of their idols; and it seems to have been originally set up as a mark, or boundary, between Egypt and Canaan. Eusebius supposes it to have been upon the borders of the northern parts of the Red Sea, where the children of Israel crossed; for we read, that the children of Israel came to Baal-Zephon, on the third day after they left Egypt. The Jewish Rabbies have a tradition concerning this idol, which is not unworthy of our notice. They tell us, that when the destroying angel passed over Egypt, all their idols, excepting this, were demolished; whereupon the Egyptians formed a high notion of his power, and went in crowds to worship him. Moses, observing that they went in crowds thither, petitioned Pharaoh that he too might be permitted to take a journey to the place along with his countrymen the Israelites.

Pharaoh complied with his request; but as the Israelites were employed on the shore of the Red Sea in picking up the precious stones which the river Phison had carried into the Gilon, and from thence were conveyed to the Red Sea, whereby they were thrown upon dry land, Pharaoh surprised them; but deferring to attack the Israelites till next day, and offering in the mean time sacrifices to Baal-Zephon, they passed the Red Sea and escaped. This tradition may serve to shew, what wretched notions the Jewish Rabbies endeavoured to inculcate into the minds of their people; but this is rejected by the Jews of the present age. That Moses the servant of the true God should sacrifice to an idol, is such an absurd idle tale, as does not deserve refutation: it carries confutation along with it.

Chemosh was another idol worshipped by the Canaanites, and also by the Moabites, and he had his temples on mountains, surrounded with groves of tall oaks. As the Moabites seem to have been idolators from the beginning, and as they were the offspring of an incestuous intercourse between Lot and his daughters, so we need not be surprised to read, that incest was not only tolerated by them in their temples, but even commanded as a duty.

A powerful body of these people were called Philistines, and inhabited the sea coast of the Mediterranean, near where Tyre was afterwards built. They consisted of five tribes, under the command of so many chiefs; and it appears from scripture, that they were not routed out by the children of Israel; but remained to be a check and scourge upon them, as often as they relapsed into idolatry. The name of their chief idol was Dagon, called by the Greeks, Azotus; and the image represented a man upwards from the navel, and all below resembled a fish. He was the same with the god Jupiter, or supreme deity of the heathens, although worshipped under a different name. The Egyptians worshipped him under the shape of a fish; because, in Tryphon's wars with the gods, he concealed himself in the sea, under that form. This has induced some to believe, that Dagon was Venus; because Diodorus Siculus relates, that at Askelon a famous city of the Philistines, Venus was worshipped in the shape of a woman upwards, and a fish downwards. After all these conjectures, probably none of them are right; for this idol is mentioned in scripture, in the masculine gender. When the Philistines had taken the ark of God from the children of Israel, and brought it to Ashdod, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, close by the image of that idol; but the next morning, when they came into the temple, they found Dagon fallen on his face on the ground, with the head and hands broken off. This idol had a temple, at Ashdod so late as the times of the Maccabees, for Jonathan, having beaten the army of Apollonius, Demetrius's general, they fled to Ashdod, and entered the temple of Dagon; but Jonathan set fire to the town and consumed it, and the temple with all those who had taken refuge in it. Milton places him among the fallen angels, when he says,

Dagon his name; sea monster! upward man,  
And downward fish; yet had his temple high,  
Reard in Azotus, dreaded through the coast  
Of Palestine, in Gath, and Askelon.

Upon attending to the nature of the ancient mythology, it will appear that the Philistines had their idol in the form already mentioned, because they inhabited the sea coast, and were among the first who carried on commerce with distant nations, by means of the watery element. In the city of Gaza, now

called by the Turks Gazera, in Palestine; about one half of the temple of Dagon still remains, and this temple was built on the ruins of that destroyed by Sampson.

Another idol worshipped in common by the Philistines and Syrians, was Derceto, supposed to be the same with Venus. Diodorus gives us the following account of it. In Syria, there is a city called Askelon, near which is a deep lake, abounding with plenty of different sorts of fish. Not far from the lake, stands the temple of the famous goddess Derceto, the mother of Semiramis, who has the face of a woman and the rest of her body resembling a fish; for which the Syrians assign the following reason: Venus having conceived a hatred against Derceto, caused her to fall in love with a young Syrian, by whom she conceived a daughter; but being ashamed of what she had done, she murdered the young man, exposed her child in the woods, and then threw herself into the lake, where she was transformed into a fish; for which reason the Syrians eat no fishes, but worship them as gods. Thus the poet says,

The Syrians hence revere the scaly brood,  
Nor dare to make the hallow'd fish their food.

Elagabalus, worshipped by the Syrians, as well as some of the Canaanites, was no other than the sun; but the meaning of the name is not easily known. But the most probable opinion is, that it means the god of the mountain; for the image represented a large stone on the top of an artificial mountain.

This idol is often taken notice of by the poets. Thus we read:

In the mid plains fair Apamea stands;  
And next Emessa, on the neighbouring lands:  
These to the sun their adorations pay,  
And victims bleed to the bright god of day;  
His fame with tow'ring Libanus contends,  
And in the clouds its glitt'ring summit ends.

It is remarkable, that Antonius Varius assumed the name of this idol, because he had formerly been one of his priests; and he ordered a temple to be erected for him at Rome, where he was worshipped under the form of a pyramid.

The Sidonians, who were a sect of the Philistines and very gross idolators, worshipped a goddess whom they called Ashtaroth, which, in the Syrian language signifies sleep; and this idol is often called the queen of heaven. Some believe the moon was adored under this name; and we find that Solomon introduced the worship of it, to please some of his concubines, who were natives of Sidon. Jezebel, the queen of Ahab, king of Israel, had altars erected to this idol throughout every part of her dominions; and she had, at one time, upwards of four hundred priests to attend her. She was always worshipped



under the character of a woman, but in different forms of dress, according to the different nations where divine honours, and religious worship were paid her.

For the most part she was represented with horns in the form of a crescent, and many have believed that by her was meant Rachael, the beloved wife of Jacob, her name signifying sleep in the Hebrew. She is said to have consecrated the city of Tyre, by depositing in it a fallen star; from whence came the report, that a star often darted upon her temple, which the people believed to be Venus. Her chief temple was on mount Lebanon, which was actually a perfect sink of lewdness, a school for most beastly lusts, which were permitted here because Venus was said to have had her first intercourse in this place with her beloved Adonis. This is the same deity which was worshipped by the Israelites under the name of Astarte, or Astrea, of whom Ovid makes mention when he says,

When justice ceas'd and human blood was shed,  
From earth to heaven divine Astrea fled.

Moloch was another god worshipped by these ancient idolators, particularly by the Ammonites, the incestuous offspring of Lot and his daughters. We are told in scripture, that the children of Israel, as an aggravation of their impiety, caused their children to pass through the fire to Moloch, which brought upon them the divine displeasure, and at last Almighty vengeance. There have been various opinions concerning this species of idolatry, some believing that the children only jumped over a fire, and others, that they passed between two slow fires to the image.

Both these notions, however, are contradicted by the clearest testimony of scripture; for we are expressly told, that the Ammonites, and, after them, the children of Israel, burnt their children alive to Moloch; and Moses prohibits the people from adoring this deity, under the severest penalties. Solomon built a temple to the idol Moloch on mount Oliver, and Manasseh, the most impious of all the kings of Judah, made his children pass through the fire to Moloch. We are not told in scripture, whether Moloch was worshipped in groves, in valleys, or on hills, by the Ammonites; but certain it is, that the idolatrous children of Israel appropriated the valley of the son of Hinnom for this impious service. This valley lay eastward of Jerusalem, and was the same place wherein all the filth of the city was burnt at the time our Saviour was on earth.

We shall here insert what the Rabbies have told us concerning this idol. They say it was made of brass, the body resembling that of a man, and the head that of a calf, with a royal diadem, and the

arms extended. They add, that when children were to be offered to him, they heated the statue, and put the miserable victim between his arms, where it was soon consumed by the violence of the flame. We are further told, that this idol had seven temples, or chapels. All these altars, temples, or chapels, were appropriated to the different sorts of sacrifices that were to be offered. Thus he who offered a bird, went into the first chapel; he who offer a lamb, into the second; he who presented a sheep, into the third; he who brought a calf, into the fourth; he who brought a bullock, into the fifth; he who brought an ox, into the sixth; but the seventh, the grandest of all, was destined for those who brought their own children. From the whole of this we may learn, that human sacrifices were the most acceptable at the altars of Moloch; which, undoubtedly, made our great poet Milton rank him among the infernal deities, as one of the fallen angels, and as one who was to be a curse to the idolatrous world.

Another god of the Syrians and Canaanites is called Rimmon, and he was chiefly worshipped at Damascus. He is mentioned but once in scripture, namely, in the account of Naaman, the Syrian general, when he came to the prophet Elisha to be cured of the leprosy. Rimmon, in the Hebrew, signifies a pomegranate, which fruit being sacred to Venus, some are of opinion that they were one and the same; but this cannot be, because Venus is in the feminine gender, whereas this idol is always in the masculine.

The Syrians had an idol which they worshipped under the name of Adad, which, in their language, signified one. By him was meant the sun, and they gave him the earth to wife; for they painted Adad with rays shooting downwards, and the earth with rays shooting upwards, to shew that all earthly productions were owing to the influence of the sun. Josephus thinks this idol was worshipped in memory of Bennadad; but that is not in the least probable, because that prince lived long after the whole mass of idolatry was formed, and reduced into a system.

Babia was another goddess of the Syrians; and worshipped under the image of an infant; for it was common amongst them to call their children by its name, especially such as they intended to dedicate to the priesthood. Young children were offered up in sacrifices to this idol, and mothers, without relenting, heard the cries of their tortured offspring.

But of all the gods of the Syrians and Canaanites, none were honoured so much as Baal, who was no other than the Belus of the Chaldeans, and the Jupiter of the Greeks. It is probable the sun was worshipped under this name; for Josiah, willing to make some atonement for the sins of his father Manasseh, in worshipping Baal and all the host of heaven, put to death the idolatrous priests that burnt



incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and all the host of heaven. Helikewise took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, and burnt the chariots of the sun with fire.

This idol Baal is often mentioned in scripture in the plural number, Ballim, and always implies universal power, wisdom and knowledge. His temples were built within enclosures, for which reason they were called in the Hebrew and Syriac languages Chamanim, and perpetual fires were kept burning in them. Mr. Maundrell, in his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, tells us that he saw many of the remains of them, but most of the statues were defaced. The Mahometans have a strange tradition concerning this idol, which for the use and amusement of the curious reader, we shall set down in this place.

They say, that before Abraham left Ur of the Chaldeans, he took an opportunity to break in pieces all the idols except Baal, about whose neck he hung the ax with which he had accomplished his design, that the people might suppose Baal himself was the author of all this mischief. Such is the manner in which the Mahometans relate this story, but the Jews tell it somewhat different.

They say that Abraham performed this exploit in his father's shop, during his absence, and that Terah returning, and demanding the occasion of this disorder, Abraham told him that the idols had quarrelled about an offering of fine flower brought them by an old woman, and that the strongest of them (Baal) had got the better of the rest, and broken them to pieces. They add, that Terah, falling into a violent passion, carried his son before Nimrod, who gave him a severe reprimand.

Such were the principal idols worshipped by the Canaanites, and bad as idolatry is, yet had they confined themselves simply to the practice of image worship, possibly God might have suffered them to remain in their possessions till the fulness of time, when the Messiah was to enlighten all mankind by his gospel. But their horrid abominations were such that they called aloud for vengeance from heaven. Murder, rapine, and all sorts of cruelty, were but trifles when compared with human sacrifices, and unnatural crimes which ought not to be mentioned. Thus God, in his all-wise and holy providence, destroyed them, according to the prediction of Noah, to make room for his chosen people.

The Arabians, of whose religion we shall here give some account, were the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, by his concubine Hagar; and they are, in some respects, even to this day, the most remarkable people in the world. The angel told Hagar that her son should be a wild man, and the Arabians remain uncivilized even to this day. His hand was to be against every man, and every

man's hand against him; and so it is to this day, for the Arabians live by plundering, not only such as travel from this part of the world, but even the Turks themselves, who pretended to be their masters. He was to live in the midst of his brethren; and it is very remarkable, that the Arabians were never yet conquered. In vain did the great monarchs of the east attempt to subdue them, they still remain what they were three thousand years ago.

After the death of Ishmael they multiplied extremely fast, and became a great nation; for we find them a trading people at the time Joseph was sold into Egypt. Like the rest of the eastern nations, they were idolaters and worshipped the sun, moon and stars under different names, the chief of which was Allat, in the city of Tayef, and it was held in such esteem, that when Mahomet ordered it to be destroyed, the people lamented most bitterly.

Another of the Arabian idols was Aluzza, worshipped by several of their tribes under the shape of an Egyptian thorn. At first it was adored in the open fields, but in time temples and altars were erected to it; it remained till the time of Mahomet, who caused all its temples to be demolished, and slew the priests who officiated in them. The Arabians, who lived mostly towards the east, worshipped Assaf under the shape of a calf, which they probably borrowed from the Egyptians, with whom they traded. They had a goddess named Beltha, and probably the Venus of the Greeks. They kept three holidays in the year to this idol, and the altars whereon they sacrificed were at the gates of their temples. The Sabæans, mentioned Job i. were the principal worshippers of this goddess, and they made a point of conscience to carry part of their plunder to her temple. The leading principle in the religion of the ancient Arabians, was their fixed belief in Fairies or Genii; they believed that these Genii attended people through life, that every man had two waiting upon him, the one good and the other evil, that all evil actions were committed at the instigation of the evil spirit in the absence of the good Genii, who sometimes went on a message to heaven. They believed further, that these two angels, or Genii, were continually at war with each other, and this the people considered as the cause of the contending passions in their minds. They were worshipped by the ancient Arabians as the companions or friends of God, and they believed that they appeared to them in their sleep. The principal Genii was called Hafedbah, and when the people went on journeys to plunder, they prayed he would send some strong Genii to protect them, and some wise ones to direct them in their journey.

But although the Arabians worship idols, yet they believed there was one supreme God, to whom they ascribed the most sublime attributes; such as

eternity, omnipotence, incomprehensibility, &c. which will appear from the following verses :

"Why should we seek to comprehend what cannot be comprehended :

"It is a tree which hath neither root, trunk, nor branches for thought to lay hold of.

"It is a riddle in which we can neither find a natural nor a metaphorical sense, and of which there is no satisfactory explication.

"God is infinitely above the capacity of our understandings, and we always lose ourselves when we would comprehend, or guess at what he is; let it therefore suffice us to adore him with a respectful silence."

All those ancient heathen nations had temples, but it does not appear that any of them were very magnificent, that sort of grandeur having been reserved for the Greek, of whom afterwards. In the mean time let us say something concerning their altars.

In the most early ages of the world, the Pagans made their altars of earth or turf, and they were, for the most part, in groves or on hills, and besides offering up sacrifices to the gods, they were used for several other purposes. All alliances with foreign princes were ratified on the altars, that the gods might be witnesses of the faithful performance of them; of this we have many instances both in ancient history and poetry. Thus, Hamilcar made his son Hannibal lay his hand on the altar and swear, never to make peace with the Romans, and thus a poet says :

I touch the sacred altars, touch the flames,  
And all those powers attest, and all their names:  
Whatever chance befall on either side,  
No term of time this union shall divide.

Another use of altars was to be an asylum for such as were in danger of being punished. It was reckoned a sort of sacrilege to drag any person from the altar, let his crimes be ever so enormous; because he was considered as under the immediate protection of the god to whom the altar was dedicated. Romulus, in order to bring people to Rome, ordered many altars to be set up, that such as were obliged to abscond from the neighbouring towns might find refuge there.

In latter times, altars were made of stone, and their heights were regulated according to the titles of the deities to whom they were consecrated. The celestial gods and goddesses had their altars built very high; but the terrestrial ones had theirs not above a foot from the earth, and for the inferior gods, they dug holes in the earth. The name of the god was inscribed on the altar, sometimes in letters, but more commonly in hieroglyphics, pointing out his qualities or attributes. We have no account of altars before the deluge; but that must be owing

to the want of records. After the flood, Noah built an altar and offered burnt offerings upon it, and in the patriarchal ages, the altars were generally built near some groves sacred to solitude, as places properly calculated to inspire devotion, and lead the mind up to the contemplation of heavenly things. But as this gave rise to idolatry, the Jews were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to worship God in groves or on hills, nor were they to plant any trees near the place where the true God was worshipped. Thus God says to Moses :

"An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon, thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps into my altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon."

The reason why the priests were not to go up steps to the altar, was, because they wore short garments like petticoats, which upon stooping, would have discovered their nakedness; and this precept was enjoined to distinguish them as the worshippers of the true God, from the heathens, who used the most odious indecencies in their religious ceremonies. In the temple of Jerusalem there were several altars, the first of which was that for burnt-offerings, made of Shittim wood, nine feet square, and about four feet high. It was overlaid with brass, and at each corner there was like a horn or spire wrought out of the same piece of wood with the altar itself. The use of these horns was to bind the sacrifice to the altar, and it was placed in the open air before the entrance into the tabernacle, that the smoke might not sully any of the sacred vessels. This altar was constructed in such a manner, that it could be carried by the priest from one place to another.

Within the tabernacle, they had the altar of incense, but we know no more of it, but that it was overlaid with pure gold. Every morning and evening the officiating priest offered sacrifices upon it, while the people stood without praying, of which we have an instance in Luke i. This was the altar which the prophet Jeremiah hid, when he found that the city and temple were to be destroyed.

Among the Greeks and Romans, altars were erected on the most conspicuous parts of the high-ways, and even in the market places in their cities. Thus we find that when Paul was at Athens, he passed by and saw an altar with this inscription, "To the unknown God."

In the early ages of christianity there were no altars, and the communion table was not called by that name till about the beginning of the fifth century, of which we shall have occasion to take notice



in the subsequent part of this work. The church of England, in conjunction with the Lutherans, are the only Protestants who give the name of altar to that place where they commemorate the death of our Divine Redeemer; but it was not so when the Reformation took place, for at that time it was ordered, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in the most convenient part of the church, chapel, or chancel, according to the circumstances which might be necessary to regulate the conduct of the minister.

Wherever there is an altar it is implied there should be sacrifices; but the Christian knows no sacrifice but that of Christ, who offered himself as an atonement for the sins of wicked men—for the guilt of an offending world.

When we contemplate the fate of those ancient nations, whose sins brought down upon them the divine vengeance, we should naturally be led to consider, in what relation we stand to the great Lord

of providence and grace. To use the words of the most accomplished divine that ever wrote since the apostolic age (archbishop Leighton) all our pursuits are vain, unless directed to a proper end. God looks down with contempt upon conquerors, as scourges in his hand to punish disobedient children, while he sheds the dew of his blessing on the humble and lowly of heart. Those heathens became wise, or rather they became foolish in their own conceits; and the eternal God, by whom they were made, was treated with the utmost indignity, and to the dishonour of their nature, they worshipped the work of their own hands. Well might God have given them up to dark delusions; for those that honour him, he will honour, and those that despise him, shall be lightly esteemed. Let this consideration sink deep into the mind of every reader, and let them consider true religion as the grand ornament of human life. This will secure their peace of mind in time; and will make them happy throughout all eternity.

## RELIGION IN ETHIOPIA AND ADJOINING NATIONS.

**I**N treating of this extensive empire, and the other provinces adjoining to it, we shall first consider what it was before the promulgation of the gospel, and secondly, what religion the natives at present profess. Here the author considers himself as very highly favoured, in having had an opportunity of conversing with the only gentleman, who, during the present age, has visited those unfrequented deserts. Not that they are really deserts, many of them being well inhabited; but that they are little frequented by Europeans, who, for want of proper information, consider the people as savages, with whom it is dangerous to have any connections.

Ethiopia is situated to the south of Egypt, and between the kings of that country and the Egyptians, there were continual wars. Nay, it often happened, that the Ethiopians took possession of Egypt, and placed some of their princes upon the throne of that extensive and fertile kingdom. This will appear the more evident, when we consider that the Ethiopians often invaded the borders of Palestine in vast numbers, which they could not have done, had not they either been in possession of Egypt, or nearly allied to the people; for there was no possibility of their passing into Asia by land in any other manner whatever.

The Ethiopians, originally a colony of the Egyptians, observed the same rites and ceremonies, in their religious worship; and the difference between

their languages was very immaterial. Accustomed to live in the most frugal manner, little notice was taken of them, till the boundless ambition of the Romans, trampling upon all human rights, disturbed their repose, and brought some part of the country into a state of subjection. This, however, was a happy event in the course of Divine Providence, because it opened a way for the promulgation of the gospel. The Jews, after their return from the captivity, settled in many parts of the habitable world, for the benefit of commerce; and some of them in Ethiopia. The purity of their religion induced many converts to join them, and those went up every year to Jerusalem to worship. Of this we have a striking instance in Acts, chap. viii. where we find the prime minister of the queen of Ethiopia coming up to Jerusalem, to worship at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. This man had been well instructed in the Jewish religion, for upon his return home through part of the wilderness, Philip the Deacon found him sitting in his chariot, reading the prophet Isaiah, chap. liii.

Eusebins, and all the ancient church historians, tell us, that this great statesman went home and converted the queen his mistress, and that she sent to Jerusalem for some of the disciples of the apostles to come and preach the gospel to her subjects.—This, however, must have happened after the conversion of Cornelius the Roman centurion; for be-



fore that time, the gospel was preached only to those of the circumcision, whether Jews or proselytes. But certain it is, that soon after the conversion of the eunuch, the Christian religion spread so far throughout Ethiopia, that bishops from that country attended councils held at Alexandria. Nay, such was the success of the gospel in those early ages, that many of those nations where heathenism prevails in Africa, professed the religion of Jesus, and some of them submitted to suffer the most cruel torment, rather than blaspheme their Lord and Saviour.

At present Ethiopia is called by three names, viz. Nubia, Abyssinia, and the Lesser Ethiopia; but the religion is the same in all. Their affinity with Egypt has made way for the introduction of Mahometanism in some places, and in others the inhabitants are Pagans; but the main body of the people are Christians; although, properly speaking, neither of the Greek nor Roman Catholic persuasion.

They believe the scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and they have manuscript copies of them; but they know nothing of what we call the Apostle's Creed, for in the room of it they use the Nicene. With respect to the incarnation of Christ, they believe there is but one nature; that all that was human was swallowed up in that which is divine, so that no distinction could be made. This is what is called the Eutychian heresy, which made great noise in the fifth century, and was condemned at the council of Chalcedon, 451. As it had been taught in Egypt, so we need not be surprised at finding it making its way into Ethiopia, where it is held in much repute by the priests, but the people are grossly ignorant. They deny the Papal supremacy, and indeed most parts of the Popish doctrine, particularly transubstantiation, purgatory, prayers in an unknown tongue, images, auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, and extreme unction. They have joined part of the Jewish and Christian ceremonies together, for they observe as holy days both Saturdays and Sundays, and their children are both circumcised and baptized. They eat no swine's flesh, and abstain from several other sorts of meat forbidden in the law of Moses. They pull off their shoes when they go into their churches, and during the whole of their service, sit upon the bare ground. Their service consists in reading the sacred scriptures, particularly the gospels, and receiving the eucharist, after which the priest reads an homily, translated into their language from the works of one of the ancient fathers. In the last century, the Romish missionaries ever assiduous in promoting their religious tenets, went from Alexandria to Ethiopia, and obtained leave from the emperor to settle in his dominions; but the people were so unwilling to relinquish the religion of their ancestors, that many insurrections

happened, so that the emperor was obliged to banish all the missionaries out of the country.

The Ethiopians have several sorts of monks, but they are upon a footing quite different from those of the Roman Catholics. One of those sects which is now almost extinct, was, in ancient times, called Rembothi, and they lived in the most populous cities, without being confined to any other rules, besides that of doing all the good offices they could for the poor, and visiting the sick from house to house. These men were not ecclesiastical, but they observed a most rigorous discipline. They fasted often, and the garments they wore were such as pointed out their contempt of the world. Indeed, every thing about them was affected; they wore loose sleeves, wide stockings, coarse cloth, sighed often, and made daily visits to the Virgin Nuns. They inveighed bitterly against the established clergy, but they themselves were gluttons and drunkards, as often as they had an opportunity.

The bread used in the eucharist, is by the Ethiopians called the Corban, which signifies a gift, because it is purchased with the money which they receive as the offerings of the faithful. It is composed of fine wheaten flour, and it must be baked the same day on which it is intended to be used; for if it should happen to be stale, it is considered improper for use. The person who makes the bread, is obliged to repeat seven psalms during the operation, and the oven must be within the church. Upon each loaf of bread there must be twelve impressions of crosses, and each of the crosses must be within a square. The middle cross is larger than any of the others, and is distinguished by the words of Ishobdicon, which signifies, belonging to the Lord, it being appropriated for the use of the priest who performs divine service. Round the whole of the loaves an inscription is impressed, which in English signifies "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord."

Among the Ethiopians there are still to be found some monks, called Coptics, who first flourished in Egypt, but by no difficult sort of gradation made their way into Ethiopia. They profess the utmost contempt for all worldly things, and look upon themselves as a sort of terrestrial angels. They are obliged to part with all their possessions before they can enter upon a monastic life; they must likewise renounce marriage for ever, live in deserts, be clothed in wool, eat no flesh, employ most of their time in prayer and labour, be continually thinking upon God, and apply themselves to the reading of the sacred scriptures.

They sleep on a mat laid on the ground, and before they lay themselves down to rest, they stretch out their hands one hundred and fifty times in the form of a cross. They divide the day into three parts; one for labour, one for refreshment, and

one for prayer. All their monasteries are situated in deserts, and to prevent them being molested by wild beasts, most of them have no doors, but the monks are let out and brought in by a machine fixed to one of the windows.

There are among the Ethiopians another sort of monks called *Corrupticole*, which is rather an opprobrious name given them, because they assert that the body of Christ was subject to corruption; which being one of the opinions embraced by the Eutychians, there will remain some reason to believe that the doctrines of that heretic were taught in Ethiopia, during the first ages of Christianity. It is very remarkable, that even in the island of Madagascar, there are some remains of the Christian religion; and when we consider the navigation of ancient ages, we can only ascribe the first planting of it in such a remote part of the globe, to an intercourse kept up between the inhabitants and those of Ethiopia. Their manners and customs are almost similar, but it is much to be lamented, that while they are acquainted with the name of the true God, they have forgotten the most essential principles in religion.

As the eunuch, who was prime minister to the queen of Ethiopia, was one of the most illustrious converts to the truth of the gospel, it is necessary that consistent with our plan, we should lay before the reader every thing concerning the sacrament of baptism. Baptism implies the washing away of all impurities; and certain it is, this rite was always attended to both by Jews and heathens long before our Saviour came in the flesh. Thus we read, that Aaron and his sons were commanded, previous to their consecration to the priesthood, to be washed in water at the door of the tabernacle. To this may be added, that the learned Spencer proves that long before our Saviour's time, all the heathens who became proselytes to the Jewish religion, were previously baptized. There are some indeed who consider this ceremony as invented by the Rabbies who lived after the Babylonish captivity; but when it is considered, that the Jews always held the Christians in the utmost abhorrence, it will appear highly probable that this ceremony was borrowed from them, consistent with the practices of their ancestors. Every Christian must acknowledge, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper comes in place of the Jewish passover; and, by parity of reason, baptism is to Christians the same in effect, as circumcision was to the Jews of old.

The learned Grotius is of opinion, that baptism was observed by the ancient nations ever since the deluge, in memory of the world having been destroyed by water, and none but Noah and his family saved, Spencer lays it down as a probable supposition though not as a positive proof, that the Jews

received the doctrine of baptism from the neighbouring nations, who always used ablutions or washings when they admitted proselytes among them. In confirmation of this opinion, Spencer takes notice, first, that there is not in the Mosaic law, a single precept for the baptising of proselytes, God having enjoined only the rite of circumcision for the admission of strangers into the Jewish religion. Secondly, that among the heathen nations, it was customary that those who were to be initiated into their mysteries should be first purified, by washing in water, as a sign of their being cleansed from all impurities. Lastly, Spencer observes, that Christ, in the institution of his sacraments, paid a peculiar regard to those rites which had been borrowed by the Jews from the heathen nations. All this may be true, and yet there is somewhat ambiguous in every expression made use of by the learned Spencer, which we shall endeavour to elucidate, and lay before the reader in the most clear and comprehensive terms.

That baptism was used by the Jews long before the coming of Christ cannot be denied; for when John the Baptist came, preaching in the wilderness, his conduct was not considered as an innovation, but as what had been long practised; for the popular manner in which he was treated, arose from his humility, self-denial, the purity of his doctrine, and above all, his calling himself the forerunner of Jesus, who, at that time was earnestly looked for by the Jews. It was a ceremony pointing out the corruption of human nature, and the necessity that men should be under when they left their former profession, to live and become new creatures, like a person who has been washed from the impurities of body in water.

In the primitive ages of Christianity, the bishop, or pastor of a congregation, generally baptized such as made profession of their faith; but still in his absence, it was permitted that any of the faithful might perform the ceremony, so that it was not done by women. There are too things to be considered relating to baptism, first, the age of the person to be baptized; and secondly, the place where the ceremony was performed.

Those who argue against infant baptism, urge, that no persons whatever are to be baptized till they make profession of their faith in Christ, and promise to be obedient to all the rules laid down in his gospel; and they ground this part of their argument upon the silence of the New Testament concerning the ceremony of infant baptism, and likewise upon the words of Christ, when he commanded his disciples to go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Now, say they, it appears from these words, that no person could be baptized until he was first taught; and it is certain,



that children are not capable of receiving instruction in such momentous points upon which their everlasting salvation depends.

To this it is answered by those who contend for infant baptism, that as the Lord's Supper is acknowledged by all denomination of Christians, to come in the room of the passover, so baptism comes in the room of circumcision. To illustrate this, let us only attend to the following circumstances. The passover was instituted to commemorate the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage; the Lord's Supper to commemorate our deliverance from the power of guilt and sin. The passover was established on the evening of that day on which God intended to signalize his wonderful power and mercy to his chosen people; and the night that Jesus Christ was betrayed, he instituted the Lord's Supper. The passover was to be celebrated annually by the Jews, and the Lord's Supper is to be observed by all denomination of Christians till the end of time. Let us now consider how far baptism comes in the room of circumcision, and we shall make use of arguments on each side of the question.—Circumcision was a rite pointing out, that the Jews were distinguished from all other people in the world, and so was baptism among Christians. Every male child among the Jews was, in consequence of circumcision, entitled to all the privileges of the commonwealth of Israel; and in like manner, the son or daughter of a Christian parent, is entitled, through baptism, to all the blessings of the new covenant. As children must always be considered as passive, having no will of their own, so the Jews were obliged to promise, in the act of circumcision, to bring them up in the principles of the Mosaic law. In the same manner, parents under the New Testament dispensation, are either in their own persons, or by sponsors, obliged to promise that as far as lays in their power, their children shall be properly educated in every Christian duty. Every circumcised child among the Jews, was considered as one who was to have no connection with the heathen nations around them: and every child baptized in the name of the sacred and ever blessed Trinity, becomes a sworn soldier of Christ Jesus, and he is to fight against all the enemies of his Divine Redeemer. Having thus in the most faithful manner, stated the arguments made use of by each party, we shall leave the reader to judge who is right or who is wrong; and let every person search the scriptures, that he may be able to give an account of the hope that is in him.

The utility of what has been here said concerning baptism, will appear the more necessary, when we consider that the Ethiopian Christians mingle together the Jewish and the Christian ceremonies. This practice of theirs is not of a criminal nature, for it

was followed by many of the primitive Christians. When the Apostle Paul went up to Jerusalem, he submitted to some parts and ceremonies of the law of Moses, nor does he condemn any for adhering to it, but those Jewish converts who sought to impose it upon the Gentile proselytes. That Christ was the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believed, we have the highest testimony of scripture, for when he expired on the cross, he said it is finished, and the veil of the temple was rent, thereby intimating, that the law was no more of an obligatory nature, either as the condition of salvation, or as a rule of conduct. But still in compassion to the weakness of many persons among the Jews, they were allowed to observe their own rites and ceremonies, so as they did not trust in them for salvation, nor impose them upon others. It was in order to elucidate this subject, that the Apostle Paul wrote his famous epistle to the Galatians, and those who will attend to it with care, will find that he does not direct the force of his argument against those who observed the Jewish ceremonies, but only against those who imposed them.

With respect to the place of baptism, it was at first unlimited, and the ceremony was frequently performed in a pond, a lake, or a river, but always as near as possible to the place of public worship. About the latter end of the second century, they began to build fonts, or rather they made pits, which they filled with water near the front doors of their churches; afterwards they removed them into the church porch, and at last into the church itself. When grown persons were to be baptized, they were first examined by the bishops concerning their belief of the Christian faith, but if an infant, then his parents or sponsors were to vouch for him. It does not appear that sponsors were allowed for children till towards the latter end of the second century, and that which gave rise to it was, sometimes the mothers were heathens. In performing this ceremony, the usual custom was to dip the whole body over in water; for as St. Barnabas says, "We go down into the water full of sin and filth, but we ascend bearing fruit in our hearts." And that all occasions of scandal and immodesty might be prevented in so sacred a ceremony, the men and women were baptized in different apartments, the women having assistants to undress and to dress them.

They were anointed with oil, and the form of the cross was marked on their foreheads; but, as will appear in another part of this work, this ceremony did not take place till the beginning of the fourth century. After being anointed, the candidate for baptism had a white robe put on him, to denote his being washed from the defilements of sin, or perhaps in allusion to the words of the Apostle, "As many as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." It



was from this custom that the name or word of Whit-Sunday took its rise, which is now one of the great festivals in the Christian church. When baptism was over, the white garment was laid up in the church, that it might be an evidence against such as denied that faith which they had made a solemn profession of; of this we have a remarkable instance under the Arian persecution in Africa. Elpidophorus, a citizen of Carthage, had lived many years in communion with the faithful, but having joined himself to the Arians, became a most cruel persecutor. Among others whom he put to the rack, was one Militas, an aged venerable Deacon, who, previous to the torture, pulled out the white garment in which Elpidophorus had been baptized, and with tears in his eyes, thus addressed him before all the people:

"These, Elpidophorus, thou minister of error, are the garments that shall accuse thee, when thou shalt appear before the majesty of the great judge; these are they, which girt thee, when thou earnest pure out of the holy font: and these are they which

shall bitterly pursue thee, when thou shalt be cast into the place of flames; because thou hast clothed thyself with cunning as with a garment, and hast cast off the sacred obligation of thy baptism."

Sprinkling first came into use in consequence of some people being converted on their death beds, which often happened; for whatever the heathens said of the primitive Christians, yet their faith and exemplary conduct put them to the blush, and they were glad to take part with them in the hour of death.

So much for the origin of baptism in the Christian church, and we shall, in the progress of this work, point out the ceremonies used in different parts of the world. The only inference we would here draw is, that men ought not to be too forward in asserting the belief of what they may consider to be true; nor let them be too hasty in condemning those who differ from them. We are but fallible creatures, and many things will be revealed to us in a future state, which we do not at present comprehend.

## RELIGION OF THE ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS AND CIRCASSIANS.

THESE ancient nations have been long celebrated in history, both sacred and profane, although under a variety of names. Sometimes they made a part of the Persian and Median empire; but when Rome declined in her glory, they set up princes of their own, some of whom have still descendants among them. In general, they are at present subject to the Turks, and it is from these countries, that the scraglio of the grand seignior is supplied with beautiful women.

Armenia is a very extensive country, and generally divided into the greater and lesser, but taking both together, they are bounded in the following manner. It has Georgia on the north; on the south mount Taurns, which divides it from Mesopotamia; on the west the river Euphrates, and on the east by the Caspian mountains.

Georgia has the Caspian Sea on the east, the Euxine Sea on the west, on the north Circassia, and on the south part Armenia. The river Cur, or Cyrus, so called from the emperor of that name, runs through it, dividing it into two equal parts.

Circassia is parted from Georgia by an outlet of the Black Sea, and mount Caucasus; on the north by the great river Don, on the east by the Caspian Sea, and the mouth of the Wolga, and on the west by

the Straights of Coffa. It is divided into several principalities, and sometimes they do homage to the Turks, but most commonly to the Russians.

The inhabitants of these countries; like all others except the Jews, were, at the time of our Saviour's incarnation, heathens; and we are told by several ancient authors, that they worshipped Noah under the name of Janus, on account of his having invented the use of wine, and his wife Aretia, whom they called Vesta, or the earth. There is no doubt but both Noah and his sons were worshipped after their deaths, when idolatry began to prevail in the world; but as these nations are situated so near Persia and Assyria, we may naturally conclude, that there was but very little difference between them.

The Christian religion was taught here soon after our Saviour's ascension, and probably by St. Peter or some of his disciples; for we find in Eusebins, that they had many flourishing churches before the reign of Constantine the Great. Like the other parts of the Christian world, they admitted useless rites and ceremonies, and embraced notions contrary to the simplicity of the sacred scriptures. Their most leading notions are the following:

1.—Like the Greeks, they assert that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the father alone.

2.—They believe that when Christ descended into hell, he granted a reprieve to all damned souls, which is to continue to the end of the world, when they are to be sent again into eternal flames.

3.—They assert that the souls of the righteous shall not be admitted into everlasting happiness till after the general resurrection; and yet they burn lamps before their images, adore them as objects of worship, and pray for their assistance.

4.—They confess their sins to the priests, much in the same manner as in the Greek church.

5.—In baptism, they plunge the child three times in the water, and make the cross on its forehead with consecrated oil.

6.—They give the cup as well as the bread to the laity, and they observe a vast number of festivals.

They have monks who follow the order of St. Basil, and they have several nunneries for religious women. The monks wear the same habit as the Greeks, and instead of spending their time in idleness, some of them dress their gardens, others perform divine service, while the more aged and infirm instruct the children in the villages. The nuns have great privileges; for they are permitted to baptize, and to cross the child with the holy oil. They wear a loose black robe, and are always veiled when they appear in places of public worship; but they are not permitted to visit company, nor to converse with men besides their priests, when they come to hear their confessions.

Throughout the whole of these extensive countries, there is to be found an order of monks called Jacobites, from one Jacob, a Syrian, who lived about the middle of the sixth century, but they are divided in different sects. Some of them follow the rites of the Roman church, others follow those of the Greek, and a third deny the authority of both. They have generally two rival patriarchs, and each pretend to be endued with infallibility, so that they are constantly disputing and quarrelling. As to their belief, they hold that there is but one nature in Jesus Christ, and with respect to the purgatory and prayers for the dead, they are of the same opinion with the Greeks, and the other eastern churches, which may serve to shew that they were once one and the same people in their religious sentiments. They do not admit that auricular confession is of divine institution, and they use leavened bread in the eucharist. They perform part of their service in the Chaldean language, but part of their mass is said in Hebrew. They believe in transubstantiation, and they administer the eucharist in both kinds, both to grown persons and to children. When they administer this ordinance, they make a large cake, and when it is cut into small pieces, they distribute it to the people in commemoration of Christ's body and soul having been separat-

ed by death on the cross, to make an atonement for sin.

They have written offices of devotion, for the art of printing is yet unknown amongst them; but with respect to the history of their religion, it is conveyed by the priests to the people, in the way of narrative, traditions, and legends.

Legends consisted originally of the lives of saints and martyrs; and it was the practice in the fourth century, to read these in Christian churches. As every church was dedicated to some particular saint, so the priest availed himself of keeping a list, or record of their actions, of which we shall mention the following instances.

The golden legends written about the year 1298, contains a collection of the most ridiculous stories, said to have been read in the eastern churches after the time of Constantine the Great; but even the Roman Catholics are now so much ashamed of it, that it is seldom used but in the most obscure country churches.

The priests at Mentz in Germany, have a legend, which is sincerely believed by the people, namely, that one day a profligate fellow swore he would kill the first man he met, and a crucifix being carried through the streets in procession, he struck at it with his sword, which brought blood from it. Immediately the fellow sunk up to the knees in earth, where he stood fixed till the magistrates apprehended him; he was condemned, and burnt alive at a stake.

At Landsberg, a considerable town in Bavaria, there is a crucifix in the church of the Franciscan friars, placed over the altar, and the person who shews the church, tells travellers, that a fellow once spewed upon this figure, upon which the devil made his appearance, and carried him through the south wall of the chancel; and to commemorate this remarkable event, there is a round window made in the breach with an inscription over it. In the cathedral church of Milan, they have a legend, that while St. Ambrose was bishop of that city, there was a bloody battle between the orthodox and the Arians; and the good bishop prayed for a sign from heaven, whereby he might distinguish their bodies. That sign was granted him; for as the legend says, he went among the slain, and all the orthodox lay with their faces upwards, and the Arians with their faces downwards.

At Aken in Germany, there is a legend of a very extraordinary nature, transmitted down from one generation to another.—Travellers are shewn a large pair of brass gates, one of which has a crack, occasioned by the following circumstance: when Charles the Great, commonly called Charlemagne, had given orders for the building of this church, the devil came one day and asked him what he in-

tended it for? To which the emperor answered, for a gaming house; and the devil went away, seemingly well satisfied. A few days afterwards, the devil came again, and seeing some altars erected, asked what they were for? The emperor answered, for gaming-tables, which encouraged the devil to lend his assistance towards the building. Accordingly he brought a large pair of brass gates on his shoulders; but happening to see a crucifix, he flung them down and took to his heels, and one of the gates received the crack which is still shewn. This story is related by the priests in as serious a manner as if it was part of the sacred history.

In Calabria is a city named St. Agatha, where the priests belonging to the church shew piece of a pillar, kept in a glass frame, which they tell you shined when Paul preached in that place. The Jesuits wanted to remove this relic to their college; but although only a few pounds in weight, yet twenty men were not able to move it, though one man carried it to the place where it now stands.

Another legend, equally extraordinary and ridiculous, is the following, related by the people of Malta, and firmly believed by them. Three young gentlemen, knights of Malta, having been taken prisoners by the Turks, were brought before the grand seignior, who ordered one of his priests to convert them to the Mahometan religion, but they continued steadfast in their opinions. Being brought into the seraglio, the grand seignior's daughter fell in love with them, and told her father, that if he would permit her, she would convert them. Accordingly she was admitted to them; but they told her they had taken an oath never to marry, promising at the same time to shew her an exact representation of the Virgin Mary. This they attempted to do on a piece of carved wood, but not being properly skilled in the art, they prayed for assistance from heaven, which was immediately granted; for the image of the Virgin appeared, and the young princess having made her escape along with the knights, arrived at Malta, and entered herself in a nunnery.

In Armenia, Georgia and Circassia, there are many such ridiculous legends; and indeed almost every church has a feigned history of the saint to whom it is dedicated. This will not seem strange, when we consider how ignorant the people are of the first principles of religion; nay, they are now little better than barbarians; sentiments they have few, and their ceremonies are ridiculous. In their marriages they use the ring, which seems to have been the practice of the most early ages, it being an emblem of eternity.

The priest performs the marriage ceremony in the church, and he anoints both the bride and the bridegroom, by pouring consecrated oil on their

heads, and marking the sign of the cross on their breasts. The relations of both parties come dressed in white, and the young women accompany the bride with natural, or artificial garlands, according to the season of the year; and when the ceremony is over, they place them under their feet at the church door. On their return home, songs of love are sung before the new married couple, and the evening is spent in every sort of festivity. During these feasts, they still retain some Pagan customs, such as offering plates with corn and wine to the bridegroom, thereby pointing out, that the duty of man consists in all temporal things to cultivate the fruits of the earth, and the women to prepare them for proper use. That this was a practice observed by the heathens, will appear in the subsequent part of this work; but still we have some instances of it among the Jews, where we are told by the prophet, that corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the virgins. This may serve to shew, that there is, and always has been, a sort of affinity in religious sentiments, among all ancient nations, although they were not always placed upon the proper object, nor directed to the proper end.

They have many ridiculous ceremonies in burying their dead; but when we compare some of them with what we find in our own country, perhaps we are as ridiculous as they. They hire people of both sexes to attend funerals, all of whom are dressed in white, and without any connection with the deceased, they utter grievous lamentations, because he has been removed by death. And is it not equally ridiculous in we Protestants to hire men to appear in black, at the funeral of our deceased relations. When the body is put into the ground, holy water is poured, or rather sprinkled upon it, and the priest tolls a small hand bell, conjuring all evil spirits to keep away from the corpse. The relations cover the grave with baskets of flowers, intimating thereby, that as vegetation will create the beauties of the earth at the return of the season, so God will raise the dead body when Christ makes his second and glorious appearance to judge the world in righteousness. They visit the burying grounds from time to time, where they repeat several prayers for the repose of the souls of the departed; for it is their fixed opinion, that they, although removed by death, yet are well acquainted with the affairs of this world. This is not a new sentiment, nor is it easy for mortals to forget those who have been dear to them in this world, and the memory of whom they cannot forget.

Great regard, and the most reverential respect are paid to the bones and ashes of the deceased; and when graves are opened, they make enclosures, and pile up the remains, that no indecencies may be offered to them. Once in the year, they sprinkle the



bones with holy water, and pray to their titular saints to hasten the time of their restoration to a blessed immortality. Perhaps there is something more expressive in this part of their conduct than many are apt to attend to, for if we will seriously consider the natural temptations and dispositions of men, we shall find that a principle is implanted in every human mind, by which we are led to pay some respect to the dead; and indeed it may be added, that those who treat the remains of the dead with any marks of indignity, will never shew compassion, nor exercise acts of benevolence to the living.

In considering the religions of those people we have now been treating of, compared with what went before, namely, the Abyssinians or Ethiopians, several things present themselves to our consideration, which ought to be attended to with care, and properly improved by all those who live under the gospel dispensation, who profess their belief in Jesus, but who perhaps, at the same time, set too low a value upon their privileges.

And first let us learn, that ignorance leads the

mind astray from the purity of religion, and then the most monstrous acts of barbarity will take place, in consequence of embracing erroneous sentiments. Erroneous principles will at all times lead to immoral practices, and those who deviate from the ways of virtue, seldom know when or where to stop.

Secondly, it is dangerous to mix human passions with divine institutions, for God is not such as ourselves; his nature and his attributes are perfect, but we are poor, weak, imperfect creatures. In all actions, we should consider our dependance on the Divine Being, and unless we look daily for the influences of his holy spirit, we may naturally conclude, that he will leave us to our own vain imaginations, and then we are ruined.

Lastly, let us always remember what we are, lest we should sink into the same wretched state as those people whom we have just now mentioned; and instead of adhering to the pure doctrines of the gospel, we may degenerate down to a state of barbarism, and entail misery and infamy upon our children, our relations, and our dependents.

## HISTORY OF THE DIFFERENT PAGAN RELIGIONS IN THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

IN treating of this subject, much matter presents itself to our consideration; but we shall divide the whole into the following heads, under which we shall consider every thing necessary to be known, for the instruction and entertainment of the reader. First, the extent and situation of the Mogul's empire. Secondly, an account shall be given of the Bramins, their gods, their sentiments, and worship. Thirdly, the Banians, and all the other tribes inhabiting that country, excepting the Mahometans, &c. who will be treated of in their proper places.

Tamerlane, a very extraordinary person, who rose from an obscure original, availing himself of the confusion and anarchy which reigned in his own country (the eastern part of great Tartary) put himself at the head of an army of chosen men; and having quelled the disturbances that had long infested the state, the emperor of great Tartary gave him his daughter in marriage, and from that connection the present race of Mogul emperors are descended, and with whom many European nations have great commercial connections.

The people of the eastern parts of Tartary were called Moguls, and Tamerlane being their country-

man, marched at the head of a powerful and well-disciplined army into India, where, having subdued several of their ancient princes, he laid the foundation of that ancient empire about the year 1400. In one of his expeditions against the Turks, he took prisoner the famous Bajazet, sultan of the Ottomans, whom he treated at first with great humanity, but Bajazet was so insolent, that Tamerlane shut him up in an iron cage, where he dashed out his own brains.

Tamerlane lived many years in great splendour, but his successors having given themselves up to all sorts of licentiousness, the empire was reduced to the lowest ebb, when a great hero arose to restore it to its ancient splendour. The name of this illustrious person was Aurenzeb. He was born a little before the middle of the last century, and finding that it was his father's intention to disinherit him, he shut the old emperor up in prison, where he was treated with tenderness, but his son got himself proclaimed in his room.

He restored peace to the empire; and although he embraced the religion of Mahomet, yet such was his generosity of sentiment, that he granted a

free toleration to all the heathens who inhabited his dominions, and most of their rites remain to the present time.

The extent of the Mogul empire is great indeed: it contains all those provinces within the Ganges, besides many more beyond the bounds of that once celebrated country. Some parts of his dominions reach as far as the borders of China, and other parts to the English settlements at Madras. It is generally allowed, that the dominions of the great Mogul are the richest in the universe, but those riches consist chiefly of diamonds, and such other things as have been always considered, by wise men, as articles of luxury rather than utility: the use of them by Europeans, has tended much towards the corruption of our morals, and the enhancing the prices of provisions by the exorbitant value set upon landed estates. How far this madness may extend itself, God only knows, so that we shall not at present say any thing more concerning it, but proceed in the second place, to take notice of those gods or idols which are worshipped by the people.

In treating of the gods or idols of the Indian nations, we shall confine ourselves to the best accounts that have been transmitted to us by those who have visited the different places, and written what came under their own observation; and here the author is very happy in acknowledging himself indebted for some part of his materials to a learned German, who resided many years in India.

All those heathen Indians, when divided into tribes, have each a separate god, but they form such notions of his attributes and perfections, as in some cases, are not worthy of the meanest of the animal creation. They have books of considerable antiquity, containing rules of faith and duty, but they contradict themselves so often, that it appears evident they were written at different times, and by different persons. Some of them worshipped boiled rice, because it is the food they chiefly subsist on; but to understand their notions aright, we must give an historical account of their origin, and from that it will appear, that they have all along had some notion of a Trinity in the godhead, which probably was conveyed down to them by oral tradition, although now much obscured by darkness and fable.

Their writers say, that in the beginning God created a woman, whose name was, "Paraxacti," which signified sublime power, and this woman had three sons, the first of whom was born with five heads, and was called "Bruma," which signifies knowledge, and he was endued with the power of creating all inferior beings. The name of the second was "Vixnu," and he was to be the lord of providence, by preserving all things as they came from the hands of "Bruma." The third son was

named "Rutrem," and he had power given him to destroy all things which his other two brothers had made and preserved.

This "Rutrem," like his brother "Bruma," had five heads, and the three brothers agreed to marry their mother. It is related of Bruma, that desirous of taking his own daughter to wife, he assumed the form of a stag, and pursued his daughter till she got into a forest, where he lay with her; but his brothers, in an assembly of thirty thousand millions of gods, having heard what he had done, resolved to punish him by cutting off one of his heads. This punishment was inflicted by Rutrem, who, having found Bruma, tore off one of his heads with his nails, and since that time he has had only four heads.

But Bruma, not being satisfied with having married, or rather ravished his own daughter, took Sarassuadi, another woman to wife, who was reputed to be extremely learned, and she is still held in great veneration among the Indians. According to the notions of those heathens, the god Bruma writes upon the forehead of every new born child, an account of all that shall happen to him in this world, and that it is not in the power of God or man to prevent these things from taking place. Thus we find that the doctrine of fatality has taken place in the most early ages, and even in the most barbarous nations, but this subject must be considered afterwards.

Again it is related by the Indians of Vixnu, the second son of Paraxacti, and also one of her husbands, that he married Laximi, who for many years after, was worshipped under the form of a cow, and sometimes a horse. The Indian women wear the name of Laximi in a ribbon, tied round their necks or arms, and it is considered as a charm for the cure of all sorts of diseases, and likewise to preserve them from all sorts of accidents. It is said of this Vixnu, that he metamorphosed himself several times, which probably gave rise to the notion of the transmigration of souls, so commonly taught, both in China and many parts of the Mogul empire. It is added, that he first assumed the form and nature of a fish, and although no reason was assigned for this transmigration, yet it appears evident, that the whole represents the power he is believed to have over the waters. The second form he assumed, was that of a tortoise, and, indeed, for a very whimsical reason. The Indians believe that there are seven seas in the world, one of which is of milk, of so delicious a nature, that the gods eat butter made of it. Accordingly it happened one day, that when the gods wanted to feast on the butter according to custom, they brought to the shore of the sea of milk, a high mountain of gold, which the heathens believe supports the fourteen worlds, whereof this universe is

composed. The uppermost part of this mountain served them for a resting place, over which they brought an adder of a monstrous size, having an hundred heads, which at all times support the fourteen worlds. The gods made use of this adder as a rope, in order to get at the butter more easily, but while they were attempting to procure the butter, the giants, who have a continual hatred against the gods, drew the adder on the other side with so much violence, that it shook the whole frame of the universe, and sunk it so low, that Vixnu, assuming the form of a tortoise, placed himself under it, and supported it. In the mean time, the hundred-headed adder, being unable any longer to endure the pain the gods and giants had put him to, vomited upon the giants something of a poisonous nature, which killed many of them on the spot.

The next form assumed by Vixnu, was that of a beautiful woman, and such of the giants as remained alive, fell desperately in love with her. By this artifice, he amused the giants till the gods had eat all the butter, and then he vanished away in a moment and left them.

In his third incarnation, he changed himself into the form of a hog, in consequence of the following incident. One day a contest arose between the three gods, Bruma, Vixnu and Rutrem, concerning the extent of their power. Rutrem undertook to go and hide himself, and, at the same time, promised to submit himself to him who should first discover his head and feet. But if they could not find his head and feet, then the others were to acknowledge him as the supreme god. Bruma and Vixnu having given their consent, Rutrem immediately vanished, and hid his head and feet in places at a great distance from each other, where he imagined they could not be found. In the mean time, Bruma set out in search of the head, and that he might the more easily succeed, he transformed himself into the shape of a swan; but finding that he could not see any appearance of it, he resolved to return home. But just as he was going to give over his search, he met with a thistle-flower, which came and saluted him in a very courteous manner, and shewed him the place where Rutrem had hid his head. Immediately Bruma ran to the place, where he found his brother's head, who was vexed to think that what he imagined to be impossible, had been discovered. Rutrem, exasperated against the flower, pronounced a curse upon it, forbidding it ever to come into his presence; and this is the reason why his followers will not permit thistles to be brought into their temples in any part of the East-Indies.

The next thing to be done was to find out his feet, for which purpose Vixnu transformed himself into a hog, and ran up and down from place to place, digging into the bowels of the earth, but all to no

purpose; for he came out of the earth like a hog as he went in. He is, however, still worshipped under the form of a hog, and divine honours are paid to him, as to a celestial being.

The next forms that Vixnu assumed, were those of a man and a lion at the same time, the circumstances of which we shall relate as they have been transmitted to us. Rutrem conceived a strong friendship for one Iranian, a mighty giant, and granted him the singular privilege that no one should kill him either by day or by night: but this extraordinary grant, instead of having melted the giant into gratitude, had quite a different effect, for it made him proud, haughty, and insolent, and he even insisted upon being worshipped as a god. To punish the giant, Vixnu had recourse to a stratagem, he rushed out in the form of a cloud, and appeared suddenly before the giant in the shape of a monster, half man and half lion. This was towards evening, when Iranian was standing at the threshold of his door, Vixnu, throwing himself upon him, tore him to pieces, pulled out his bowels, and drank the last drop of his blood; but this had such an effect upon Vixnu's brain, that he has remained stupid ever since.

His fifth transformation was into a dwarf, of which the following account is given. During an early period, Magapelixacravanti, an enormous giant, was the only king upon earth, and a most blood-thirsty tyrant. The people addressed themselves to Vixnu, to be delivered from his tyranny, and he had compassion upon their afflictions, and resolved to destroy the detestable tyrant. Accordingly he transformed himself into the shape of a dwarf, and went to the city where the tyrant kept his court, begging of him a grant of three feet of ground to build himself a house. The tyrant was going to have granted a request of so trifling a nature, when the morning star, which attended him under the character of secretary of state, suspected there was some treason in the case. It was common when requests were granted, for the king to take water in his mouth, and pour some of it into the hand of the suppliant, and therefore the secretary, by the assistance of magic, slipped imperceptibly down the prince's throat, in order to prevent the water he had in his mouth from coming up again.

The magic, however, had not the desired effect; for the king finding something in his throat, forced a sharp instrument into it, which put out one of the secretary's eyes, and the water gushed out upon the head of Vixnu. Vixnu, willing to take possession of the place granted him, changed his form, and became so large that the whole earth was not sufficient to afford room for his feet. He then said to the king, you have given me three feet of earth, and yet the whole world can scarcely contain one of my feet, where am I to place the other? The tyrant



being sensible of his guilt, laid his head down before Vixnu, who, with one stroke, kicked it into the lowest abyss of hell. This wretched tyrant, finding himself condemned to hell, begged pardon and mercy of Vixnu; but all the favour that could be shewn him was, that one day's respite should be granted him annually, in order to assist at some particular ceremonies, to be observed in commemoration of that event, and which is still kept up by his followers, during the month of November; but excepting that day, once in the year, the tyrant was to be punished in hell for ever.

His sixth form was that of a man, and he was called Raniemi by the people of the east, for the following reasons: he subdued a great number of petty tyrants, and washed his hands in their blood, nor did he desist from fighting against them until they were totally destroyed. In the same form he destroyed many dreadful giants, some of whom had carried off his wife, and he had recourse to a most extraordinary stratagem, to discover the place where she was concealed. He ordered all the apes in the country to attend him, and these animals were so much overjoyed to meet with such an opportunity of doing service to Vixnu, that they assembled in a numerous body, and joined him with their reinforcements. Through the power of Vixnu, and the dexterity of the apes, the giants were overcome, subdued, and destroyed; and Raniemi, or Vixnu, regained his wife.

The last form he assumed was that of a black man, of which the following account is given:—There was a great tyrant named Campsen, a vicious prince, and a violent persecutor of all those who professed religion, and he had a sister named Exudi. It happened, that the soothsayers, having consulted the stars, told the king that Exudi would have eight children, and that he, the tyrant, would be killed by the youngest. This enraged him so much, that he destroyed seven of the children the moment they were born, which barbarous treatment threw the princess into the most violent agonies; but notwithstanding her affliction, she became pregnant of the eighth child, who was no less a person than the god Vixnu, who had artfully conveyed himself into her womb. This circumstance she was ignorant of, and not doubting but this child would be murdered in the same manner as the others, she begged of her husband, that as soon as she was delivered, he would carry the child into some desert place, there to be preserved from the fury of the king. But the king had so many spies, that he placed them every where, in order to murder the young prince. In this, however, he was disappointed; for the father escaped with the child, and committed him to the care of shepherds, whom he enjoined to instruct him in every thing

necessary, and to conceal the knowledge thereof from the king.

These poor shepherds performed their duty with secrecy and care; but at last the king found out where the child was concealed, and went and laid hold on him, in order to murder him with his own hands. At that instant the child vanished, and in his room appeared a little girl, whom the tyrant attempted to kill, but all his efforts proved in vain. It is impossible to express the rage of the tyrant, which was considerably increased by the girl disappearing, laughing at his menaces, and triumphing over his folly. Vixnu had so much knowledge, that in order to prevent the tyrant from finding out the place of his concealment, first sucked out all the milk from his nurse's breasts, and then sucked her blood, so that she died. He afterwards assumed the form of a shepherd, and one day having stolen a quantity of butter, he was detected and tied to a tree, where he was severely whipped; but growing up to a state of maturity, he raised an army and defeated the tyrant Campsen, whom he slew with his own hands. He afterwards married two wives, but neither of these pleasing him, he espoused sixteen thousand shepherdesses as concubines: but lest he should have been scourged by them in the same manner as was done by their fathers and relations while he lived amongst them, he multiplied himself in such a manner, that he lay with them all at one and the same time, making each of them believe that he was a single person, and thus he secured the love of the whole.

One day, while he was standing by the side of a pond, he saw a great number of beautiful women bathing themselves, and on a sudden took up all their clothes and carried them to the top of a tree which stood very near the pond; so that the women began to consider themselves as under the necessity of exposing their nakedness, and walking home in the same attitudes they came out of the water, to the scandal of their sex, and as a chastisement for their imprudence.

Finding themselves in such a state of perplexity, and not knowing what to do, they perceived large leaves growing in the water, which they plucked, and having bound them round those parts which should be concealed, they all approached the tree where Vixnu was, begging he would restore their clothes. This he refused to comply with unless they would lay both their hands on his head; and when they had done so, the leaves fell off, and they appeared stark naked, which was just what he wanted, and the only motive for carrying off their clothes. Bad as the god was, he restored the clothes, and the women went home in triumph; but still the people believe he will yet assume another form. They imagine he is to come in the shape

of a horse, but till such time as that metamorphosis shall take place, he is to wallow in a sea of milk, laying his head in the most delicious manner on a beautiful snake, which at the same time is to serve him both as a pillow and a bed. There are many other ridiculous stories told concerning Vixnu, which are not necessary to be repeated; but from the whole history of his transactions we may learn, that carnal notions of religion lead to carnal notions of God, and that those who can ascribe the worst of passions to those objects whom they worship with a religious veneration, are even beneath the dignity of those who profess no more than natural knowledge.

### *An account of the Indian god Rutrem.*

Rutrem, the third son of Paraxacti, is much respected by the people of that country; and yet from the accounts of him that have been transmitted to us, he must have been rather an object of detestation than of worship. He married Parvardi, daughter of a king of the mountains, with whom he lived a thousand years; but his two brothers, Bruma and Vixnu, having disapproved of the match, gathered together the thirty thousand millions of gods, and went in search of him. Accordingly he was found, and being dragged away from his wife, wandered up and down the world, spending his time in all sorts of lewdness. One day as he was walking along, the earth gave him a son with seven heads; but as there was no nurse to be procured, the seven stars undertook the office, and the monster was called Camarassuammi, which signifies "the son of the Lord." Parvardi, disconsolate for the loss of Rutrem, went every where in search of him; and one day while she was bathing, she begged the gods would give her a son; which request was complied with, for a child dropped out of the sweat of her forehead, whom she named Vinayaguien, the meaning of which was, "he had no God." In the mean time, Rutrem returned to his house, and finding the child, whom he knew not to be his own, became excessively enraged; but when he was told of the miraculous manner in which he was born, his hatred was turned into love, and he resolved to treat him as if he had been his own son, or rather to make him a god.

The king of the mountains made a solemn feast and sacrifice, to which the gods were invited; but Rutrem, his son-in-law, was not, which aggravated him so much, that he went to the place where his father-in-law was regalling his guests, and laying hold of one of the gods, he tore off from his head a handful of hair, which he threw upon the ground, and immediately a giant of an enormous size started up. The moment the monster appear-

ed, he reached up his hand to the firmament, and struck the sun with such violence, that he knocked out all his teeth; for which reason the Indians offer nothing to the sun but what can be eaten without teeth, such as butter, milk, ripe fruits, pap, &c. But not satisfied with knocking out the teeth of the sun, he likewise bruised the moon in such a manner, that the marks are visible at present. He then killed several of the guests, among whom was young Vinayaguien, whose head was cut off and thrown to the dogs. Rutrem afflicted to find that the giant was one of his own natural children, and finding that it was not in his power to replace the head of Vinayaguien, he cut off the head of an elephant, and fixed it so artfully on the shoulders of Vinayaguien, that the life was restored, and Rutrem immediately ordered his son to go and rove up and down through the world in search of a wife, upon this condition, however, that he should not marry till he could find one equal in beauty to his beloved mother Parvardi.

For this reason, the East-Indian Pagans always represent Vinayaguien with an elephant's head; and they tell us, that he has never yet found a woman in beauty equal to his mother. Sometime after this, Rutrem, by the command of the gods, set out in search of his brother Bruma, who had transformed himself into the shape of a stag, and cohabited with his own daughter in the forests, in a most scandalous manner; and at last meeting with him, he cut off one of his heads, which had such an effect upon him, that for some time he became distracted. In the midst of his afflictions, and in order to afford him some consolation, Rutrem married the river Ganges, which was represented under the form of a beautiful woman; but he had no children by her, because he was castrated.

At that time there was a giant named Pamejuran, who for several years had undergone a severe penance, for having offended Rutrem; but becoming sensible of his folly, desired to be absolved. This favour was granted him, with the privilege of reducing every thing to ashes upon which he laid his hands; a circumstance which gave Rutrem great uneasiness; but his brother Vixnu came at that moment to his assistance. Vixnu assumed the shape of a most beautiful woman, and the giant fell desperately in love with her, and forgot all thoughts of Rutrem, who was enjoying himself in a peaceful manner.

The amorous giant, not apprised of the snare that had been laid for him, went to bathe himself in the Ganges; but no sooner had he raised his hands to his head, than he was reduced to ashes. Vixnu, who had performed this exploit, quitted the shape of a woman and assumed his usual form; but at the same time told his brother what he had

done towards his preservation. At that instant Rutrem came out of a nut shell, where he had concealed himself, and told his brother he would be more circumspect for the future. He begged his brother would appear to him under the same form as he had done to the giant; but this part of his request was denied, because Vixnu was no stranger to his amorous disposition. This however did not satisfy Rutrem; for his brother was obliged to appear before him in the form of a beautiful woman. At the sight of so lovely an object, he forgot all his fortitude, and seemed to be entirely absorbed in love. Just at that instant a child appeared in the arms of Vixnu, which was to be considered as the son of Rutrem. This may serve to shew what are the leading principles among the heathen nations in the East-Indies; and now we shall go on to describe their practices in a more particular manner.

These idolators are divided into many different tribes, or casts, and some of them differ considerably in their religious worship, but all their priests are called Bramins. They are divided into two sorts, first, such as attend their temples, to offer up sacrifices; and, secondly, those who live single, and affect great austerity. All the children of these Indians are considered as unclean ten days after their birth. On the eleventh day, they cleanse all the vessels in the house. On the twelfth day, they light the sacred fire Homam, and repeat certain prayers, after which they give the child its name.

In their marriages they are very superstitious, and pay much regard to omens. The consent of the parents being obtained, and a fortunate day appointed, the parties meet, with the relations, when the bridegroom throws three handfuls of rice on the head of the bride, and she does the same to him. Then they are washed, and the Bramin pronounces a blessing on them. Part of the ceremony is performed by the father's putting water in the bride's hand, with a piece of money, telling her, she is now become the property of another, and he has no more power over her. The bridegroom hangs a ribbon to the bride's neck with a piece of money at the end of it, during which ceremony the Bramin prays; and in the evening the parties are, by torch light, carried home in a sedan by four men, when the whole is concluded by music and feasting.

When a person is taken ill, a Bramin comes and prays with him. They believe that two spirits, one good and the other bad, attend at the hour of death; and if the person has been good, he is carried away in a flying chariot, but if he has been wicked, the evil spirit carries him away to be judged according to his works. He is then sent back to rove about the earth ten days in the shape of a magpye; and for this reason, these people always after the death of

their relations feed a magpye ten days, imagining that a human soul may be in it.

The instant a man dies, his beard is shaved, his whole body is washed clean, line is put into his mouth, and the women rub his face over with rice. Then a Bramin preaches a sermon to the relations, and asks the widow of the deceased whether she is willing to be burnt along with her husband. If she refuses to be burnt, then she is not forced to it; but in a religious sense, she is considered as an impostor, and in temporal things she is discarded by every one, so that she has no prospect before her besides that of dying for want. When she consents, she is visited by the Bramins, who tell her, that she will meet with her husband the moment she expires, and that they will be eternally happy together.

Near the house where the deceased lived, a vast heap of wood is piled up, and the body laid upon it. The woman is then conducted to the funeral pile, accompanied by her relations and some Bramins; and if she is fearful, they say all they can to encourage her. When she arrives at the pile, she washes herself in a pool of clear water, and then her jewels and ornaments are taken off. The Bramins pray with her, and she gives them money, after which she wraps herself up in a yellow shroud, and walks to the place where her deceased husband's body lays; she takes in her hand a pot of oil, which she pours upon her head; and then the wood being set fire to, faggots are thrown over her, and the whole soon reduced to ashes. It is difficult to find out when this horrid practice first took place; but that what is here related is matter of fact, will appear from the testimony of those of the European nations, who have visited India within these few years.

In mourning for the dead they have various ceremonies, the principal of which is, shaving the beard; and all the slaves of the deceased are to comply with this custom. The ashes of the deceased are all carefully gathered up and thrown into the Ganges; for the waters of that river are considered as having something in them of a virtuous and holy nature. If the persons burnt were of an elevated rank, pagods or temples are frequently erected on the place where the pile had been reared.

The secular Bramins are obliged to observe several ceremonies, such as getting out of bed two hours before the sun rises, and repeating several prayers to their gods, after which they wash themselves, and sit down on a carpet with their faces turned to the east or to the north, but never to the west or south. The reason why they turn to the east is, because the sun rises in it, and towards the north, because they believe that some of their gods have their residence in that quarter of the heavens, so that those places are always considered by them as holy, and that they ought to be respected.



The first part of their worship consists in singing some hymns to the praise of their gods, and bathing themselves either in the Ganges or in some other consecrated river; but if they have not time to go to the river, they bathe at home. Being dressed, they again sit down, and pour some spring water into the hollow of their hands, and throw it upon their mouths. This being done, they repeat the twenty-four names of their gods, at the same time touching so many parts of their bodies. Such are the most common ceremonies of the secular Bramins, or in other words, the common officiating priests; but in the second place, those of their regulars or hermits, are so austere, that had we not clear proofs of the truth of it, we would be apt to doubt whether such a body of people ever existed in the world.

These regular Bramins are a set of men, who, under pretensions to the most superior sanctity, inflict on themselves the most severe corporeal punishments, believing that this will obtain the favour and approbation of their gods. Some of them make a solemn vow to walk with a square grate, or collar of iron round their necks, weighing twenty-four pounds, nor is it to be removed, either day or night, till such time as they have procured, by begging, as much money as will build an hospital.

Others of them erect a pole, almost in the form of a gibbet, to which they tie themselves, and swing over a slow fire, during the space of a whole hour, taking care to have the fire constantly fed with fuel. This is done in honour of an idol, called Eswara, who is believed to have great rewards to bestow in a future state, on all such as cheerfully submit to austere rites of that nature.

A third sort get themselves chained to the foot of a tree, and remain in that position during the rest of their lives, being supplied with herbs and a bottle of water daily, from the neighbouring villages; for the people consider them as beings, far superior to common mortals.

A fourth sort walk in pairs together, carrying heavy iron chains, one end of which are fixed to their legs, and the other to their shoulders. Some have nails struck through the soles of their shoes, and notwithstanding the severity of the pain, they will often walk with them several days together.

The inhabitants of all nations in the universe believe in the necessity of an atonement for sin, before men can be justified by the Supreme Being; and although very unworthy notions have been formed concerning the existence of such an essential point in religion, yet it does not follow that the principle itself is false. Nay, it rather proves the contrary, for there is something in every man's conscience which points out to him that he has offended God, and that some atonement must be made, either by

himself or by another. Now these heathens in India believe, that an atonement has been made for their sins, and they are to have the choice of enjoying the benefit of it on two conditions: either they are to visit several holy cities at a vast distance from each other; or secondly, they are declared to be absolved, in consequence of their repeating the names of their gods twenty-four times every day. Such as visit the holy places, offer up a sacrifice; and on the tail of the victim is written the name of the penitent, with the nature of his offence. This practice seems to have been universal in ancient times; it was so among the Greeks, the Romans, the Carthaginians, and the Jews; and the prophet Isaiah alludes to it, when he says of Christ, "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows." Isaiah liii. 4.

The Bramins believe, that there are in heaven five different states or degrees of glory, to which the souls of virtuous persons are conveyed after death. The first of these mansions is called Xoarcam, where the king of the gods resides, with a great number of wives and concubines. The second is Vaicundam; and there Vixnu resides with his wives, and a certain bird, somewhat like a hawk, upon which he rides as on a horse. The Bramins teach, that all the virtuous followers of Vixnu go into this habitation when they die, and where their natures are changed, so as to resemble that of their god.

The third mansion is Cailasam, and this they believe to be a very high mountain of silver, situated towards the north, and inhabited by Rutrem, with his wife and all his concubines, and a bull upon which he rides. The Bramins teach, that all the worshippers of Rutrem go to this place when they die, where they are for ever happy in beholding the countenance of their god. Some are employed in cooling him with fans, others in holding gold spitting-boxes to him, some in holding lighted torches during the night, and others in bringing him whatever necessities he wants.

The fourth mansion of glory is called Brumalagam; and there Bruma resides with his wife Sarasuadi, attended by a large swan, on which he rides abroad; for this god is said to be much addicted to travelling.

Above all these, is the fifth seat of glory, where the first principle of all things resides. All those who have lived the most innocent and exemplary lives, are waited hither after death, where they are for ever united to their god.

With respect to hell, the Indians believe that it is situated at a vast distance below this world, and that there is a president in it called Yhamadar, who has a secretary, named Nitragupten; who during the life of a man, writes down all his good or bad ac-

tions, and presents his memorial to the president, the moment the soul of the deceased comes before him. This infernal president is said to be very just and equitable, and distributes rewards and punishments, according to merits or demerits. Some souls are, according to their notions, sent back to inhabit other bodies in this world, while others are tormented in the most cruel manner in hell. If a dying person takes hold of a cow by the tail, and the Bramin pours a little water into his hand, and receives a small sum of money; then when he comes to cross the dreadful fiery river, which separates earth from eternity, the cow will, by his laying hold of her tail, carry him safe over.

It is considered as incumbent upon all those who would be considered as faithful Bramins, to go frequently on pilgrimages to the temples of their gods; and when they arrive, they are enjoined to perform several penances of a very austere nature. Some of them slash themselves in the most unmerciful manner with knives, to make an atonement for their crimes, imagining that will be the utmost satisfaction to their gods. Others confine themselves in cages, which are placed on the top of a pole, and the penitent, having no room to turn himself, is tortured with the most excruciating pain. In his sight are placed the figures of two idols, whom he is obliged to adore all the time he remains in that painful situation. Some are to spend their whole time in feeding birds, it being generally imagined that souls reside in them. Some plunge themselves into the Ganges, in hopes of being devoured by crocodiles; and others murder themselves at the altars of their gods.

Great part of their religious service consists in dancing, a practice of very great antiquity. In their temples, the men and women dance together, using the most indecent postures, which serve as a stimulation to all manner of debauchery; but this is exactly consistent with the notions they form of the attributes of their idols. They adore serpents in the most religious manner, because they believe them to be inhabited by departed spirits, and they foretel great success in consequence of meeting them on a journey. Many of their children are named after particular sorts of serpents; and when they find adders in their houses, they offer them milk, and beg of them to depart in peace; but when the reptiles do not obey, they send for all the Bramins in the neighbourhood, who offer up prayers to their gods to take them away; it being contrary to their law to do them any injury.

When they pitch upon a field where they intend to build a pagod or temple, they turn a cow loose in it towards evening, leaving her to range at large till the morning. As soon as the sun rises, they search narrowly around the field to discover the

place where the cow laid herself down, and on that spot they erect their temple.

In all their temples, cow's dung is spread over the floor, for they have such a veneration for that animal, that in all their sacrifices they pour some of its milk on their altars. Their priests, like the heathen Greeks and Romans, pretend that their gods have oracles, by which they can foretel future events, and this notion is believed by the people. When several persons have been suspected of stealing any thing, but the guilty cannot be fixed on, the priest write the names on different pieces of paper, and lay them down before the altar in a circular form, after which they invoke the oracle, and withdraw, having locked the doors, that no person can get in. When they return, and find any of the papers removed, that person whose name is upon it, is declared to be the criminal. It is common for their priests when they address their oracles, to feign themselves in convulsion fits, and remain in seemingly great agonies some hours. Then after some groans, they stand up and tell the people what was revealed to them by the oracle.

They observe several festivals, particularly a sort of carnival which lasts several days; during which they assemble in vast crowds together, and dance to all such tunes as they are acquainted with. The Bramins attend in their garments, having their heads covered with something like horns standing upright. This feast lasts twenty-four days, and besides it they have a feast of eleven days each month. They are on these feasts to eat only a handful of beans, pease, or fruits, with about a spoonful of milk, and this they must take towards the evening.

With respect to learning among the Bramins, it consists in teaching the pupils a language named *Hanscrit*, which not being known among the lower orders of the people, may be considered as the learned languages are to the Europeans. The book written in this language is called *holy*, and is exactly the same to them as the bible is to us. The Bramins say, that this book contains the first language ever spoken in the world; yet although it is acknowledged to be of very great antiquity, it cannot, by any means, reach so far back as the time of Moses.

Having made themselves masters of this work, which is extremely difficult, because they have no good grammar, they next proceed to study the *purnance*, which is a sort of commentary upon it, containing many things that have been handed down by tradition.

As there are different sects among the Bramins in religion, so they have six sects of philosophers, and one of these is considered in the same manner as we do atheists. They have no skill in anatomy, and as to their tables of astronomy and chronology,

they are not worth mentioning. When the moon is eclipsed, they believe she is fighting with a blackly devil. They imagine the night is created by the sun's withdrawing himself behind a mountain, where he retires to rest, and in the morning makes his appearance.

Such is the religion of the principal tribes who form the vast empire of the Great Mogul; and when we consider the deplorable state to which they are reduced, with respect to the knowledge of the true God, it must fill us with sorrow to reflect, that so many of our fellow-creatures are still unacquainted with the gospel. During the last century, the pious Mr. Boyle procured a person at a great expense, to translate the new testament into their language, and had many printed copies of it sent over to the European settlements in the East Indies. The kings of Denmark have been at a great expense in sending missionaries among them; but it does not appear that ever the right methods were attempted.

It is long since we have had settlements in different parts of the East Indies; but our merchants have been too intent in acquiring immense fortunes, to use any means towards promoting the salvation of thousands of immortal souls, who are still sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death. It would be much to their honour, and equally so to their interest, to have books translated into their

own language, that the people, seeing the purity of our religion, would not only embrace it, but would enter into a commercial state of friendship with us. This would be a more glorious action than subduing an empire, or acquiring as much money as would purchase one.

Wherever the arms of heathen Rome subdued the people with the loss of their liberties, they received a double advantage. First, they became polite, and acquired the knowledge of the arts and sciences: and secondly, after the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great, they embraced the Christian religion. The Jesuits have made many converts to popery, among the heathens in different parts of the world; but the Jesuits are not properly qualified for making converts, and the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome cannot make much impression on those who have ceremonies as gaudy of their own.

Upon the whole, this is a very serious, a very important subject, and ought to be attended to, especially by those persons who have acquired opulent fortunes in the East Indies. Would they enjoy a blessing upon them, and transmit them to their children, let them do something towards enlightening the minds of those persons who, if properly instructed, might become ornaments of society, of human nature, and of Christianity.

## RELIGION OF THE CHINESE.

CHINA, one of the most extensive empires in the world, is situated in the northern and eastern parts of Asia, and has been long famous for the knowledge of many curious arts with which we Europeans are still but little acquainted. They profess to have an exact uninterrupted genealogy of kings during a series of twenty-four thousand years, which is upwards of eighteen thousand years before the Mosaic account of the creation. For this, however, they have no other authority besides tradition, and it is well known, little regard should be paid to what is not supported by written evidence.

It is true they have books, containing the whole accounts of these genealogies; but these books were compiled in latter times, nor should any regard be paid to them. That they are a people of great antiquity, little doubt can remain, and probably a colony was settled there soon after the deluge, altho' we never find them mentioned in ancient history, but perhaps they are spoken of under another name.

Some have supposed them to be a colony from ancient Egypt, because of their religious rites and ceremonies being in many respects the same; but this is altogether improbable, when we consider the vast distance there is between Egypt and China.—Similarity of religious sentiments is no proof; for in ancient times there were but few differences among idolators, concerning the nature of worship; some of them were more gross than others, but all of them were bad enough.

Eusebius says, that Christianity was first preached to the Indians, by St. Thomas the Apostle; and the Jesuits say, that there are still some remains of it in China, at least that they have a traditional account; but if ever that apostle was in China, and preached the gospel, it was either rejected or not much remembered afterwards. At present, and for many years, the Chinese have been gross idolators, and pay divine honours to many gods, particularly to Fo or Foe, who for his great and illustrious actions,



was deified and worshipped above a thousand years before Christ's incarnation.

The account the Chinese give of this Foe, is, that he was born in that part of their empire which they call Chung tien Cho, and that he was the son of a king, that his mother, while she was with child of him, dreamed that she had swallowed an elephant. As soon as he was born, he stood upright, and walked seven paces, pointing with one hand to heaven, and with the other to the earth, uttering, at the same time, the following words, "There is none in heaven, or on earth, that ought to be adored but myself." When he was only turned of seventeen, he married three wives; and two years afterwards retired to a solitary place, where he put himself under the direction of four philosophers; under their tuition he learned all they could teach him, and at thirty, being divinely inspired, he considered himself as a god. He soon after began to work the most wonderful miracles, of which the Chinese relate a great number, and they have whole volumes giving an account of them. He is said to have, in the compass of a few years, gained over to his notions eighty thousand disciples, whom he sent to teach his doctrines throughout the empire of China.

Ten of those disciples were of a much higher rank than the others, and it is said, that they published upwards of five thousand volumes of their master's works. Finding himself near death, he told his disciples, that till that moment he had concealed the truth of his doctrine, but now he would make it public to them, "Learn then (said he) that the principle of all things is emptiness and nothing; from nothing all things proceeded, and into nothing all will return, and this is the end of all our hopes."

However, some of his disciples adhered to what he had formerly taught them, and the doctrine they now teach is directly opposite to Atheism. The rest of his disciples abode by this impostor's dying words, which laid the foundation of many of those ridiculous ceremonies which now prevail in China.

Many stories were told after his death, namely, that he had been born eight thousand times, that his soul had passed through the bodies of many different animals, and that he had appeared in the shape of an ape, an elephant, a dragon, &c. In consequence of these ridiculous stories, all those animals through which his soul was said to have passed, were afterwards worshipped as gods.

In every province in China, there are temples erected on mountains, where the people go in pilgrimage to worship, and some of these are held in greater esteem than others. When these pilgrims arrive at the foot of the mountains, they kneel down, and do so at every step as they ascend. During the whole of the procession, they sing hymns in honour of Foe; but as there are two sects among them,

violent enemies to each other, so it often happens that they quarrel before they reach the temple.

The first doctrine taught by Foe, is called the exterior, and consists of some very good rules of morality, namely, that there is a great difference between good and evil, and that there are rewards and punishments in future state: that the good Foe, was born to save the world and expiate the sins of men; that there are five precepts to be observed, namely, that no living creature is to be killed; not to steal any thing from another; to abstain from all sorts of impurity; the fourth prohibited lying; and the fifth forbade the drinking of wine. To these they added the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and this is still believed by the generality of the people.

With respect to the interior doctrine, very few are suffered to be made acquainted with its mysteries. It is the same as that taught by Foe, in the last moments of his life, and which some of his disciples have endeavoured to propagate. As was said before, they teach that nothing is the principle of all things. That beings differ only according to their shapes and qualities; and, that in order to become like the first quality, we must accustom ourselves to do nothing, and to desire nothing, to see nothing, and to think of nothing. That all holiness consist in being reduced to one original nothing, when all the faculties of the soul shall be dissolved. They add further, that when a man has once attained to this happy state, he will be perfect without being in want of any thing.

Some of those who pretend to knowledge among the Chinese, having embraced this stupid senseless system of atheism, and among others the emperor Kao Isong resigned his crown to his son, that he might have an opportunity of studying it in order to be like the god Foe.

Another of the Chinese idols is called Chim Hoam, and always worshipped as the guardian of cities. There is an ordinance in China, that all public magistrates, when they enter upon office, shall go in procession to the temple of this idol, and sacrifice to him candles, perfumes, wine, flowers, and the flesh of different animals. This ceremony they are likewise to repeat twice every year, upon pain of incurring the emperor's displeasure, and being suspended from their offices. And when they take possession of their places, they are obliged to swear, before this idol, that they will do justice to every man, otherwise they are to be severely punished.

Chines, is a name given to a great number of idols in China, which are not in the shape of any living creature, but as temples built in the form of a pyramid. The Pagans have such a veneration for these idols, or rather pyramids, that when they purchase a slave, they carry him before one of them, and pray that if he shall desert the service of his master, that

he may be devoured by tigers. This keeps the poor wretches in much awe, for although they are often cruelly treated, yet they are afraid to run away.

In the province of Takién, near the walls of the city of Fohicou, is one of those Chinese nine stories high. It is built in the form of an octagon, and its perpendicular height is nine hundred cubits. It is adorned with several curious figures, and the whole of the outside is faced with porcelain. There is at every story a colonnade of marble, surrounded by an iron balustrade, which gives the whole a most splendid appearance, and on the top is a gilt idol.

The Chinese, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, have gods whom they imagine superintended all their public affairs, each having his own department. Thus Ti-Can is considered as the supreme director of their treasures, and who conducts the dispensing of their riches. His image is placed on a very high altar, with a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, the whole being gilt over; so that it makes a most glorious appearance when the sun shines. Eight images, as his attendants, stand around him, all dressed and decorated in the same manner; and on the walls of the temple are displayed the punishments of the damned in hell. Above the idol is inscribed in letters of gold, "He who shall humble himself, and say his prayers a thousand times before me, shall be delivered from these torments."

Ram, a god much worshipped by the people of China, is greatly esteemed by those of a lower rank. It is said that while on earth, he was a noted persecutor, and made so many converts to the doctrines of transmigration, that, after his death, he was honoured as a god. It is further added, that he passed through no less than four-score thousand transigrations, in the last of which he appeared under the shape of a white elephant, and by that symbol he is now worshipped in all his temples. It is generally believed, that he was one of the chief disciples of Foe, in the exterior form of doctrine, because all his followers profess those sentiments. His temples are for the most part in the country, and the sacrifices offered up to him consist of the fruits of the earth, milk, vegetables, and such other things as the seasons will produce.

As all ancient heroes were deified among the heathens, so the Chinese tell us that Quante-Cong, their first prince and law-giver, was, for his great actions, made a god. He was the first who introduced among them the fashion of wearing decent apparel; for before his time they were accustomed to go almost naked. He brought them under some sort of a regal form of government, and prevailed upon them to build towns and cities. For this reason, in all the temples dedicated to him, he is represented under a most gigantic form, and sitting on a table, with a taper placed before him. On the

table several books are placed, and behind him stands his attendant Lincheu, in appearance equally as formidable as himself.

Caug-y is worshipped among the Chinese as the god of the lower heavens, and it is believed by them that he has the power of life and death. He has always three ministering spirits to attend him; the first of whom sends down rain to refresh and nourish the earth; the second is the god of the sea, to whom all their navigators make vows, and perform them upon their return home; and the third presides over births, and is called the god of war. It is probable that some ancient astronomer among the Chinese was, and still is, worshipped under this name, especially when we find him represented as the god of the lower heavens.

The religion and philosophy of the Chinese are so blended together, that there is no such thing as separating them; they partake of each other, nor is there any great difference, as will appear from what we are now going to relate concerning a sect among them, who seem to have been a sort of epicureans, that did not pay much regard to moral duties. This sect is named Tao-sse, and owes its rise to one Lao-Kuin, who according to the account delivered to us by his disciples, was not born till forty years after his conception. He is said to have been an eminent philosopher, and there are many books of his still extant, replete with the finest maxims of morality; and yet those who pretend to be his disciples, are considered by many of the Chinese as no better than atheists or epicureans. They boast that they can make a liquor which will make them immortal, and are persuaded that by the assistance of spirits whom they invoke, they can obtain all things. Some of the Chinese mandarins were so stupid as to believe that they could avoid death, and several of the emperors gave countenance to that notion. This sect flourished many years in China; but unless it be among the vulgar, they have now fallen much into disrepute.

The Chinese worship a goddess whom they call Puzza, and of whom their priests give the following account. They say that three nymphs came down from heaven to wash themselves in a river, but scarce had they got into the water, before the herb Lotos appeared on one of their garments, with its coral fruit upon it. They were surprized to think from whence it could proceed: and the nymph, upon whose garment it was, could not resist the temptation of indulging herself in tasting it. But by thus eating some of it, she became pregnant and was delivered of a boy, whom she brought up, and then returned to heaven. He afterwards became a great man, a conqueror and legislator; and the nymph was afterwards worshipped under the name of Puzza. She is represented as sitting on the

flower Lotos, and has sixteen hands armed with knives, swords, halberds, books, fruits, plants, wheels, goblets, vials, and many other things needless to be mentioned.

Phelo, another of their idols, is worshipped because he first discovered the making salt; but his ungrateful countrymen not making him that recompence which his merits entitled him to for so useful an invention, he left them in great indignation, and never was heard of afterwards. They have a festival in honour of his memory, in the beginning of June, upon which occasion they adorn their houses with boughs of trees. At the same time they fit out vessels, in which they sail round the coast, singing hymns, and calling aloud for their beloved Phelo.

Besides the sects and gods already mentioned, there are many others in China, particularly the sect of Laotun, who is said to have been born six hundred years before Christ. This impostor boasted himself to be the offspring of heaven; and in order to make his disciples believe this story, he said that he had lain concealed in his mother's womb fourscore and one years, and that the moment before she expired, he issued out of her, through a passage in her left side, made by himself. He soon gained a great number of followers, because he taught them many things agreeable to their lusts and passions.

The principal parts of his doctrines were, that God was corporeal, and that he sat at ease and peace in heaven, governing the world by subordinate deities. He taught that all happiness consisted in pleasure, and was confined to this life. This notion induced his disciples to do every thing they could imagine to prevent death, by prolonging life till the latest period. It was this that first induced them to study chemistry, as the grand preservative of life, and for some time, they were so vain as to believe they would never die. But instead of prolonging life, they shortened it, by giving themselves up to drunkenness, uncleanness, and every sort of debauchery they could think of.

The morals of the people of China having been shockingly corrupted by the errors and blasphemies of these impostors, a person arose to reform all the abuses that had crept in, whether relating to government, religion, morals or philosophy. This illustrious person was Confucius, a man, noble by birth, of a sweet natural temper, and adorned by a liberal education. According to the best accounts, he was born about four hundred and fifty years before the incarnation of our Saviour, and we shall here relate what is said concerning him.

The Chinese priests told the Jesuits, that as soon as Confucius was born, two dragons came to guard him against all sorts of harm; and that the stars bowed down to salute him. When he was about

seventeen years of age, he made a most judicious choice of the best ancient authors, and made an extract from them of every thing that was valuable towards improving his mind. When he was about twenty, he married and had a son, but soon after parted with his wife, lest she should interrupt him in his studies.

Having acquired a large share of knowledge, he was solicited to act as a civil magistrate; but not relishing that employment, he opened a school for the instruction of youth, and we are told he had no less than five thousand pupils. These he divided into classes, seventy of whom assisted him in teaching the higher classes, and one hundred and fifty instructed the younger ones. He laid down excellent precepts for the regulation of their conduct in the practice of virtue, whether civil or social, and he prevailed with the women not to wear any thing ungraceful, or unbecoming their sex.

In study, and in the practice of every virtue, public and private, this great man lived till he was seventy years of age, and at last died of grief, when he beheld many corruptions that had taken place among his disciples. But although little regard was paid to his precepts when alive, yet the highest honours were shewn to him after his death. The whole empire went into mourning for him.

He left many books behind him, which, considering the time and place, when and where he lived, and besides that he was a heathen, one will be surprized to find in them so many fine sentiments, respecting moral duties. These pieces, or extracts from them, are to be found in the first volume of Duhalde's history of China.

It is generally allowed that the Chinese, like all other heathens, acknowledge that there is one universal Supreme Being; but they admit that there are many demi-gods who act under him. We have already given an account of the sect of Foe, some times called Xekia, and we shall now proceed to describe the manner in which they offer up sacrifices to Confucius, and in general to the rest of their idols. There are several temples erected for this illustrious person, and all those temples are built in the form of obelisks or pyramids.

The governor of the city where the temple stands, is always the sacrificing priest, and he is assisted by all the learned men in the neighbourhood, who meet the evening before the sacrifice is performed, and provide rice and all sorts of grain, which are set on a table before the altar of Confucius. A table is placed in the court before the temple, illuminated with wax tapers, fire for the sacrifice, and rich perfumes. He then makes choice of hogs, and such other beasts as are to be sacrificed, by pouring wine on their ears, and if they shake their heads, they are deemed proper objects, but if otherwise,



then they are rejected. Before the hog and the other beasts are killed, the priest makes a reverential bow, and then they are slain in his presence. When their throats are cut, they make a second reverence, after which the hair is scraped off, and the entrails taken out, but the blood is preserved till the ensuing day. As soon as the cock crows in the morning, a signal is given, and the priest with his assistants, light up the tapers, and throw perfumes into the censers. Then the master of the ceremonies orders the choir to sing, and the priest standing before the altar, says, "Let the hair and the blood of the dead carcase be offered up in sacrifice." Then another of the priests takes up the bason, in which the blood and hair are intermingled, and the master of the ceremonies says, "Let the blood and the hair be buried." Immediately the priests carry it out, and bury the bason with the contents in the court before the chapel. This being done, they uncover the flesh of the sacrifice, and the master of the ceremonies says, "May the soul of Confucius descend upon it." The sacrificing priest then takes up a chalice filled with wine, and pours it upon the image of a man composed of straw. The image of Confucius is then placed on the altar, and the following ejaculation repeated. "O! Confucius, thy virtues are godlike and inimitable! our emperors themselves are obliged to thee; for it is by thy unerring principles that they regulate their conduct. All our obligations to thee are pure and perfect. O! let thy enlightened spirit descend upon us, and assist us by its presence."

When the priest has repeated this short prayer, the people fall down on their knees, but in a few minutes rise again. When the priest washes his hands and wipes them with a towel or napkin, one of the inferior priests supplies him with a bason, a towel, and a chalice full of wine, and then the master of the ceremonies chants aloud, "Let the priests go near the throne of Confucius." Upon that the sacrificing priest kneels down, and presents a piece of silk and a cup of wine to Confucius. The silk is then burnt in a fire-pan, while all the people kneel down; and then the priest addresses himself to Confucius, in the following words: "Thy virtues surpass those of all the saints that ever lived before thee; our oblations are but trifles; all we beg is, that thy spirit would vouchsafe to hear us."

This part of the ceremony being over, the master of the sacrifice says, in a chanting tone, "Let us drink the wine of blessing and true happiness," ordering at the same time, all the people to kneel down. After this, the officer attending puts into the hands of the priest a chalice full of wine, and the master of the ceremonies chants again, "Drink the wine of true happiness," and the priest drinks it. Then the officer puts into the hands of the priest, a

piece of the flesh, and the master of the ceremonies chants aloud, "Partake of the flesh of the sacrifice." This being over, the priest says, "When we offer this sacrifice, we live in expectation of receiving thereby all the comforts of this life." The remainder of the flesh is distributed among all the people present; and consistent with the ancient and general notion of sacrifices, all those who taste it, believe that Confucius will be gracious unto them.

The last ceremony is that of re-conducting home the soul of Confucius, which they imagine was present and assisted at the sacrifice. This is done by the priest's repeating the following prayer: "We have offered up our oblations to thee, with the utmost reverence and respect, we have implored thee to be present at our sacrifices, of a sweet smelling savour, and now we accompany thy soul to heaven." During this ceremony they kneel, and it is an established rule, that those of the highest rank should be present.

When the sacrifice is over, what remains of the food is distributed among the people, and they are at liberty, either to carry it home or to eat it in the temple. These remains of the flesh are given to the children in hopes that the virtue they are endowed with, will one day make them celebrated persons; and the remains of the silk offered to Confucius, are distributed among the girls to dress babies with, imagining, that while they preserve those precious relics, they will be preserved from every danger.

On the 14th of August every year, they have a solemn sacrifice, in commemoration of their ancestors, and it is performed in a temple in the following manner:—the priest being seated on a carpet with two of his attendants, one on each side, in the middle of the square before the temple, the master of the ceremonies orders the sacrifices to begin. The people then fall down on their knees, and instantly rise up again in the most decent manner. Round the walls of the temples are many inscriptions in memory of their ancestors; and towards these the priests, followed by the people, approach with decent reverence, and perfume them with incense. Then the master of the ceremonies orders the bread and wine of blessing and true happiness to be offered up. The priest then takes up the chalice and pours out the wine. At the same time he delivers the following speech to the people:—"Let all those who have assisted at this sacrifice be assured of receiving some particular favours from their ancestors, in return for all those grateful oblations which you have in this public manner now made unto them. You shall be honoured and respected by all men, live to a good old age, and enjoy all the blessings this life can afford." After this they set fire to the sacrifice, which consists of the flesh of different animals; and then having saluted the

walls of the temple three times, and fetched three groans, they depart. It has been asked, with what propriety can the Chinese pray for their dead, seeing they believe in the transmigration of souls? This question would be unanswerable, were it not that we are assured they have very confused notions of a theological nature. But they believe that such souls as have been virtuous are to go in the transmigration, and many of them are at a certain time taken up to heaven and placed among the gods.

That the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul hath a strong effect on the minds of the Chinese, will appear from the following anecdote in father Le Compte's history of China. That Jesuit, who resided upwards of twenty years in the country, and made some converts to Popery, was one day sent for by a dying man, whom he found in great agonies, because his priest had told him that his soul was to go into a horse, and that the horse being a stubborn one, would be whipped so severely that he would die, and then he was to pass into that of a toad. The Jesuit endeavoured to convince him of the falsity of such doctrines, and having baptized him, the man died in peace. The Chinese have a notion that every one who kills a dragon or a giant, ought to be worshipped as a god, but as they have already a vast number of gods, so they imagine that most of the dragons and giants have been already destroyed. These sentiments are not new, for even in this island we find stories of giants and dragons in Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history. It is remarkable that Voltaire, one of the greatest deistical writers in the present age, often tells us, that the government of China is the best in the world, but had he attended to what is related by his countrymen the Jesuits, he would never have made such a bold assertion. Can that be a well regulated government where the people are in a manner devoured by impostors, who rather than work for an honest subsistence, go begging from place to place? and if the people refuse to give them alms, they immediately tell them that their souls shall go into the bodies of rats and mice, snakes, toads, serpents, and other reptiles. Their bonzes or monks, go two and two together; and, according to Le Compte, they are a parcel of idle, dissolute fellows, who herd together like swine, and live upon the wages of the industrious.

It sometimes happens, that the people either cannot, or will not relieve them; upon which the idle impostors assume the characters of penitents, and perform several acts of austerity, which have too often the desired effect on the minds of the vulgar. Some of them go from house to house, dragging heavy chains after them, and when they come to the door, they cry out in a canting tone, "It is by these austere penances that we make an atonement for your sins." Some place themselves by the sides of

the highways, and when they see a traveller come up, they fall down and knock their heads against stones. Others put some particular drugs on their heads, and set fire to them to excite compassion; for the people, imagining them to be in great pain and torture, generally give them something. These, however, are no more than the tricks of artful impostors, who by studying chemistry, can easily delude the vulgar, by making them believe they are in real torment, when in truth they feel no pain at all.

Father Le Compte tells us, that one day he accidentally met with a young bonze or monk, in the market-place of a country town, whose air and deportment were graceful, sweet, and modest. He stood upright within a sedan, thick set with long sharp-pointed nails, fixed as close by one another as could be, in such a manner that it was impossible for him to turn to the one side or the other without having his body pierced. Two fellows hired for the purpose, carried him from house to house, where he begged the people would have compassion on his miserable condition. "I am (said he) confined in this chair for the benefit and advantage of your precious souls, and I am determined never to stir out, till I have sold every nail you see in it, which are ten thousand in number, and all I demand for one is only ten-pence, though each is worth its weight in gold." This induced some of the people to buy as many of them as they could afford; and within a few days afterwards he sold them all.

There are in China another set of vagabonds, who, we may respects, resemble our stage mountebanks in Europe; and some of them are so artful that they will get upon the backs of tygers, tamed for the purpose, and ride from town to town, without being under the least apprehension from those ferocious animals, although they are neither bridled nor muzzled. These impostors have always along with them a large retinue of beggars and penitents, that bestow on each other a considerable number of lashes, to excite the compassion of the people. They have another sort of beggars, who under pretence of devotion, live in caves in the woods and the rocks, and are supported by the contributions of the people, who, looking upon them as saints, consult them from time to time in every thing of importance, for what they say is considered as coming from God himself.

Some of these friars live together in convents, in the woods, and are supported at the expense of government; but in general they are collected from the very dregs of the people, and one part of their employment is to attend the funerals of the deceased. They are divided into four orders, namely, the white, black, yellow, and red; and they have one principal who resides always at court, several deputies being appointed to act under him. They take a vow of

chastity, but when it is found that they break it, then they are punished in the following manner :

They bore a hole in his neck with a red hot iron, and thrust a chain through the wound, of about sixty feet in length, and in that deplorable condition, and naked as he was born, lead him all over the city, till he has collected a particular sum of money for the use of the convent to which he belongs. Another monk follows him, and whips him severely, when he attempts to lay hold of the chain to mitigate his pain. They have also nuns in China, but their number is very inconsiderable, in comparison with that of the monks ; they have their heads shorn quite bare, nor are they suffered ever to go abroad.

The feast of lanterns is one of the most remarkable among the Chinese, and is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the first month every year. Every person is obliged, on the evening of that day, to set out a lantern before his door, and these are of various sizes and prices, according to the different circumstances of those to whom they belong. During this festival, they have all sorts of entertainments, such as plays, balls, assemblies, dancing, music, and the lanterns are filled with a vast number of wax candles, and surrounded with bonfires. During the whole of the festival, it seldom happens that any irregularities take place ; for, excepting the monks already mentioned, the people are in general very sober, and obedient to their laws.

The Chinese ascribe the origin of this festival to the following melancholy occurrence. One evening, as the daughter of a mandarin was walking by the side of a river, she fell in and was drowned. The disconsolate father, in order to recover the body, put out to sea, attended by all the people in the neighbourhood, each carrying lanterns ; but after a fruitless search, they were obliged to return. The mandarin was much beloved by the people, and therefore, upon the annual return of the day, when this unhappy circumstance took place, all those who had known the young woman, went with lanterns to the sea side, so that in time it became an established custom.

But there are some others of the Chinese, who ascribe the origin of the festival of lanterns to a quite different cause. They say, that many hundred years ago, one of their emperors proposed to shut himself up along with his wives and concubines, in a most magnificent palace he had erected on purpose, and that he caused every window in the building to be grandly illuminated with wax candles in lanterns, that he might have the pleasure to behold, as it were, a new sky as a canopy over his head. This occasioned an insurrection among the people, because the emperor neglected the affairs of government, and they demolished the costly pa-

lace. That this shameful part of his conduct might never be forgotten, they hung out lanterns all over the town, and the practice has been kept up ever since.

They have another festival, at the time when the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and on that occasion the most solemn sacrifices are offered. In every town throughout the empire, the chief magistrate, being crowned with flowers, marches out of the eastern gate, attended by musicians, and a vast concourse of people, provided with flambeaux, colours, streamers, and other ensigns of dignity.

Several persons follow him, carrying figures or images, representing the invention and progress of agriculture, and the streets are adorned with triumphal arches, hung with tapestry. The magistrate advances towards the east, as if he intended to meet the new season, and before him appears the figure of a cow, made of burnt clay, and of such an enormous size, that forty men are hardly able to bear it. On the back of the cow sits a beautiful boy alive, representing the genius of husbandry, with one leg bare, and the other covered with a thin buskin.—The boy lashes the cow, and several peasants march behind, carrying with them the implements used in husbandry. All these are emblematical ; the lashes the boy gives the cow, point out the necessity of labour in cultivating the fruits of the earth, and his having one leg bare, and the other covered, is the symbol of hurry and diligence, which scarce affords to the industrious time to dress.

When the procession arrives at the emperor's palace, all the flowers with which the cow is dressed, are taken off, and then her belly is opened, when several little cows come out, and are distributed among the people by the ministers of state, in order to remind them of the care and industry attending husbandry, and to admonish his subjects never to let any piece of ground lie fallow.

The goddess Quonin presides over all their household affairs, and the fruits of the earth. She is represented with an infant on each side of her, one of whom holds a cup in his hands, and the other has his hands closed one within the other. The goddess whom the bachelors worship, is called Chang-ko, and is held in great esteem by their learned men, as Minerva was by the Greeks and Romans.

The first day of the new year is celebrated with great pomp and splendour. There is a total cessation from business, the courts of justice are shut up, and the ports are stopped. Every one then makes merry, and partakes of the general joy. Solemn sacrifices are offered throughout the empire, and their gods are brought out and placed before their doors. It must, however, be observed, that these are household gods, and not such as are placed in their temples, for the latter cannot be brought out without leave of the emperor.



Their most celebrated temples are built upon mountains; for although groves were the original places for worship, yet we find that when societies of men were formed, they changed the ancient customs, probably that their pride might be the more gratified by setting forth the grandeur of their temples. To these temples, the devotees resort in great numbers, some walking on foot, and others mounted on horseback, or drawn in chariots, according to the nature of their circumstances. The female sex are remarkably fond of going on these pilgrimages; but as father Le Compte observes, devotion is not the sole motive. They are ambitious of being seen in public, and of freeing themselves for a time, from the restraints laid on them by their husbands.

In all their temples, which are built in the form of pyramids, the idols are placed on altars, and the cloisters are inhabited by monks, or bonzes, much in the same manner as the cloisters of collegiate churches among the Roman Catholics. The altar is illuminated by a vast number of lamps, which burn day and night, and the idol being richly gilt, the whole has a most splendid appearance. The idol is always of a gigantic size, and he has some smaller ones standing around him as his guards. On each side of the altar stands censers, in which incense is continually burning, and at the foot of it is a wooden bowl to receive the oblations of the devotees. The altar is painted all over with a most beautiful red, that colour being appropriated only to such things as are sacred.

Before the image of Ti-tan, the god of their treasures, stand several hideous devils, ready to execute their master's orders. The torments of the damned are represented in the most hideous figures, one of which always represents a sinner in a pair of scales, with his iniquities in the one, and his good works in the other. We meet with several such representations in the Grecian mythology as will be taken notice of afterwards, when we come to treat of the religion of that once celebrated country.

Besides those vagabonds and cheats, whom we have already mentioned, there are many others of a lower order in China, who, to the dishonour even of their own idols, and the scandal of religion, go about the country like impostors as they are, and pretend to foretell events, beyond the power or comprehension of any human capacity. Some of these wretches pretend to instruct women how to have children, the particulars of which the author has in his possession, committed to him by a learned German who resided above two years in the interior parts of China, but which are too obscene to be mentioned. Others of them pretend to sell the wind and air, and these always go in couples together.—One of them with a very grave and demure counte-

nance, carrying on his shoulder a bag in which his airy goods are deposited, and out of which at a certain price, he delivers to the credulous as large a quantity as they can afford to purchase. In his left hand he carries a hammer, with which he strikes the ground three times, in order to make the genius of the wind appear; and if credit is to be given to these impostors, the wind will appear in a certain number of days, borne on the wings of a bird.

Another of their tricks is to consult domestic idols, for, as was said before, every house has its god.—In such cases, the juggler takes two little sticks, and ties them fast together with a thread, and having made the most humble supplications to the domestic idol, they throw the sticks down before it, in full assurance that their petitions will be graciously heard and answered. As one side of each of the sticks is flat, and if by accident they happen to fall on the flat side, they then expostulate with the god, and proceed to try a second experiment. If, on the second repetition they prove again unsuccessful, they have recourse from words to blows, and knock the idol two or three times about the head, to teach him to be more propitious for the future.

However, they are seldom discouraged, for they continue throwing the sticks till they fall in a proper position, and the greater trouble they are put to, they impute it to the obstinacy of the god. For this juggling trick they receive some money from the credulous, who are vain enough to believe them; just in the same manner as our fortune-tellers do in Europe. To treat these villains with contempt, or to refuse them at least something, would be considered as sacrilege, for they are authorized by the priests, in order to keep the people in a state of ignorance.

There are in China many female devotees, who observe the strictest austerities; and father Le Compte gives us an account of one of them, which is very extraordinary. The Jesuit had often been told of her piety, and therefore he thought her a proper object to be converted to the Christian religion. Being introduced to her, he found, that besides observing the austerities of the sect to which she belonged, she had not tasted animal food for the space of forty years. She was, by profession, one of those who delighted in long prayers, and a member of a society that belongs to a temple frequented by pilgrims from all parts of the empire. These pilgrims, upon their arrival at the foot of the mountain upon which the temple is built, fall down on their knees and crawl up to the top. Le Compte found this woman too much wedded to her own opinions to embrace his religion, so that he was obliged to leave her a heathen, in the same deplorable state as he found her.

Polygamy is tolerated in China among all ranks

of people, but the woman first married is considered as superior to the others. The Chinese are so jealous of their wives, that they will not permit them to be seen by any besides themselves; even their own relations are denied admittance to their apartments, unless the husband is along with them. Indeed their apartments are contrived in such a manner, that they cannot be seen by any one, and when they are indulged to go abroad, it is in a close carriage, hidden from every one.

In the article of marriage, neither party are permitted to consult their own inclinations, but the match is made up, either by the relations, or by old women employed for that purpose, and who make a trade of it. The wedding day being fixed, the bride is carried in a sedan, followed by the bridegroom and their relations. The bride brings no other portion besides her wedding garments, a few other clothes, and some household furniture; for in China the men give money for their wives, instead of receiving it with them. The bridegroom attends the bride to his own door, when he opens the sedan, which before was shut up, and conducting her into a private apartment, recommends her to the care of several women, who have come to attend the wedding, and who spend the day in feasting and rejoicing, while the bridegroom does the same among his male friends and acquaintance.

As the bridegroom is never permitted to see the bride, whom he has purchased, till he opens the chair, so if he finds himself deceived with respect to her beauty, he immediately shuts it, and dismisses her home to her relations, chusing rather to lose the purchase-money, than to marry one whom he cannot love.

The solemnization of the marriage is always preceded by three days mourning, during which time, all the relations abstain from every sort of amusement. The reason assigned for this practice is, the Chinese look upon the marriages of their children as a presage of their own deaths. The purchase and sale of wives are much more common among the lower sorts of people, than among those of an elevated rank; for the latter always take care to have one lawful wife, and to treat her in a manner becoming the rank in which she was brought up.

The day after marriage, the bridegroom and bride, or rather the new married couple, repair to the next temple, where they offer up sacrifices to one of their gods, and have their names enrolled among those of their ancestors. Then the priest bestows upon them the solemn benedictions, and declares that nothing can part them till death.

When one of the princesses of the blood royal is to be married, twelve young men of high rank, are brought into an apartment in the palace, where they can be seen by her, although they cannot see her.

They are ordered to walk round the apartment while she surveys them, when she makes choice of two, who are presented to the emperor, and he nominates whom he thinks proper. This is perhaps a much better, and more rational way of disposing of a daughter than that of the European fathers of princesses, concluding marriages, without giving their daughters an opportunity of so much as seeing the object of their affections. A woman who cannot pick a husband out of twelve lovers, must be nice in her choice indeed!

When a Chinese dies, an altar is immediately erected in some particular room of the house, which for the most part, is hung with mourning. The image of the deceased is laid upon the altar, and the corpse behind it, in a coffin. Every one who approaches it, is to pay his compliments of condolence, and bow his knee four times before the image; but previous to these kneelings, they offer up their perfumes. If the deceased has any children, they stand around the coffin, dressed in deep mourning; and his wives and relations weep aloud with the female mourners, who are hired, and who stand concealed behind a curtain. When the body is laid in the coffin, the mouth is filled with as much corn, rice, silver and gold, as circumstances will admit of; nails and scissors, tied up in purses, are likewise put into the coffin, in order that the deceased may cut his nails as often as he pleases.

The day on which the funeral is to be solemnized, all the relations and friends of the deceased meet together at the house of the deceased, dressed in mourning, who, together with the priests, form the funeral procession, which is attended by the images of men, women, tigers, elephants, and various other sorts of creatures, which are to be burnt, in memory of the deceased, and for the repose of his soul. The priests who are to make a funeral panygeric, walk behind the procession. In the front, several persons walk with brazen censers on their shoulders. The children of the deceased walk immediately behind the corpse on foot, leaning on sticks, as an expression of sorrow and concern. After the children, come the wives and the more distant relations of the deceased, in a close litter. Handfuls of red sand are thrown upon the coffin, during the procession, which is a symbol of the body's returning again to its native earth. Musicians, playing the most melancholy tunes, walk in the midst of the procession, till they come to the place where the corpse is to be interred, which is always without the city in an open field, set apart for that purpose. The body is laid in the ground, and the priest pronounces a funeral oration, after which all the mourners return home.

Such was the ancient, and such is the modern state of religion in China, and upon an impartial



consideration, we shall find much to commend and much to blame. The deists have represented the Chinese religion as the most perfect in the universe, but upon a strict inquiry, it appears to be a system of barbarism and heathenism. That they are well acquainted with some of the fine arts, cannot be denied; but their religion is of such a nature, that unless some reformation takes place in their system, they will remain as they have hitherto done, a people secluded from the rest of the world; and indeed out of the way of improvement. To deduce any other interferences is altogether unnecessary; for those who know the value of the blessings they enjoy under the gospel, where life and immortality are brought to light, will look with an eye of pity on the highly reputed natives of China, and wish those people to share with them in happiness.

Before we dismiss this article concerning China, it may not be improper to say something concerning burying-grounds, especially as the right understanding of that subject will serve to remove some prejudices which too many labour under.

The ancient Greeks never suffered a dead body to be buried within the walls of their cities: they had fields appropriated for that purpose, at a considerable distance, and at the public expense.

The primitive Christians could not bury their dead within towns or cities, for they, being subjects of the Roman emperors, were obliged to comply with all their edicts, in things of a civil nature; It therefore remains for us to inquire at what time, and for what reason this practice first took place? So far as ecclesiastical history will direct us, it seems to have been towards the middle of the fifth century, owing to the veneration the Christians had for the remains of the martyrs. Those they picked up and piled round their churches; and others, who were professing Christians, desired to have their bodies interred near the remains of those who had laid down their lives for the truth. Superstition was then beginning to gain ground in the Christian church, and the less than non-essentials of religion were considered as of a greater importance than the articles of faith and duty, upon which man's salvation depends. Corrupt priests found it conduced towards promoting the dignity of their characters, and considerable emoluments arose from it, in consequence of the fees that were paid. This practice has continued ever since in the church of Rome; and we have several instances in the reign of Henry the Eighth, of people having been committed to prison, where they died miserably for no other reason but that of refusing to pay money for the funeral rites.

Some of the greatest men, both in the last and the present age, have earnestly wished, that fees for the burying of the dead had been long since abolish-

ed, especially in Protestant churches; but we wish for reformation long before it takes place. However, with respect to things of a religious nature, they are not what we have at present in view; instead of them we look towards utility, and the promoting of public safety.

Whatever may be the consequences of burying bodies in church-yards, certainly the practice of interring them in churches must be of a very pernicious nature. In Italy, the smell arising from the corrupted bodies, often interrupts the devotions; nor need we be much surprised if the plague, or some such epidemical distemper, was to break out in the country. In the original judgment pronounced upon our first parents, we find the words, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return;" but such is the vanity, such the pride of mortals, that they cannot bear the thoughts of their near relations being consigned to the silent grave. Like the Egyptians of old, they would have them kept above the ground; but alas! they cannot preserve them from corruption. Nay, it will, and frequently does happen, that the churches in which they are buried, fall to the ground, and the author of this work has seen whole cart loads of dead bodies taken in their coffins from vaults, and thrown down in a promiscuous heap in the fields.

Would it not, therefore, be much better to have a field purchased at the public expense, near every town and city, to deposit the dead bodies of our dearest relations? Surely it would; but here we must state a particular objection:

Those who stand up in defence of the burying of dead bodies in church-yards, being fairly beaten out of all the assistance they vainly imagined to procure from the Greek and Roman historians, have had recourse to what they call a natural principle. They tell us, that men desired to have their remains deposited near the spot where they offered up their prayers and praises to the Divine Being. In proof of this, they produce the practice of the ancient Druids, who buried their relations near the confines of their temples. Plausible as this objection may seem, yet it will not require much force of argument to overthrow it.

The temples of the Druids were piles of stones, set up in a circular form, far from towns and cities, and the bodies being buried deep in the earth, no evil consequences could arise from a noxious smell; but many of our burying grounds are in the most conspicuous parts of our cities, and thousands of coffins, with their mortal contents, are left above ground, to the disgrace of humanity and civil polity. But allowing the argument to hold good, let it be granted that the Druids did so, what has Christians to do with it? Life and immortality being now brought to light by the gospel, we have an



assurance that our bodies will be raised at the general resurrection, and then what does it signify to us where they were deposited. It is nothing to the Christian whether his body is cast into the sea, or laid up in a monument of Parian marble, whether it is trodden under the feet of men, who are a disgrace to humanity, or enshrined behind the altar of a cathedral church. That respect should be shewn to the ashes of the dead, is certainly consistent with all those grand ideas we form of the divine benevolence; because man is the image of his divine Maker; but that it should be exercised at the expense of the living, is contrary to moral justice and common sense.

From the whole, we may draw the following conclusions. First, that it is our duty to deposit the dead bodies of our fellow creatures in a decent manner. Secondly, that to lay their dead bodies in vaults above ground, is contrary to the original order of God. Thirdly, that the having burying grounds in towns and cities, may be attended with very dangerous consequences; and lastly, that it is the duty of the state to have common burying grounds in every part of the nation, and that no fees should be exacted from those who are unable to pay.

## RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE INHABITANTS OF CARNATE, GOLCONDO, BISNAGAR AND DECAN.

THESE ancient nations, of which history is in many respects silent, worship the same gods, though under different forms, as those adored by the Bramins; and in general their religion is called Banian, and the people Banians. This is not a term of reproach, but a word that signifies gravity, reverence, or strictness, in allusion to the great austerities they observe, both in their temples and in their private lives. And first, of their hermits, for they are much esteemed in those parts. This sect was first founded by Rhevan, whom the god Ram deposed, to revenge the indignities offered to his wife Sita, and he became their patriarch. These hermits are called Faquirs, which signify holy recluses, or such as have denied to live in human society. They live retired in woods and caves, feeding on roots, herbs, fruits, &c. and sometimes the shepherds bring them a piece of bread, for they must not, on any account whatever, eat flesh.

They are in such repute for their sanctity, that devotees will sometimes travel two or three days to ask them questions; and so far are many of the women divested of shame, that they will even kiss their privy parts. A gentleman who visited these parts about ten years ago, actually saw this done by a lady, after she had travelled above three days to enquire of the hermit whether she should have children. Strange and incredible as this may appear, yet there are many persons alive who can witness the truth of it; nay, and many things more extravagant, ridiculous, and abominable in their nature.

Their pagods, or altars, where they worship their idols, are for the most part, built under tall trees, and the name of one of their is Mamaniva, shaped

in a monstrous form. To this idol, the votaries bring their free-will offerings of rice, millet, and several sorts of fruit, and whoever comes to offer up their sacrifices before their god Mamaniva, are marked by the hermit on the head with vermilion. The moment they receive this tincture, they imagine that the devil can have no power over them, and that all manner of temptations will be rendered ineffectual.

In the same grove, and at a small distance, stands another pagod or altar, dedicated to the god Ram, whose image is represented under the figure of a cow. At all these places, the hermits receive gifts from the people, who come in great numbers to worship. Some of these hermits, or faquirs, retire one after another into the most gloomy caverns, where no light can come, but through a small crevice, and there they stand in one posture from day to day, during a whole week, without tasting any sort of refreshment. Others spend whole years together, without so much as reposing themselves on the ground; for when sleep overpowers them, they lean against a cord, fixed by each end to the branches of a tree. Some of them do penance, by standing ten or twelve hours a day, with one foot extended, and their eyes stedfastly fixed on the sun. At the same time, they hold a censer in their hands; filled with burning incense; and others sit squatting on their posteriors, with their legs under them, and their arms wreathed over their heads in a variety of frantic postures.

It has been generally allowed, that these Indian devotees would sink under the force of such penance, were it not for some assistance from art, for unless

the senses were lulled to sleep, the torments would be too great to endure. But we are assured that they drink water, with opium infused into it, which is of such an intoxicating nature, that for some time it turns their brains. During the time they attend their sacrifices, they hang small round stones about their necks, as an emblem of eternity, which has induced some travellers to believe that they are descended from the Egyptians, who in ancient times, painted eternity in the form of a circle, having neither beginning nor end.

Another god, much esteemed and worshipped by these people, is called Perimal, and his image is that of a pole, or the large mast of a ship. The Indians relate the following legend concerning this idol. At Cydambaran, a city in Golcondo, a penitent having accidentally pricked his foot with an awl, let it continue in the wound for several years together; and although this extravagant method of putting himself to excessive torture, was displeasing to the god Perimal, yet the zealot swore he would not have it pulled out till he saw the god dance. At last, the indulgent god had compassion on him, and danced, and the sun, moon, and stars danced along with him. During this celestial movement, a chain of gold dropped from either the sun or the god, and the place has been ever since called Cydambaran. It was also in memory of this remarkable transaction, that the image of the god was changed from that of an ape to a pole, thereby intimating, that all religious worship should reach up towards heaven, that human affections should be placed on things above.

At Samorin, a considerable city, is a chapel, and in it is a statue seated on the throne, and young children are sacrificed to it. It is made of brass, and when heated from a furnace underneath the altar, the child is thrown into its mouth and consumed. There are certain days set apart for the worship of this idol, and he is washed in consecrated water, every morning, by the Bramins. Flowers are scattered upon the altars, during the sacrifices; and they steep some herbs in the blood of a cock, which are afterwards thrown into a censer, with a large quantity of frankincense, and with this they perfume the idol. During the whole of the ceremony, the priest tinkles a little bell to animate the people in their devotions, a practice common in many heathen nations.

The first part of the sacrifice, namely, that of destroying an innocent child being over, the priest cuts the throat of a cock, with a silver knife, dipped in the blood of a hen, and holds the cock with the knife over a chafin dish, in the middle of the altar. The altar is pompously illuminated by wax tapers, and at the close of the sacrifice, the priest takes a handful of corn, and walks backwards from the altar, keeping his eyes stedfastly fixed upon it.

When he comes to the middle of the chapel, he throws the corn over his head, and returning to the altar again, removes every thing from it.

There is a pagod near Naugracut, a considerable city between Indus and the Ganges, and in it is an idol, which the Bramins honour, by cutting off part of their tongues. This, however, is but done once during their lives, and it is reckoned the highest act of devotion they can perform, and such as submit to it are considered as saints.

It is remarkable what veneration these people have for the river Ganges; in it they wash, out of pure devotion, and often throw into it, as offerings, pieces of gold and silver. Vast numbers of pilgrims are continually visiting this celebrated river, and while they bathe in it, they hold a short straw between their fingers. The pilgrims having washed themselves with great ceremony, are received by the Bramins, who conduct them to a pagod, where they offer some money and rice. During these ceremonies, the pilgrims repeat several prayers, and every one is said to have his sins forgiven, when he has been washed in the Ganges.

Quilacara, a celebrated town on the borders of the Indies, is remarkable for a Jubilee, celebrated there once in twelve years. On the morning of the festival, the rajah of the place, who is both sovereign, high priest, and civil governor, mounts a scaffold; and, having stripped himself naked, is washed all over by his attendants. He then makes an oration to the people; telling them, that he is to offer up himself, a free-will offering to the gods. The people shout applause, when the rajah pulls out a sharp knife, and cuts off his nose, lips, and ears, and presents them to his idols, and he closes the ceremony, by cutting his throat.

Horrid as this ceremony may appear to us, yet there are others more barbarous still; and in the same province. Some of their devotees go in scores together, to visit the most celebrated temples; and, standing before their altars, cut off their flesh by piece-meal; using the following words; "Thus do I mortify myself for the 'sake of my god.' When they can endure the torment no longer, they say, 'Out of love to thee, O my god, do I offer up myself a cheerful sacrifice!' Then they stab themselves, and their bodies are immediately reduced to ashes. These precious ashes are sold by the priests for a considerable sum, to the deluded people, and are considered as preservatives against all sorts of diseases. During the month of May, these people observe a remarkable ceremony; and it is at the time when the pilgrims come to bathe in the Ganges. They erect a pile of cow dung, on which they put several baskets of rice, with herbs, roots, and all such vegetables as can be procured. To the whole is added a quantity of butter, and several piles of

wood; which they set fire to; and during the time it is burning, they pretend to discover what sort of a harvest will ensue.

In Visapour, at seed-time, they have a festival, which they celebrate in the following manner. The priests lop of all the branches of one of their tallest trees, except those at the top, and with these lopped branches, march in grand procession, singing hymns, attended by a vast concourse of people, to one of their pagods, where they rest before the gate, and salute the idol. The people repeat loud acclamations, and walk three times round the temple, and the arch-priest digs a hole in the ground, and pours into it some water brought from the Ganges, mixed with the urine of cows. In this hole, the branches of the tree are fixed, and while the fire is consuming them, the arch-priest pretends to know from the attitudes of the flames, what will happen, during the remainder of the year.

In all their ceremonies they sing a great number of hymns and psalms, which seems to have been a very ancient practice, even among the most idolatrous nations, both in Asia, and in other parts of the world. That it was used in Egypt, while the children of Israel were in a state of slavery, cannot be doubted; for we read that when Moses went up into the mount to receive the law from God, the people made a golden calf, and danced before it; and, undoubtedly, they had music. Nay, there is not an ancient nation, or indeed any of the moderns, where music, of some sort or other, does not make a part of their religious service. The Greeks and Romans were of opinion that music appeased the anger of the gods; thus the poet says,

'Tis pious duty now to praise,  
With incense, songs, and sacred lays,  
And with a promis'd heifer's blood.  
My Numida's kind guardian god.'

For this reason, the Pagan devotion was generally attended with vocal and instrumental music; and it was the custom to turn into verse, and sing in their temples, the heroic acts of their gods. But without taking any notice of the music made use of by the primitive Christians, which will naturally occur, in its proper place, we shall here only observe, that even those barbarous people whose religion we have been treating of, are no strangers to music, and although they may not know the rules of art so well as the Europeans, yet we find that they have what is sufficient to satisfy their taste, and from that single circumstance we may learn, that music is an universal science.

When the devotees among those people convert any young persons to become proselytes to their austerities, they prescribe a rule for their conduct, by attending to which their sincerity is known, and

this is to last during six months. The reason they protract the time so long, is, that they may not reveal their secrets to novices, till such time as they are in a manner certain, that they will not desert them.

This term of their noviciate, or trial, is called their regeneration; and during the first three months they are obliged to eat one pound of cow's dung, mixed with rice, every day. During the last three months, the quantity of dung is gradually lessened, and the reason why they eat the excrements of this creature is, because they believe there is something in them of a divine and purifying nature, both for the body and the soul.

All marriages among them are concluded and solemnized when they are young, and this is done to prevent every sort of suspicion concerning impurity; although the men are allowed a plurality of wives, according to the nature of their circumstances, yet except in cases of barrenness, they seldom have more wives than one. Their priests notwithstanding their attachment to idolatry, and their many ridiculous ceremonies, as well as criminal sacrifices, are such friends to human society, that they do all they can to discourage polygamy, or the having more wives than one. In support of this sentiment, they point out to the people, that where there are a plurality of wives, there will be a vast number of dissensions and jealousies, as the continual consequence of divided love. If the husband treats the one with tenderness and indulgence, which may frequently happen, then the others are sure to repine; and what man of human sensibility can bear the thought of such contending passions. It must distract his soul; and while he provides for the offspring of one woman, the children of the others are in a manner totally neglected.

The evening before the solemnization of their marriages, the bridegroom, accompanied by all his relations, goes to the apartment of the bride, and at his first admission puts a pair of bracelets on each of the legs of his intended spouse; thereby intimating that she is his captive, and that it is her duty never to depart from him. The next day there is a grand entertainment at the house of the bridegroom, and towards the evening the bride makes her appearance accompanied by her relations. Several priests attending, lay their hands on the heads of the parties, and repeat several prayers; after which they are both sprinkled with water, as an emblem of purification. Several dishes of the richest fruits are then served up, and the company having eaten, the priest asks the bridegroom, whether he will promise, by his industry, to provide for the woman as long as he lives; to screen her from want, and bring up her children.

This part of the ceremony being over, the whole



company ride out on elephants, and towards midnight, when they return home, bonfires and other illuminations, serve to grace the solemnity. One of the most extravagant expenses attending these marriages is, that although the parties should happen to live above an hundred leagues from the Ganges, yet they are obliged to have some of the water of that celebrated river. This the priests takes care to furnish them with, for they keep it in jars for that purpose; which brings them in a considerable revenue. This costly liquor is always kept till the latter part of the feast, and the more liberal the bridegroom is in the distribution of it, the more generous he is esteemed, and the more respected in the neighbourhood where he lives. Last of all, the priest puts a chaplet, or crown of flowers, on the heads of the bride and bridegroom, declaring them to be husband and wife, and they are conducted to the haram, the place appropriated for the women.

In their funeral ceremonies, they are not so rigid as those who live under the direction of the Bramins, in the countries we have already described, subject to the great Mogul, but still there is a strong similarity. Such of the women as are religious devotees, often burn themselves along with the bodies of their husbands; but if they refuse to comply with that horrid, unnatural ceremony, then they are obliged to submit to the ignominy of having their heads shaved, and to go without a covering as long as they live. Sometimes the chief magistrate of the place refuses to grant them the indulgence (if it may be called so) to burn themselves, and in such cases, they are to lead a life of penitence ever afterwards. If they have money, they are to give the greatest part of it to the poor, and they are to repeat a certain number of prayers every day. They are also to go barefooted to one of their Pagan temples, on the day of every solemn festival; but they are not to be admitted as worshippers.

In considering this circumstance, the governor acts in a very political manner; and if there is any crime in the woman, the penance is not voluntary but constrained. But while he refuses them the privilege to burn themselves alive, along with the dead bodies of their husbands, he ought to take care that they are protected from insults. Perhaps the civil power is weak, and religious prejudices strong, and as enthusiasm or religious prejudices operate with the greatest strength on the minds of the vulgar, and as the vulgar are always the most numerous in all communities, so it is often dangerous for the magistrate to interfere with them.

When a person is considered as in a dying condition, the body is carried out to the river or brook, where it is dipped till the water comes up to his mouth; and this is done, that both body and soul may be purged from all impurities. If it happens to

be near the Ganges, they tie the hands of the dying man to a cow's tail, and make her drag him into the water. If the cow emits urine upon the dying person, it is considered by the people as the most salutary purification, and he is believed by the priests and all his relations to be washed from all imperfection. If the urine flows plentiful upon him, his friends make loud acclamations of joy, and consider him as ranked among the number of the blessed; but when it happens that the cow is not disposed to make water, then the relations are disconsolate, and consider the dying man as going into a state of punishment.

If it appears that the patient's life is not absolutely in danger, then he is brought into the temple of one of their idols to be cured, and left all night before the altar, not bounting but his god will grant him a respite. If he dies, all his relations assemble at his house, and put the body in a coffin, decorated with figures, pointing out the circumstances of his death. The corpse is then carried to the funeral pile, attended by a vast concourse of people, and there it is reduced to ashes. During the procession, they sing several hymns, and repeat a great number of short collects or prayers, and when they approach the place, the priest rings a little bell, intimating to the people, that it is their duty to pray for the soul of the deceased. The body is always washed with pure water, before it is put upon the pile, and that part of the ceremony being over, fire is set to the wood, and the whole reduced to ashes, while the priests continue singing hymns.

A question may here naturally be asked, viz. Why do those heathens in the East-Indies, in conformity with the practice of the Romans, burn the bodies of their dead? There have been several conjectures concerning the origin of this barbarous practice, as first, many of the eastern nations adorned the fire, and therefore they considered it as an acceptable piece of devotion, to offer up the dead bodies of their relations to it. Secondly, their pride might induce the most celebrated heroes, and the most beautiful women, to desire to conceal from the world, what poor, helpless creatures they were while alive. Thirdly, they beheld many indignities offered to the dead, and they were willing, nay desirous, that nothing of that nature should happen to their relations. Lastly, they might do it in order to prevent a contagious distemper, which often takes place from the noxious smell of dead bodies. Whether any, or all of these conjectures may be founded in truth, we leave the reader to judge, but certain it is, the practice itself, is contrary to natural religion, as well as to divine revelation. Natural religion points out, that as man was formed out of the earth, so at death his body should be consigned to it. "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt re-

turn." Divine revelation teaches us that as Christ laid down his head in the grave, so the bodies of those who are his faithful followers, should be deposited in the earth, to rest till that awful period, when he shall come to judge the world in righteousness.

Let us pity heathens, who have none of those consolations, which our holy religion holds out to

us; let us daily pray for their conversion; let us not be afraid to lay down our heads in the silent grave; let us not reflect much on the indignities that may be offered to our bodies after death; for our Divine Redeemer has gone before us, he has made the grave sweet unto us, and by his almighty power, he will raise us up at the last day.

## RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE OF ASEM, AVA AND ARACAN.

THE history of mankind would be one of the most pleasing studies in the universe, were it not often attended with the most humiliating, the most melancholy considerations. By studying human nature, we are led to consider in what manner we were formed by our all-wise Creator; what we have made ourselves in consequence of our disobedience to the divine law; what we may be through divine grace; and then what we shall be in glory. Principles of this nature, should strike deep into our mind, when we consider the state of the heathen world, and, at the same time, reflect on the many blessings we enjoy. In vain do we pride ourselves in any of our endowments, in vain do we pretend to superior attainments; for if our affections are as much attached to earthly objects as those of the heathens, then we are much more inexcusable than they. We have all the truth of the gospel laid open to us, while they remain in a state of ignorance, worshipping the works of their own hands. Nay, worshipping even reptiles and insects, offering human sacrifices, shutting up their bowels of compassion, and trampling upon every moral obligation. This naturally applies to what we are now going to relate, for the dignity of our holy religion never shines so bright, as when contrasted with heathen superstition, Pagan idolatry, and every thing else that can dishonour our nature.

The provinces, or nations, we are now to give some account of, particularly with respect to religion, differ in some few things from those already described in this part of the world. Like the other heathens around them, they have many gods or idols: but the sovereign and supreme one over all the others, is Quaiy-Paragray. To his honour they have several temples erected, and on particular festivals they have grand processions, in which not only the priests, but likewise all the people in the neighbourhood attend. They carry him in a triumphal chariot through their cities attended by ninety priests, all

dressed in yellow satin, and the devotees fall down on their knees as the procession marches along. Nay, some of the devotees prostrate themselves before the chariot, that the wheels may run over them, while others rush against sharp spikes fastened to the wheels of the chariot, which tear their flesh in pieces, and is considered as the most meritorious action they can perform. It often happens that these devotees become martyrs to their enthusiasm, for their bodies being torn by the spikes in the wheels of the chariot, they often mortify, and death ensues. In such cases, the people esteem them so much, that it is considered as an honour to be permitted to touch them; even the spikes of the wheels are deemed sacred, and the priests lay them up as precious relics in their temples.

This idol sits on a pedestal, cross-legged, and every day the prince of the country sends him a most magnificent entertainment. The devotees prostrate themselves before this idol, in order to be cured of various diseases, it being their firm opinion, that it is in his power to perform every thing supernatural; but in this there is nothing at all surprising, because all those who acknowledge a supreme power, must honour the perfection of his attributes.

The grandest temple dedicated to this idol, stands in the island of Munay, and in the same island is another god, who is said to preside over the four winds. All their temples, like those in China, are built in the form of pyramids, but some of them are much higher than others. In the winter these Pagans cover their gods, lest they should catch cold, praying, at the same time, that they will, at some future period, reward them for their duty and piety.

They have a great number of priests, and over all these is one who acts as sovereign pontiff, and decides in all religious matters. He is universally respected by all the people, and the king gives him the right hand, nor does he ever speak to him but with the profoundest reverence and veneration. Their inferior priests, who are also considered as



the physicians of the country, are divided into three classes, or orders, and distinguished by as many names. They are all dressed in yellow satin with their heads shaved, but their chiefs wear a cope, resembling a mitre, with a peak falling down behind. They are all obliged to take an oath of celibacy, and if they afterwards marry, then they are degraded and reduced to the same state with the laity. Some of them reside in monasteries, founded by illustrious persons, some live in deserts, and others act as school-masters to the youth, and when they find a young man of a more than ordinary capacity, they endeavour to persuade him to enter himself among them. Those who have nothing to subsist on, are supported at the royal expense, but most of them live by begging from the people.

With respect to the nuptial ceremonies in the kingdom of Aracan, they are rather different from some of the others. The king is to have the preference of all the young women in the country, and for that purpose every governor or chief magistrate of a district chuses twelve virgins, once in the year, who are educated at the king's expense, till they are twelve year of age, when they are sent to court, dressed in fustian gowns, and exposed to the heat of the sun, till the sweat runs through the garments. These gowns are next day carried to the king, who is so curious as to smell them all over, and such virgins as appear to have nothing disagreeable about them, are reserved for his own private amusement, and the rest are given to his servants.

In the kingdom of Asem, every man marries four wives, but lest any family disputes should take place, every woman is to bring up her own children. When they are first taken sick, they send for one of their priests, who breathes upon them, and repeats several prayers, and if there does not appear any hopes of their recovery, the priest directs the sick person to sacrifice to Chaor-boos, the god of the four winds, and the sacrifice consists of certain number of fowls, according to the circumstances of the patient. This sacrifice is offered four times, according to the number of the winds; but if no success attends it, and the patient becomes worse, then they have recourse to another expedient, which has been long in use among them, probably from the most early ages, because they have not among them the least traces of its original, nor by whom it was first taught.

The principal room in the house is adorned with tapestry, an altar is erected at the upper end, and the image of an idol is placed upon it, and the priest, with the relations of the sick person, meet together, where they are sumptuously entertained; but the most ridiculous part of the ceremony is, that the person who conducts the entertainment, is obliged to dance as long as he can stand upon his feet; when he can stand no longer, he lays hold of a linen cloth,

which is fastened to the ceiling for that purpose, and by that slender assistance, continues to dance till he has no strength left, and then he falls down in a swoon. Then the music begins to play, and every one present envies his happiness, being fully persuaded, that during the time he was in a trance, he was conversing with the idol. If the patient happens to recover, he is conducted to the next temple, and anointed with oil before the altar; but if it happens, that notwithstanding all their endeavours he dies, the priest assures them, that what they have done has been highly acceptable to the gods, and although they thought proper to remove the patient from this lower world, yet that act was the result of infinite goodness and compassion to make him happy for ever.

When a person dies, he is laid out in the middle of the house, and some of the priests walk round the body, repeating several prayers, while others are employed in sprinkling the room with frankincense, and all sorts of aromatic flowers. The coffins have the figures of different beasts painted upon them, all serving to point out some of the actions of the deceased.

While the priests are performing these ceremonies, the servants keep tinkling on instruments of copper, in order to keep away the evil spirits, whom they imagine are surrounding the corpse. They believe, that if an evil spirit should happen to go over the body of the deceased, the soul would return, and then he would be deprived of all that happiness into which he was entered. Before the body is carried away, several persons in the neighbourhood are invited to attend, and if they neglect to come, the whole company present are much troubled; their refusal being considered as an indication, that the departed soul is gone to hell. The last part of the ceremony is to convey the body into the fields, where it is burnt to ashes, and all the relations are dressed in white, which is the common fashion of mourning in that country. The priests set fire to the funeral pile, and during the time they are doing it, several hymns are sung in honour of their gods.

These ceremonies, however, are confined to the lower classes of people, and particularly to the laity; but when an arch-priest or pontiff dies, something of a more exalted nature takes place, of which we shall give the following account from those who were witness of it. As priests in all nations are considered as at the head of religion, so we need not be surprised to find, that when they die, they are attended to the grave or the funeral pile, with the most pompous ceremonies; and this is done in order to keep alive that flame of superstition and enthusiasm, which, unless guided by reason, will always lead into captivity the human heart.

A few years ago, the supreme pontiff died, and



an account of his funeral will serve to shew what is common to others of the same rank and character.—The moment he expired, the fires were all extinguished, and every one of the inhabitants shuts up their windows as a sign of mourning, the temples were crowded with penitents, and in the streets, not a single individual was to be seen. The body of this high priest was exposed three days to the public, with all the solemnity that can be imagined. It lay on an altar in the chief temple, and there were upwards of a thousand priests attending, with tapers in their hands, singing hymns around the coffin.—Above five hundred young children went naked to the funeral, each girl round the middle with cords and chains of iron, and each carrying a bundle of sticks on his head, and a knife in his hand. During the whole of the procession, they sung the most dismal songs that can be imagined, sometimes in concert, and sometimes one after another.

They were divided into two classes, and the first sang, "O thou, who art going to partake of the joys of heaven, forsake us not in this our unhappy exile;" and the other class answered, "That we may be made partakers with thee of those heavenly blessings." After this all the people fell on their knees, while an aged priest made a funeral oration. The oration being ended, there was a second procession of young men, who paid their honours to the deceased as they marched along, and drew their scimitars as they surrounded the coffin, in order to drive the devil away, and confine him home to his house of smoke, there to live for ever, and suffer for the many crimes he had committed, both against God his Creator, and likewise against those laws prescribed for regulating the conduct of the children of men.

These ceremonies being over, the body of the sovereign pontiff was laid on the funeral pile, and six young persons of considerable rank, submitted to be burned along with it. Next day, a priest made an harangue before the king, expatiating largely on the virtues of the deceased; and when the oration was finished, the ashes of the pontiff, and those of the young men, who had been burnt along with him, were distributed as precious relics among the populace.

The people of Ava do not burn their dead, although in most other religious respects, they differ but little from their neighbours. They bury all the dead bodies of their relations, and are of opinion, that, after a life spent in doing good, they will enter into eternal happiness. But if they have injured their neighbours, or lived in a profligate manner, then they will be tormented hereafter with hunger and thirst. When they carry the body out to be buried, some of their idols are carried in procession, and some provisions are put into the grave.

In the funeral ceremonies of their kings, there is something shocking to human nature. When the body is carried out to the sepulchre, hymns are sung by several persons hired for that purposes; and, as soon as the corpse is laid in the grave, or tomb, all his wives, concubines, ministers of state, and such others as had their dependance on him, drink a glass of poison each, and it is generally so strong, that they expire within an hour afterwards. These are all laid into the same grave with the king, in order to accompany him to the other world; and along with him, are likewise buried, six horses, twelve camels, an elephant, and twenty hunting hounds, with which he is to divert himself, when he comes into a state of bliss.

We have already taken notice, that the heathens above described, make use of copper vessels, instead of bells, to frighten away such devils as may want to disturb the repose of the dead. This naturally leads us to inquire into the antiquity, and use of bells in churches. The heathen Greeks and Romans, knew nothing of bells, and, with respect to the Christians, during the three first centuries, they were obliged to meet in their assemblies, in the most private manner. Baronius is of opinion, that there was a certain person, belonging to every congregation, appointed to go round to every member, and give notice of the time of meeting, nor is this at all improbable.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, we find, that in Egypt and Palestine, trumpets were used to call the people together for divine service; but, in the monasteries, the monks took it in their turn, to go about to the doors of the cells, and knock at the windows with a hammer. In a nunnery erected at Jerusalem, in the fifth century, by Paula, a Roman lady, the usual signal was given by singing Hallelujah; but in other parts of the east it was by striking one piece of wood against another.

It is not certainly known at what time bells were first used in the western church, but it is generally supposed to have been about the beginning of the seventeenth century; although the Popish writers, particularly cardinal Bona, have attempted to make them as ancient as the time of Constantine the Great; because the heathens in that age used small bells in their temples, to put the people in mind of devotion; but this author is not countenanced in his opinion by any writer of repute.

When the Turks became masters of Constantinople, they prohibited the Greeks from making use of bells, for which reason those poor afflicted people hung upon trees bent plates of iron, like those on our cart wheels, with holes in them lengthways, and upon these plates they chimed with little iron hammers, to call the monks together to prayer. In the Romish church, there is much superstition prac-

tised in the use of bells, and they are said to represent the duration of the gospel, the sound of which is gone out into all lands. They likewise represent the faithful praising God, and the ministers preaching the word. A bell cannot be used in a Roman Catholic church till it has been consecrated in the following manner:

The bell is hung up, and disposed in such a manner as to leave room for certain persons to walk round it: having previously prepared a pot of holy water, another of oil, and one of salt, with incense, myrrh and cotton, with a piece of bread, the priest begins the procession, attended by the principal persons in the parish, particularly those who contributed towards furnishing the church with a bell.—The procession begins at the vestry, and the priest who officiated, having seated himself near the bell, delivers a discourse to the people, concerning the nature of the ceremony. He then mixes some salt with holy water, and repeats a prayer in Latin, begging that God would make the bell efficacious in the driving away evil spirits, in exciting people to devotion, to prevent tempests, earthquakes, and in a word, all those natural afflictions which men are subject to in this life. He then dips a brush, or sprinkler, in the holy water, and sprinkles it three times over the bell, saying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Then the vessel containing the oil is opened, and the officiating priest dips the thumb of his right hand into it, and applies it to the middle of the bell, signing it with the sign of the cross. Then the twenty-eighth psalm is sung, and the bell is crossed

seven times, and dedicated to a particular saint.—Last of all, the bell is perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, and the whole is concluded by a prayer, which is called “the dew of the Holy Ghost.”

According to the Romish writers, these ceremonies point out some particular mysteries. Thus the consecration of the bells, points out the duty of pastors; the washing with holy water points out the sacrifice of baptism; the seven crosses, that pastors should exceed all other persons in the graces of the holy spirit; and that as the smoke of the perfume rises in the bell and fills it, so a pastor, adorned with the graces of the spirit, receives the perfume of the vows and prayers of the faithful. But some of their writers have carried the mystical meaning of bells still farther. Thus they tell us, that the metal signifies the strength of the preacher’s understanding, and the clapper his tongue; the stroke of the clapper, the tongue’s censure of vice; and that which holds the clapper, the moderation of the tongue. The wood to which the bell is fastened, denotes the wood of the cross; and the parts to which the wood is fixed, the oracles of the prophets. The iron by which the bell is fixed to the wood, points out the preacher’s attachment to the cross of Christ. There are likewise several mysteries in the bell ropes; thus the three cords of which the rope is made, points out the three senses of the scriptures, viz, the historical, moral, and allegorical. In the same manner the heathens discover mysteries in their bells, but the Turks will not suffer a bell in their places of worship.

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## AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGION IN PEGU.

PEGU is one of the provinces situated beyond the Ganges, and the established religion is Paganism.—In their sentiments, the people hold the same belief as was professed by some of the Christian heretics, particularly the Manicheans; for they affirm, that there are two supreme powers, the one good and the other evil. For this reason they sacrifice to the devil, as the author of all evil, and not to the good Being, because they believe he cannot or will not hurt them: thus they adore the devil, to procure his favour and indulgence, and to him, though under different images, they offer up their vows and prayers. They believe in an eternal succession of worlds, and that as soon as one is burnt up, another springs out of its ashes. They have such an exalted notion of

the sanctity of crocodiles, that they believe such as are devoured by them are carried up to heaven.—They believe that apes have human souls, and that they formerly were men; but to punish them for some crimes they had been guilty of, the gods transformed them into their present shape. But the creature most adored by them is the white elephant; and one of the king of Pegu’s titles is, lord of the white elephant. All these creatures are served in dishes of silver, curiously gilt, and when they are led out for an airing, musicians play before them on different sorts of instruments.

As they walk along, six persons of distinction hold a canopy over them, and when they return, one of the king’s gentlemen ushers waits with a silver

bason and washes their feet. The temples in Pegu are called Varcillas, and are all built in the form of pyramids, having the basis very broad; and it is related, that in one of them are no less than one hundred and twenty thousand idols; but probably many of these are small, and perhaps some of them are no more than hieroglyphics, which is customary throughout most parts of the east. As there are many pilgrims who visit these temples, so most of them are endowed with great riches, and in the porch is a large font, where they wash their feet. Their first act of worship is to lay their hands on their heads, as a sign of reverence due to the object of their adoration. Besides these temples, which in some sense may be called their cathedrals, or capital churches, they have many smaller ones, which answer the same end as parish churches, and these are called Kiacks; but they are only the great ones that are visited by the pilgrims, for in them alone the grand sacrifices are offered, the chief idols have their altars, and the priests of the highest reputation reside.

As the devil is the grand object of their worship, so they have many altars erected in honour of him, and these are adorned with flowers, and sacrifices are daily offered on them, to appease his wrath, and obtain his favour. When they are seized with sickness, they make solemn vows, that if they recover, they will erect altars, and offer up sacrifices upon them; and some of their devotees run through the streets of their cities, in the morning before daylight, with torches in their hands, and carrying baskets full of rice, exclaiming, that they are going to supply the devil with all sorts of provisions. Their intention in this is, to prevent the devil, for that day, from roving about seeking whom he may destroy.

If a dog happens to follow at the heels of one of these devotees, then they sincerely believe that the devil has given him a commission to devour what they were carrying to the altar, and without farther ceremony, they throw it on the ground. Others never taste their victuals till they have thrown some part of it behind them, which is either eaten up by the dogs or by devils, as they imagine; for they believe that dogs are sent as ambassadors from the devil. Nay, it sometimes happens, that when a fit of devotion seizes the master of a family, he will retire from his house for a whole month, taking his wife and children along with him, and leave the possession of it to the devil; and in all cases of that nature, the house is left very clean, and genteelly furnished.

Throughout the whole of this kingdom, Monday is set apart for religious worship, and on that day their priests, whom they call Talapoins, preach sermons to the people in their temples.

They have several solemn festivals, one of which is called Sapan-Giache, and is a kind of pilgrimage,

which the king and queen, with all the royal family, and a great concourse of people make to a place about twelve miles from the capital. On the morning of this festival, the king and queen set out in a triumphal chariot, so elegantly adorned with jewels and precious stones, that it dazzles the eyes of the spectators, who behold it with silent admiration.—Another of their festivals is called Sapan-Catena, and consists partly in making small pyramidal figures to please the king and his wives. As the king is to be the judge of every artist's performance, so they all conceal themselves in different apartments, that none may see each others' works before they are presented to the sovereign. Such of the performances as are approved of, the king takes along with him, and this the artist considers as one of the highest honours that can be conferred upon him.

Another feast is called Sapan-Daiche, and it is properly one of their water festivals. The king, with all the royal family, sprinkle themselves with water, in which roses have been steeped; and all the civil, as well as the military officers, follow their example. Some of this water is thrown out of the windows upon the heads of the populace as they pass along, but many of them are so regardless of it, that they keep themselves within doors. All their solemn festivals are regulated by the change of the moon, and they have one called Sapan-Donon, on which day their watermen, or those who ply at their ferries, row for a prize, and whoever obtains it, receives a robe from the king, which he wears ever afterwards, when he attends sacrifice in the temple.

Their priests, or talapoins are not admitted into orders till they are upwards of twenty, and till they arrive at that age, they are brought up in proper schools, according to their own system of learning. Previous to their admission, they are strictly examined concerning the progress they have made in learning, and with respect to every article of their faith. They are obliged to swear that they will renounce all the gaities of this world, and live in a state of celibacy, and this examination they go through several times. When the novice has gone through his examination, and obtained the approbation of his superiors, he is mounted on a fine horse, and led along the streets in triumph, with drums beating and music playing. This is their last farewell to all the pomp and vanities of this world; and as soon as they have put on the habit, they are conducted to a place resembling a convent, situated at a small distance from the town. This convent consists of a long row of cells, built on the side of the road, and each of them is about seven or eight feet high, but some of them are built in the woods.



These priests eat but one meal in the day, consisting chiefly of fruits and roots, all which they purchase with the money given them by devotees; for all our travellers tell us they never beg. They have small buildings in the form of chapels, where they celebrate the change of the moon, and at that time the people send them what provisions they can afford. They have their heads shaved as well as their beards, their feet and right arms are naked, but they make use of an umbrella to screen them from the heat of the sun, or from any inclemencies of the season.

When one of these priests die, they keep his body several days, and make a public entertainment to his honour. The body is exposed upon a scaffold erected for the purpose, and the priests standing round it, perform several curious ceremonies, which may properly be called the funeral service. After this odorous wood is piled round the scaffold, and the body reduced to ashes in the presence of the spectators. Such pieces of the bones as remain in the ashes, are carefully picked up, and buried in an earthen urn, behind the cell were the deceased resided, and the ashes are thrown into the river.

In their marriage ceremonies, they are like the heathens in many other nations, that is in general, for in some particulars they differ. The bridegroom is obliged to purchase the bride from her parents, and lay down the money before he receives her; but as divorces are common among them, so the money must be returned if a separation takes place. In such cases the husband sends home the wife to her relations, without any sort of formality, or so much as assigning a reason, and then the purchase-money is returned. The estates of those who die without issue, are seized by the king, and he is entitled to one third of the estates of those who have children. Some of the richer sort of persons in Pegu, purchase for a small sum the daughters of the poor, if they are handsome, and although they are only kept for a short time, and then sent back to their parents, yet this does not in the least prevent them from procuring husbands.

Their customs are much more equitable than what takes place under the government of the great Mogul, who seizes the estates of every one of his subjects at their deaths, without making any provision for their wives or children. The king never marries but one wife, but he keeps a great number of concubines, sometimes upwards of a thousand.

When the children in Pegu are born, they tie a little bell round their necks, and within the bell they put the tongue of a snake, and although this may at first be painful to the infant, yet custom and use render it familiar, and when they grow up, it is considered as an ornament. They likewise infuse paint, of a bluish colour, into the skins of their

children, which instead of making them appear beautiful has quite the contrary effect, and spoils their complexions.

The priests in Pegu, as in other heathen nations, act as physicians; and when a person falls sick, one of them is selected to attend him, and he is called the devil's father. This person being much esteemed for his knowledge, both of human and divine things, pretends to know what will be most agreeable and acceptable to the evil spirit, and he instructs the patient how to appease his anger. A grand entertainment is made for the devil, and the people dance to all sorts of vocal and instrumental music. They believe in the transmigration of souls from one body to another: but at the same time, they imagine that when they have passed through several bodies, they will enter into a state of everlasting happiness.

When the king dies, two boats, with gilded roofs, in the form of a pyramid, are prepared, and in the middle between them, a stage is erected, on which the body is laid, and exposed to public view. Under the stage they kindle a fire, the materials of which are composed of the most odorous woods that can be procured. They throw into the fire fine herbs, so that the whole has the most fragrant smell that can be imagined. After this they let the boats sail down the river, and while the fire is consuming the body, the priests or talapouns sing hymns, and repeat several prayers, which they continue doing as long as the fire burns. The fire being extinguished, they temper the ashes with milk, and having moulded the whole into a solid mass, throw it into the sea at the bottom of the river; but such pieces of the bones as are picked out of the ashes, are buried in the tomb erected to the memory of the deceased.

With respect to the funerals of the common people, there is a distinction made between them and the king. A funeral pile is erected in a field, adjoining to where the deceased resided, and the corpse is laid on a stage, in the middle of which is a dome, and sometimes a small pyramid. The stage or litter is then covered artfully over with gilt cane, and carried by sixteen men to the funeral pile. The relations and friends of the deceased follow the corpse, and after the fire has consumed the body, they make the priests some recompence for their trouble, and return home, where they have an entertainment that lasts two days.

At the close of the feast, the widow of the deceased accompanied by the relations, repair to the place where the body was burned, and shed tears over the ashes. After which they gather up such pieces of the bones as have not been consumed to ashes, and bury them with every mark of sorrow and lamentation. The mourning of the women as well as of the men, consists chiefly in shaving

their heads: which mark of respect for the memory of the deceased, is reckoned the greatest that can be shewn, because nothing is so much esteemed by them as fine hair.

Much having been said concerning these idolators worshipping the devil, we shall here say something concerning what notions the ancients entertained respecting that being, who is considered as the grand adversary of mankind. Demons, or devils, are always by Christians taken in a bad sense; and for this we have the authority of our Lord and all his apostles. The heathens believed that devils had bodies as well as souls; and that although immortal, yet they had the same passions as men. They believed further, that they had power to foretell future events, and that all dreams happened in consequence of their superintending providence. They were to convey the prayers of men to heaven, and bring down the answer from the gods.

The Christian fathers had confused notions concerning demons or devils, for Justin Martyr often ascribes to them such actions as could not have been performed without a body. He says, that some of the angels, having received from God the government of the world, soon corrupted his law, and by the commerce they had with the posterity of Adam, they begot what we call devils; and in this sentiment he is followed by many of the rest of the fathers. The Jewish Rabbies have strange notions concerning devils, and they say that the worship of them was the last species of idolatry. Some of them are of opinion, that there were a sort of devils, who often appeared to the children of Israel in the wilderness, under the shape of goats; but we have no proof that the Jews ever worshipped them, even at the time they were sunk into the grossest idolatry. If ever they did worship devils in the shape of goats, they must have learned the practice from the ancient Egyptians, who considered those animal as sacred.

Minucius Felix, an ancient Christian writer, acknowledges the existence of devils, which he seems to have taken from the poets; but he adds, that among philosophers, this was a matter of dispute. Socrates believed this doctrine, for he had always a demon or devil to attend him. The Magi in Persia, and other parts of the east, pretend to perform all their operations by the assistance of the devil, and they imagine that those unclean spirits lie concealed under images erected in their temples. Sometimes these demons or devils, are called genii, and they are considered, not only by the Pagans, but likewise by the Mahometans, as being employed to conduct the affairs of this lower world; and particular providences are (say they) intrusted with them.

Plato gives us the following description of the genii. "They are spirits (says he) who never in-

habited bodies, and one of them is appointed to attend every man upon earth, to be a witness of his actions; and that, when the man dies, the genius conducts his soul into the other world, and delivers in his evidence before the judge." Thus Horace says,

The genius only knows, that's wont to wait  
On birth-day stars, the guider of our fate;  
Our nature's God, that doth its influence shed,  
Easy to any shape, or good, or bad.

The ancients had their genii for provinces, as well as for particular persons, nay even for trees, fountains, the sciences and forests. Sacrifices were offered annually, and sometimes oftener, to these imaginary beings, and many of the offerings were extremely costly. From a passage in Plutarch, it seems to have been a notion among the Greeks and Romans, that every man had two spirits to attend him. That justly celebrated writer tells us, that the evening before the battle of Philippi, while Brutus was sitting melancholy in his chamber, a monstrous horrid being appeared to him, and being asked what god or devil he was, the apparition answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt meet me at Philippi." Brutus, not in the least discomposed, answered, "I will see thee there;" and next day he lost the battle, and put an end to his life. It is certain, that Plutarch was not a credulous writer, but what truth there may be in this story, we shall not presume to say.

The Mahometans believe, that the world was inhabited by genii, many thousands of years before Adam was created, and that Elias was sent down from heaven to drive them into a remote corner. That ever since they have been employed as ministering angels to attend on men, to preserve them from danger, and to conduct them through life.

When we read an account of so many people, both in ancient and modern times, believing in the existence of spirits, we cannot assign any other reason for the universality of such a notion, besides that of tradition: we are taught in the sacred scriptures, to believe in the existence of angels, both good and bad, although we are commanded not to worship them. Thus we read in Revelations, xix. 10. "And I fell at his feet to worship him: and he said unto me, see thou do it not; I am thy fellow servant." And again, with respect to the ministry of angels, we have a clear proof, in Psalm xc. 11. 12. "He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." Many other passages might be adduced, but these may serve to shew, that the existence of spirits is a notion universally embraced by Jews, Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans. And

it may serve to shew, that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was never denied by any collective body of people in the universe, that it has

been always an established principle, and that all our hopes, and all our fears, are regulated by our expectations of it.

## RELIGION IN THE KINGDOM OF SIAM.

**T**HIS very extensive kingdom, is situated beyond the Ganges, but their religion is, in many respects, the same with those already described in that part of the world. In some things, however, they differ, and these are what we must now attend to. They comprise the whole of their moral law in five negative commandments, viz. "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit any manner of uncleanness; thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not steal; and thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor." Most of these precepts are the same with what we find written in the law of Moses, which may serve to shew, that natural religion is always the same, in all ages and nations, although often debased by rites and ceremonies of human invention.

Their priests, like those in Pegu, are called Talapoins, and they are the sole keepers of the law, of which they are so tenacious, that they refused to explain any passages in it to some French Jesuits, who visited Siam, in order to convert the people. They reproached the Jesuits for exposing to public view, the images of their saints, and for saying mass with irreverence, and inattention. It is probable, the Jesuits never imagined to give offence to these heathens, but the latter, not comprehending the Romish ceremonies, might probably consider that as irreverent, which the Jesuits looked upon as sacred.

The grand object of worship in Siam is Sommona-Codom, of whom they give us the following account: They say he was born of a virgin, through the influence of the sun; and, that when the virgin found herself with child, she was so much affected, that she went and hid herself in a desert, in order to conceal her shame from the world. There, on the banks of a lake, she was delivered of a most beautiful child, but having no milk, wherewith to suckle him, and unwilling that he should die, she jumped into the lake, and set him upon a flower which blowed of itself, for his more commodious reception, and afterwards inclosed him in a cradle.

From the moment he was born without the assistance of a tutor, he instructed himself, and acquired a perfect knowledge of all things relating to heaven, earth, paradise and hell, with all the mysteries of nature. He taught the people to believe that angels visited him, as he sat under a tree, and that they

worshipped him. But, although he was born in such a miraculous manner, yet they tell us, he had a brother named Thevatat, who being jealous of him, conspired his downfall; but Sommona-Codom prevailed, and Thevatat was sent to be tormented in hell. They tell us further, that the guardian angel of the earth, whom they make a female, endeavoured to prevail with the enemies of Sommona-Codom, to adore him as a god; but they refusing, she squeezed her watery locks, and poured forth a deluge, which destroyed them.

Before Sommona-Codom began to aspire at the godhead, he had appeared five hundred and fifty times in the world, under various forms, and always assumed that which was the most beautiful at each period. He frequently laid down his life for the good of his people, and accustomed himself so much to mortification and penance, that he suffered a Bramin to take his son and daughter from him, and put them to the most exquisite tortures before his face. He was so charitable, that he once gave his wife to a poor man who implored charity. Whatever an European may think of this benevolent action, we are assured, that the people of Siam consider it as one of the most illustrious virtues in his life.

After he had renounced the pomp and vanities of the world, he applied himself to all the austerities of a devotee. He fasted, prayed, and performed all the religious duties common in the country, and rose to such strength of body, and perfection of mind, that he overcame, in single combat, a saint of consummate virtue. He had the power to work miracles, and he could make himself invisible, in order to know what secret things were transacting in the world. He flew as swift as the wind, from place to place, in order to preach virtue and morality, but one day forgetting himself, he killed a man, for which he was put to death. The person whom Sommona-Codom murdered, was, what the people of Siam called, a heretic; for these idolaters have heretics among them, as well as we Christians. It was not long before Sommona-Codom made his appearance again in the world, and the first thing he desired was, to eat the flesh of a hog into which the soul of him whom he murdered had entered, in order to be revenged on his murderer.



Accordingly, as he was teaching his disciples one day, a piece of the flesh of this hog was brought him, and he eat a part, but being taken ill with it, he told his disciples to build temples and altars to his memory, and then died. Ever since his death, he has enjoyed perfect tranquillity, being subject to no sort of pain, trouble, or sorrow.

He left the print of his feet in three different parts of the world, viz. in the kingdoms of Siam and Pegu, and in the island of Ceylon. To those places, whole crowds of pilgrims resort annually, where they offer up their prayers to him. These pilgrims are permitted to see the bones of Sommona-Codom, but they shine with such resplendent lustre, that they cannot behold them a minute at a time.

Sommona-Codom had two favourite disciples, whose images stand behind him on his altars, but they are not so large as his. The one that stands on the right hand, once, at the earnest solicitation of the damned, turned the earth upside down, and he took into the hollow of his hand all the fire of hell; but notwithstanding all his endeavours, it was not in his power to extinguish it. He therefore implored Sommona-Codom to do this charitable office; but the god refused to comply with his request, telling him, that should mankind once shake off the fear of punishment, they would grow abandoned, and most abominably wicked. There is in this sentiment something in all respects consistent with natural religion, and the notions that we mortals form of right and wrong.

The people of Siam have a strong persuasion, that Sommona-Codom will once more return to visit them, and they expect that he will come under the form of an idiot, for which reason, whenever they see a stupid fellow, they treat him with divine honours. They relate many strange stories concerning the jealousy that took place between Sommona-Codom and Thevatat; but they are not agreed whether they are brothers, or only near relations. Thevatat having entered into the order of priesthood, pretended he had it in his power to work miracles, and to assume whatever form he pleased. He had such an implacable hatred against Sommona-Codom, that he did every thing to vex and afflict him; but the sublime virtues of Sommona-Codom were such, that Thevatat soon lost many of his followers; and thus abandoned, he resolved to make his peace with him. To effluatuate this purpose, he sent the following proposals to Sommona-Codom, viz. that his scholars should retire into the most solitary deserts; to live upon the charity and benevolence of well-disposed persons, to be clothed in rags, to reside no more in convents, but live day and night under trees in the open air, and not to eat any sort of animal food. To these proposals, Sommona-Codom returned him this answer, that

such austerities ought to be the result of freedom and choice, and that those who acted otherwise, were no better than hypocrites, and consequently he would not advise any of his disciples to follow those rules.

But notwithstanding all this precaution of Sommona-Codom, Thevatat led away above five hundred of his disciples, for which, when he died, he was condemned to endure the following torments: His head was thrust into a large iron cauldron, made red hot with the fire of hell. His feet hung down into the flames, and his whole body was impaled with an iron spit lengthways, and crossed by two others. They believe that these torments are not to continue for ever, but they are to end with the regeneration of the sinner.

The people of Siam observe many festivals, particularly one in honour of their rivers, from which the fertility of their country flows. At such times they have boats on their rivers illuminated, and sacrifices are offered to Sommona-Codom. This practice is in all respects, consistent with the idolatry of the ancient Egyptians, who once every year observed a festival in honour of the river Nile. And as the Greeks borrowed their religion from the Egyptians, so we find many other heathen nations imitating their example. The Chinese have their goddess Puzza, the Egyptians had their Isis, and the Greeks imitated them in the worship of that imaginary being. In the same manner, the people of Siam have an annual feast in memory of the harvest, when they offer up thanksgivings to their idols, and march in procession from one place to another accompanied by their Talapoins, or priests, who have books of sacred music, which they sing in concert with such of the people as are able to join in the harmony.

They have so many pagods, that one cannot travel above a league without seeing one, and near them are always convents for their priests to reside. It is computed that there are above fourteen thousand pagods in the kingdom of Siam, but the principal, or metropolitan one, deserves a particular description.

Siam, the chief city of the kingdom of that name, has a most magnificent temple, in which there is an idol, dedicated to the honour of Sommona-Codom, made of massy gold, and said to be worth upwards of five hundred thousand pounds, and the king goes there to worship, on all solemn festivals. The form of the structure resembles a pyramid, which seems to have been the custom of many of the eastern nations, during the remote ages of antiquity. They have convents among them for women, and each of these is under the direction of a priest, to whom great respect is paid. Every priest who is head of a convent, is called a sancrat, and

in some respects, has an affinity to bishops among the Europeans, for they ordain the inferior priests, and exercise all the high offices of the clerical order. When they are first advanced to that rank, which is always by order of the king, they are honoured with a new title, and receive a fine sedan, in which they are carried from place to place. But the highest mark of distinction conferred upon them is an umbrella, which they are obliged to carry along with them wherever they go. These umbrellas are made of the leaves of palm trees, and the plaits are tied with a thread near the shank, and the shank itself is twisted into the form of an S, and they are called Talapats.

It is remarkable, that all these priests, are supported by the bounty of the public, and by practising many austerities, they impose upon the deluded vulgar. When they preach to the people, they take a text out of the wise sayings of Sommona-Codom, of which they have a large collection, and it is called the Word of God, and the perfect truth. In the sermon the priest expounds the mysteries of their religion to the people; and always concludes, by deducing some practical inferences, pointing out the nature and obligation men are under to practise moral duties. The men sit on one side of the temple, and the women on the other, and whenever a passage is quoted from the sacred oracles, they stand up in the most reverend posture, believing that the words are delivered by the Divine Being.

The natives of Siam have many fasts, but particularly when their rivers overflow their banks, and on these fasts, the rule is not to eat any thing after mid-day until next morning. After the harvest is over, the priests retire to the fields, where they lie all night under huts, made of the leaves of trees, and in the morning they return to their temples, where they offer up sacrifices and perform their devotions. Their prayers are offered up with all the appearance of the most unfeigned devotion; they sit upon the ground with their hands lifted up, and clasped together, taking no notice of any other object besides the idol whom they adore. This idol, which is the figure of Sommona-Codom, sitting cross-legged on a table before the altar, is on all such occasions, adorned with flowers, and perfumed by the priests, who consider this as one of the chief articles of their religion.

A Jesuit having asked one of the priests, where their god resided, the priest answered, "That for two thousand years he had been in a state of happiness, and takes no notice of our affairs in this lower world."

To this the Jesuit replied, "If your god is indulging himself wholly in pleasures, it is a seeming contradiction to suppose that he is at leisure to listen to your prayers." "God, said the Talapoin, or

priest, "has commanded us to pray, and by that act of devotion, we testify our obedience to his divine will."

All these priests are obliged to have their heads, lips, and eye-brows shaved, and this operation must be performed at the times of the new, and full moon. When the moon is at the full, the priests wash the images of their idols, and sprinkle them over with the richest perfumes.

This ceremony is not confined to their temples, for the priests also go to the private houses of individuals, and wash and perfume both the household gods and the people. In all cases of that nature, modesty is forgotten, and every sort of reserve is laid aside, which may serve to shew, that the manners and customs of the people of Asia are almost the same they were three thousand years ago.

It is a fixed rule with these priests, to get up in the morning, as soon as they can see the veins in their hands, lest in the dark, they should kill some insect, for they believe that all these creatures have human, rational souls within them. As soon as they get up, they meet their superior, and go with him to the temple, or pagod, where they pray upwards of two hours, and the laity sing psalms, or hymns, without the assistance of a book, having learned them by heart.

All the people sit cross-legged in their temples, and at going in, and coming out, they prostrate themselves three times to their idol; and this practice is attended to, both by the priests and the laity. When the morning service is over, the Talapoins, or priests, go from door to door, to collect as much money as they can procure from the people. They stand at the door, without asking for any thing, and if no notice is taken of them, they retire quietly.

When they return home to their convents, they have breakfast set before them, but before they taste so much as one morsel of it, they offer up part to their idol. The remainder of the forenoon is spent in prayers and meditations, and in the afternoon they instruct their pupils in the principles of their religion. Towards evening, they retire about two hours to rest, and previous to their going to bed for the night, they sweep and cleanse the temples of their idol. Every man is at liberty to take upon him the office of a Talapoin, or priest, and he may resign it when he pleases, but a severe punishment is inflicted on every one who does any thing to oppose such as seek the sacred office.

When a young person desires to be admitted to the priesthood, he applies to the superior of a convent, and he, having examined him, presents him to the sancrat for his approbation; when the young person is admitted, all his relations walk along with him in procession, singing hymns, and playing upon musical instruments. They likewise dance, and



the whole is a scene of jollity, mirth, and sometimes confusion.

As they march along, they make several stops and pauses in singing, and as soon as they come near the gate of the temple, the young candidate is conducted in along with the priests, but the women, and other relations are prohibited from entering the place, it being considered as too sacred for them. When the candidate is brought into the temple, his eye-brows, head, and beard are shaved, and the sancrat, or chief priest, gives him the habit of the order, which he puts on, having first thrown away all those robes which he wore, when a secular or layman. On such occasions, the sancrat, or chief priest, uses some mysterious words, which are not understood by any but the candidate and the priests, and then the young novice is conducted to the convent where he is to reside, accompanied by his friends and relations, who met him at the door of the temple. A few evenings afterwards, the relations give a grand entertainment to the priests in the convent, but the young one is not permitted to be present, nor on any occasion of that nature, till at least one year afterwards.

Their nuns have some privileges which the priests do not enjoy. Thus, if a priest is guilty of incontinency, he is burnt alive; but when a nun suffers herself to be seduced, she is only sent home to her friends, and to see her severely whipped, after which she is discarded from the convent for ever. From what we can learn of these people, it appears evident, that they are much under the direction of their priests, who seem little better than a parcel of Pharisees and hypocrites; they endeavour to blind the people's understanding, and triumphing in their weakness, establish their own grandeur, promote the interests of their families, and procure considerable emoluments.

In swearing, in order to the performance of any stipulated agreement, each of the parties drink out of one glass, but if it is of a very sacred, and more than common nature, then each of them has a vein opened, and they drink of each other's blood. Like all other superstitious persons, and consistent with the ignorance which prevails in most nations, the people of Siam pay much regard to the groans and cries of wild beasts, and always prognosticate something of importance from them. This is a species of superstition, not confined to those Indian heathens, for we have too much of it among ourselves, although it is a dishonour to our nature, and below the dignity of our religion.

In all their temples or pagods, they have great numbers of images, and they bestow much time and pains in decorating them, for they consider them as endowed with divine power, and they have likewise some in their houses. When their wives have lain in

about a fortnight, they light a fire in the house, and smoke the walls all over, which fire is kept burning five days together, and this is called the purification of the wife. This ceremony being over, all the relations are invited to a grand entertainment, and the child is named by one of the Talapoins, after he has been washed clean in a river. The Siamese, like the Chinese, are continually seeking out some antidote against death, for they really believe it is possible for some people to live always, although daily experience might convince them to the contrary.

The Siamese imagine that elephants are perfect, rational creatures, and when the king sent a present of three of them to the king of France, a formal leave was taken of them. The king of Siam, attended by his great officers, whispered in the elephants ears, and wished them a good journey, and a successful voyage, entreated them not to be any way uneasy, but to divert themselves with the thoughts that they would soon have the honour to appear before the king, and enter into the service of a most illustrious prince, who would treat them with the greatest respect. They believe that the souls of elephants once inhabited the bodies of some illustrious heroes, and after a certain number of years, they will return to them again.

But this is trifling to the respect they have for the white elephants, for they are fully persuaded their souls resided formerly in some of their princes; and thus we find the kings of Pegu and Siam, both stiled kings of the white elephant. They look upon them as saints; and some of them are of opinion they ought to be worshipped. There have been many bloody battles between the kings of Siam and Pegu, concerning their rights to the title of the white elephant, and all this seems to be owing to their belief, that the last form assumed by Sommona-Codom, was that of a white elephant.

All the maidens are kept closely confined, without ever being permitted to come into the company of the young bachelors, till their wedding day; but notwithstanding all the restraints they are kept under, yet they will often have interviews, and frequently make a very bad use of them.

In all their treaties of marriages, the relations of the man make the proposals to those of the woman, and for the most part, some discreet old matrons direct the young ones in their conduct. Three days before their marriage, the relations of both parties meet the bridegroom, and in his presence they fix what fortune he is to have with his spouse. The marriage being thus agreed upon, and the day fixed, they have a feast at the house of the bride's father, in a hall erected for that purpose, but at the expense of the bridegroom. After this, the young couple are conducted into a dark apartment adjoin-



ng the house, where they remain some days, being visited only by their relations. The men are allowed to have concubines, but never any more than one wife at a time. Divorces are permitted in Siam, when the parties cannot live happy together, but the wife's fortune must be returned, and the children are divided between them, if the number be even, but if there is an odd one, it is given to the mother.

The men and women are punished with death when they commit adultery; the man is stabbed by his own relations, and the woman is strangled by her's.

As soon as the man dies, they inclose his body in a wooden coffin, finely varnished over. Sometimes they make use of a leaden coffin, and it is always placed on a large table, in the middle of the house, and surrounded by the relations. In this manner the coffin is kept several days, and in the evening the Talapoins meet around it, sing hymns, and light up a great number of wax-tapers. The substance of their hymns consists of moral reflections on death, and they pretend to have the power to direct the soul of the deceased in his way to everlasting glory.

The body is then carried out to a field near one of their pagods, where it is burnt, and the ashes are inclosed within a fence made of small canes, embellished with figures, drawn on small slips of paper, pointing out the most remarkable actions in the life of the deceased.

These funeral ceremonies are always in the morning, and the corpse is followed by the relations, all dressed in white, and shewing marks of the sincerest sorrow. When the relations return home, they begin an entertainment which lasts three days, during which time they give alms to the poor; when the plague rages among them, they bury their dead, but when the flesh is consumed by the worms they take up the bones and burn them.

The Talapoins, or priests, are buried in the following manner: the coffin in which the body is inclosed, is finely decorated with a variety of figures relating to the actions of the deceased, and laid on a funeral pile, round which they erect four columns, composed of wood, and richly gilt. There are several lesser pillars, and the whole fenced round with a high enclosure of canes, with small images hanging to them. The processions on these occasions are by water, in a vast number of balons, or boats, filled with Talapoins, and a prodigious number of the magistrates and people of rank. It is an article in their religion, that the more costly they are in their funeral expenses, the more advantageous will the soul of the deceased be situated in heaven, or in the body of one of the greatest monarchs on earth. In belief of this notion, they often ruin themselves

to procure an expensive funeral. They are very sincere in their mourning, for none of them ever weep, except such as are really affected with the loss of a friend or relation.

They have many romantic notions concerning spirits, and they often imagine themselves tormented by them. It is plain, that they consider the soul as immortal, but still they have some notion of it consisting of refined matter, far superior to the body, and that it has some shape or form, though they do not define what it is. They believe that when souls have passed through a vast number of bodies they become pure from all manner of sin, and they are taken up into the mansions of everlasting happiness. They believe that there are two angels in heaven, who register all the actions of men here below, and read them over to Sommona-Codom.

Before we conclude this article, it is necessary to say something concerning their pagods, or temples, in which they worship their idols. The word pagoda, is Persian, and properly signifies a temple, where sacrifices are offered and idols worshipped. These pagods consist most commonly of three divisions. The first, is a large entrance under a vaulted roof, supported by stone columns, and all ranks of persons are permitted to go into it. The second part is open in the day, and shut at night; but none are permitted to go into it, except the priests. It is filled with a great number of figures of men, with many heads and arms, but the outer porch is adorned with figures of elephants and other animals. The third, which may be called the most sacred part of the temple, is shut up with a very strong gate, and in it the image of the god is placed, adorned in the most gaudy manner, and illuminated with a vast number of lamps. Some of these pagods, particularly on the coast of Malabar, are built of marble; but those in Coromandel, of large stones cemented together.

The pagods in Malabar are for the most part covered with plates of copper; and some of those on the coast of Coromandel, are endowed with vast revenues, particularly at a town called Ramanakoil, and it is visited by many thousands of pilgrims annually. All these Indians, before they go into their pagods to worship, pull off their shoes and stockings, and wash their legs and feet in reservoirs, placed in the porch of the temple. In Calicut, the priests present holy water to all those who go in, for great part of their religion consists in ablutions or washings.

But besides these, great numbers of small ones are erected in the fields for the use of the peasants, who are obliged to attend to the duties of their stations, in cultivating the ground. Many of these pagods are erected near the places where they burn

the bodies of their deceased relations, and all of them have priests, who are supported by the free-will-offerings of the people. In ancient times, the kings of India considered it as meritorious to build pagods, and settle revenues upon them; but one of those princes, named Veinacapati, being in great want of money, made free with the sacred treasure of the pagod of Eswara, promising to restore it as soon as his circumstances would permit; but his successor, Rama-Develo, having attempted to seize

a crown of gold from off the head of one of the idols, the persons who gave him this wicked counsel, died at the foot of the mountain on which the pagod stood, and soon afterwards the king himself, according to their tradition, perished miserably. Some persons have ran into a mistake, concerning the word pagod, by imagining that the idol is meant, whereas in all places in the East Indies, it implies a temple, nor do the natives ever call their idols pagods.

## RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE OF LAIES, LANGIENS, OR LAOS.

THE inhabitants of these countries believe, that there are sixteen terrestrial worlds, and that heaven is situated above them. They imagine that heaven and earth are eternal, only the former never was subject to any change; but that the earth has undergone a variety of revolutions. They say, that about eighteen thousand years before the reign of Xacca, or Nequia, the lower world of the sixteen, was destroyed by water, when a most holy mandarin of more than human extraction, descended from the highest of the sixteen worlds, and with one stroke of his scimitar, cut a certain flower which floated on the surface of the water, and from that flower sprung up a most beautiful damsel, with whom the pious mandarin was so much in love, that he resolved to marry her; but her inflexible modesty rendered all his addresses ineffectual.

The mandarin was too generous and just to force the beautiful maid to a compliance, and yet he knew not how to live without her; he therefore placed himself at a small distance from her, and admired her beauty from morning to evening, gazing upon her with all the tenderness of love; and by the miraculous force of his tender glances, she became the most joyful mother of a numerous offspring, and yet continued a virgin. When the children grew up, the mandarin considered himself as under an obligation of making some provision for them, and for that purpose, created that beautiful variety of beings which now replenish the earth, and then ascended into heaven, but could not obtain admittance till he had duly qualified himself by penance.

Before the earth was restored to its original state, four gods were appointed to preside over it, but three of them growing weary of the important task, returned again to heaven, in order to enjoy uninterrupted peace and tranquillity. Xacca, the only sur-

living god left behind, reigned some thousands of years, and then sunk into a state of rest. But he took care to instruct the people to erect temples to his memory, promising that he would fill them with his spirit, which would make an ample amends for the want of his personal appearance; and that he would breathe into their gods such divine influences, as would enable them to work all sorts of miracles. They add further, that those images, or statues, participated of the divine nature of Xacca, according to his promise when he left them, and from hence the worship of images, among the natives of the East Indies, took its rise.

They do not fix upon the number of years that the religion of Xacca shall continue established, but they believe that another god will arise and demolish their temples, break down their images, and burn their sacred writings; after which he shall establish new laws, and a pure form of worship. They likewise assert, that there was a good understanding between Xacca and the god of the Christians. That the former made choice of the east to teach his sentiments, and the latter the west, to establish his religion.

From this it appears, that they have some traditions concerning Christ; for some of their priests told the Jesuits, that the god of the Christians made but a poor figure in the world, although his religion prevailed in many parts: and this is every way consistent with the gospel account of our Redeemer.

These people are very much addicted to superstition, and on some particular days, the statue of Xacca is brought out of the pagod, and exposed to the people, on a stage erected for that purpose, and there the devotees assemble and pay their adoration to it. Every worshipper must bring something along with him, which the Talapouns convert to

their own use. Sacrilege, or the robbing of temples, is looked upon as the most horrid crime that can be committed, nor is any person permitted to speak irreverently of their gods. It is probable they have some traditional account of the fallen angels, for they believe that evil spirits once resided in heaven.

Their priests are called Talapoints, in the same manner as in Siam, and they are not permitted to enter into orders till they are turned of twenty-three years of age, at which time they are very strictly examined, and if approved of, they are admitted into the order, with several very pompous ceremonies, which in some respects differ from those of the neighbouring nations. The novice sets out from the convent, dressed in the gayest habit that can be procured, and mounting himself on an elephant, rides in solemn procession to the pagod, or temple, where he is to make his last vows. Entertainments of a very luxurious nature, are kept up during the space of three days, but notwithstanding all that formality and ceremony, these priests have a right to lay down their habit whenever they please, and return again to the state and condition of laymen. The Jesuits, who never could gain any of these people over to be proselytes to popery, have represented them under the most odious colours, such as hypocrites, epicureans, and persons of the most abandoned characters.

The king is the sole judge of these priests, and when any of them commit odious crimes, they are condemned for life to wait upon his elephants. But still the king of the country is much afraid of them, because was he to treat them with too much indignity, they would at any time have it in their power to stir up a rebellion among the people; so popular are they in their public discourses, and such is the influence they have over the vulgar. On the fourteenth day of every new moon, these priests confess their sins, one after another, before their idols, beginning with the seniors, and ending with the juniors, and they wash themselves with consecrated water, in order to cleanse them from all their impurities. Part of their worship consists in presenting their idols with rice, flowers and perfumes; and besides these free-will offerings, they pray before them with beads in their hands, and light up wax tapers upon their altars.

These priests or Talapoints, are divided into two classes; first, the seculars, and secondly, the regulars. The seculars are those who attend on public worship, in the cities and towns, and the regulars are a sort of monks, or hermits, who live, some in convents, and others in the woods, where they acquire great reputation for their sanctity, and the purity of their morals. The king regulates all their fasts and festivals, and decides in all such matters of controversy as take place among them. The mo-

vals of these monks, like those of the priests in the kingdom of Siam, are regulated by five negative precepts, namely, "Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; and thou shalt not drink any wine." But notwithstanding the severity of the last precept, yet it is at any time dispensed with, in order to procure a sum of money from the person who solicits for it.

The people in these countries are allowed a plurality of wives, but those are best esteemed, and most respected, who, by subduing their passions, and bringing them under the government of reason, confine themselves to one. As for their nuptial ceremonies, they have nothing very extraordinary in them. Their chief care is to have their solemn engagements signed and attested by witnesses, and these must be persons of characters, who have lived many years in the marriage state, in the most sacred bonds of inviolable love and true friendship.

The people believe in witchcraft, and that all disorders can be cured by magic, for which reason they have their enchanted plasters, ointments, mysterious terms, and many other things of a surprizing nature, according to their account of them. The priests sell these things at a most exorbitant price; but this is never objected to by the people, who considered them as endowed with sovereign virtue, either to prevent or heal all manner of diseases.

The priests are likewise very expert in casting people into a profound sleep, and by that means to strip them of all they have about them without being discovered. This is done by the power of an intoxicating draught, and the people have such an opinion of its divine, or heavenly nature, that when restored from their slumber, they often give all they have to the priests. It is common with the priests to send an old ragged cloak to one of their patients, who has such an opinion of its sanctity, that he wraps himself in it, and believes that he will soon be restored to health. If he happens to recover, then he sends his best clothes to the priest, that his holy word may sanctify them, so as to have the same efficacy as that of the old ragged cloak; but when all these means prove ineffectual, then the priests say, that the patient was destitute of faith.

In their funeral ceremonies, they differ in nothing from the people of Siam, and they all believe that the soul will transmigrate through many bodies for a vast number of years, after which it will be translated to heaven. It is not to be doubted but they worship Sommona-Codom, the god of Siam, because most of their ceremonies are the same, particularly their funeral rites, and indeed almost every thing else.

With respect to magic or witchcraft, there is, perhaps, not one single nation in the universe, where



some belief of it cannot be found. We find it strictly prohibited both in the Old and New Testament, and yet it is much to be feared, there are too many that live under the gospel dispensation, who believe in its existence. The ancient Pagans had a method of inquiring into the knowledge of future events, by addressing themselves to oracles in their temples; and they imagined the answer they received, was delivered by the soul of one of the deceased friends or relations. These addresses to oracles in order to procure an answer from the dead, might be delivered in any temple whatever, but some were considered as more sacred than others, and to these many pilgrims resorted. The whole seems to have taken its

origin from the pride or vain curiosity of men, who sought to know future events, which Providence has wisely concealed from them. Men would be wretched creatures indeed, were they to be informed of all that is to happen to them in this world. They would sink under the terrors of the evil, they would neglect their duty as beings, whose dependence should be on God, and every thing here below would return to its original state of confusion. Those who believe in magic or witchcraft, give up the whole providence of God, by seeking to know what he has concealed from them, and by imagining that a finite being can pry into the secrets of infinity.

## RELIGION OF THE TONQUINESE.

THE people of Tonquin are divided into different sects, but they are all heathens, and their worship agrees, in many things, with that of the nations already described. Some of them acknowledge Confucius, the celebrated legislator of China, to be their religious father, and to him they offer up sacrifices with other divine honours; but the followers of this sect, are only those who are most esteemed for their learning in the sciences. The common people are, for the most part, followers of Xaca, whom some call Chaca, and others Chacabout. They give a different account of this Xaca, from what related in the preceding description of the religion of Laos, for they say that he concealed himself six years in a desert, where he compiled that form of religion which he afterwards taught his disciples. He attempted to persuade them that there was not a Divine Providence, that the soul was mortal, that there was no such thing as a future state of rewards and punishments. In order to imprint upon the minds of the people a reverential regard for his character, he boldly asserted, that two angels or demons inspired him with those doctrines he was obliged to teach for the benefit of mankind.

Xaca likewise asserted, that all such as aspired to the highest state of perfection, should renounce the pomps and vanities of this world, to have compassion on their fellow creatures, and to relieve the poor under all their distresses. They were to spend many hours in prayer and meditation, and endeavour, as much as in them lay, to subdue their lusts and passions. He also taught, that all those who obeyed his precepts, although their souls were of a material substance, yet, after death, they would pass

into other bodies, in which they would enjoy many pleasures to which they were strangers before; and this doctrine is so much like that of the philosopher Pythagoras, that probably they are both of one original.

There is in Tonquin, a considerable religious set, called Lanthu. This Lanthu was a native of China, and a magician. He had so much art as to assert, that he never had a father, and that he was seventy years in his mother's belly, who yet was a spotless virgin, and his disciples taught that he was the creator of all things. To the errors of Xaca, Lanthu added several of his own, but he gained the love and affection of the people, by his many acts of charity and benevolence, and by founding and endowing temples and hospitals.

They have in Tonquin three idols, for which they have a more than ordinary veneration. The first is the god of the kitchen, composed of three stones, in commemoration of three persons, who burnt themselves to ashes on the same hearth. The second presides over all the liberal arts, and is worshipped in the dress of a Chinese, probably in memory of some learned man from China having first taught them the sciences. This idol is called Tien-Su, and such respect have the people for him, that no man will bind out his son as an apprentice to a trade till he has sacrificed to him, and put the boy under his protection; nor are any contracts or agreements signed, without appealing to him. The third idol, known by the name of Buabin, is the god of buildings; and all structures, whether public or private, are committed to his care. He is to protect the houses from fire, lightning, thunder, wind, rain,

or any thing by which they, or their inhabitants may be injured.

But besides these idols, the people of Tonquin worship the heavens, with the sun, moon, and stars, the four cardinal points, and the centre of the earth. When they worship the north, they dress themselves in black, and their tables, altars, sacrificing instruments, and indeed every thing they use are of that dismal colour. When they worship towards the east, they are dressed in green; when to the south, in scarlet; when to the west, in white; and yellow when to the centre of the earth. They likewise worship the meanest things on earth, as will appear from the following ridiculous circumstance:

Some fishermen having one day seen a billet of wood thrown on shore, believed that it was inhabited by the soul of some great person; they lifted it into the boat and carried it home, where it was worshipped, and temples were erected to its memory and honour. They traced its genealogy, and found that this log was no less a personage than the daughter of one of the emperors of China. This pious princess had thrown herself into the sea, in order to bestow her royal benedictions on the people of Tonquin, and to accomplish her good intention without being discovered, she metamorphosed herself into a wooden billet. Daola, one of their idols, presides over travellers, and indeed they have their titular gods for the protection of every thing.

The Tonquinese have as many pagods, or temples, as they have country houses, and each of those has at least two priests to offer up sacrifices, but some have upwards of forty, and all these are supported by the bounty of the people. They profess much humility, never begging for relief, nor do they accept of any thing besides what is absolutely necessary. If they have any thing to spare, they give it away to the poor, and maintain several widows and children out of their own collections; a noble example for those of the purest religion to copy after.

They have grand festivals on the first and fifteenth of every moon; but, besides, they observe several holy days in memory of the dead. In the sixth month, they celebrate the festival of their idol, Tham-no, who is the preserver of their corn, in the same manner as the Greeks believed that Ceres was. In all solemn festivals they perfume their idols, and illuminate their altars. They believe in the art of divination, and nothing of importance is undertaken, without first consulting the magicians, who compose their looks and gestures in the most artful manner, in order to procure the respect of those who consult them. Before he attempts to answer any of the questions proposed to him, he opens a book in a very formal manner, containing circles, characters and whimsical figures, and then demands the age of the person who comes to consult him. He then tosses

up into the air, two or three small pieces of brass, with characters on one side only, and if the sides with the characters fall towards the ground, then it is considered as a bad omen; but if they turn up, they denote some degree of success. If there are only two pieces, and if they fall the reverse of each other, it is considered as an indication of something very successful. For the most part, these magicians are so artful, that they can throw the pieces so as to give hope to the person who makes the application; a practice common among the ancient heathens.

In this country, there are witches who pretend to have a familiar acquaintance with the devil, and that, by his assistance, they can reveal what are the conditions of the souls of particular persons in the other world. These witches pretend to conjure up the souls of deceased persons, by the sound of a drum, and they have the art to counterfeit a strange voice, which the people believe is the soul speaking to them. These fortune-tellers, who appear to be arant impostors, devote their own children to the devil, and they teach them to throw themselves into seemingly strong convulsions, to make the people believe they are possessed.

When a man is taken sick, they ascribe his malady to the first devil who entered into his thoughts. An attempt is then made to appease the devil, by sacrifices; but if they dont succeed, they have recourse to compulsion. The friends of the sick man take up arms, and surround the house, in order to drive the devil out of his quarters, and they believe that when he is driven out, he is confined, close corked up in a bottle of water. When it is imagined that the sick man's disorder is occasioned by the malice of the ghost of one of his dead relations, the magician uses several charms to conjure the spirit to him, and when he has laid hold on him, he puts him up in another bottle, and places him beside the devil. There they are both confined for ever, if the patient dies, but if he recovers the magician suffers them to escape. From this part of their ridiculous superstition, it is evident, that although in many respects they believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet they consider it as some way material; for if the soul is not material, it could not be confined by matter, or which is all one, corked up in a bottle.

When one of the natives of Tonquin returns home from a journey, in which he has met with some singular deliverance; or when any of them return home sick, wounded, or indisposed, they carry the upper garments of the persons to a cross way, and hang them upon a pole, then they offer seven little balls of rice to the genius, or titular god of the place, after which the balls are eaten by the persons in whose favour they were offered up. This prac-

tice was much attended to by the ancient Greeks, who believed that some of their gods presided over the highways, in order to protect travellers. They have a very remarkable way of celebrating the anniversary of their birth-days, particularly that of the king's, of which the following is a faithful account:

Seven days before the festival, the chief musicians repair to the palace, and form a choir of vocal and instrumental music, which continues till the feast commences. Several of the bonzes, or priests assemble, and they begin with the chief priest's pronouncing several prayers, and then conjures the king's soul in the following words to inform his body:—"Let the three souls of our monarch," says he, with an audible voice, "assemble together and make one soul to animate his body." After that they cast lots with two pieces of brass, and when they think the souls are arrived, the chief bonze fastens them to the end of a stick, for the three souls to perch upon. At the same time they inform the king, that in a short time he must go to receive his soul, and prepare a lodging for it. The king then pulls off the clothes he has on, and having dressed himself in every thing new, ascends a magnificent throne, while two thousand soldiers, as many horses, and twelve elephants are ordered to conduct his soul.

This numerous retinue conducts the soul to the throne, where the king receives it, as one risen from the dead. All his courtiers congratulate him on his resurrection, and the festival continues seven days. This is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable festivals in the world, and probably took its rise from a notion, that on the annual return of birth-days, new souls, endued with the most sublime virtues, come to reside in the body.

On the first day of the new year, every house-keeper erects a long pole before his door, and fixes a basket to the top of it, embellished all round with fine paper, gilt and painted. The reason for this ceremony is, the Tonquinese believe that the painted paper has the power to drive away the evil spirit, but were they to neglect so necessary an article in their religion, the evil spirit would torment them during the whole remainder of the year. On the last day of the year, all those who have had any disputes are reconciled, and they begin the new year in a state of friendship. In marriages, they must have the consent of their parents, if they are alive, but if they are dead, then they must apply to the nearest relations, and the marriage engagements must be signed, and confirmed before the judge, or governor of the place. They may marry as many wives as they please, but if they cannot support them from being a burthen to the community, then they are liable to pay a fine. On the evening of the

wedding day, the relations of the bride conduct her home to the house of the bridegroom, where the first thing she does is to go into the kitchen and kiss the hearth, after which she prostrates herself on the ground, to acknowledge her humility and obedience to her husband.

The entertainments at their marriages, generally, last nine days, unless the parties are extremely poor, and then three days are considered as sufficient. The law permits a man to put away his wife, but this privilege is not granted to the woman, and if a woman procures a divorce, it is attended with many difficulties. When a woman is found guilty of adultery, she is turned out into an inclosure among elephants, where she generally starves, but for the same crime, the man can compound by paying a fine. The ceremony of a divorce in Tonquin, has something in it very novel to Europeans. When a man is inclined to put away his wife, he takes the sticks which they used at their meals, instead of forks, and breaking them in twain, each party takes one half, and wraps it carefully up in a piece of silk stuff; after which the man is obliged to return his wife all the money he received with her, and give security that he will take care of all the children they had while they cohabited together.

The clothes they wear at their funerals are always white, but no part of them must be silk. A father, or a mother, mourns for a child twenty-seven months; widows wear mourning for their husbands, three year; but a husband mourns no longer for his wife, than he thinks proper. Brothers and sisters, mourn for one another, one whole year. The lowest sorts of the people commemorate their deceased relations, and their ceremonies are according to the nature of their circumstances. For such as have done great things to serve the public, they erect altars and temples, on which they offer sacrifices, and they even celebrate the memories of such as have raised disturbances, fomented rebellions, and trampled on the laws; but this is not done for their honour, but to hold them out as objects of detestation, to all those who shall live in future ages.

But nothing can exceed the funeral rites of their kings, in splendor and pomp they even exceed imagination. They first embalm the body, and then expose it on a bed of state for sixty-five days together, during all which time, he is attended and served with as much splendor as if he was really alive, and the victuals, as soon as conveyed away from him, are given to the priests, and to the poor. Every one of his subjects is obliged to appear in mourning. All the officers of state are obliged to remain in mourning three years, nor are any public games allowed during the mourning, except such as are common when a king mounts the throne, in the room of his predecessor. The dishes served up at



the new king's coronation, are all varnished black, and he cuts off his hair, and covers his head with a straw hat. All the great officers of state do the same, and three bells are kept tolling incessantly, from the death of a king, till his body is put on board a galley, in order to be interred among his ancestors.

On the sixty-sixth day, after the death of the king, all things being prepared for his interment, by a proper officer appointed for that purpose, the procession begins, and the ground is strewn with flowers. The procession continues sixteen days, and at every quarter of a league, they make a halt near some huts, erected for the purpose of supplying the people and horses with provisions, and with fire to light their pipes. Two gentlemen of the king's chamber, march in the front, and as they go along they proclaim the king's name with all his pompous titles; each of them carries a mace in his hand, the head of which has a lighted torch in it, and twelve gentlemen of the king's galleys draw a mausoleum after them.

Next comes the grand master of the horse, attended by two pages who are followed by twelve sumpter horses, richly caparisoned, and led by pages, walking two and two. The elephants come next in the following order; the first four are mounted by standard bearers, the next four have castles on their backs, filled with soldiers, and the last four have cages on their backs; these cages are made of lattice-work, finely gilded and glazed. The car, or chariot, which contains the mausoleum, in which the king's body is deposited advances next, and is drawn by twelve stags, each of whom is led by one of the captains of the life-guards.

The new king, with his brothers, and all the princes of the blood, walk behind the car, dressed in long white robes, with straw hats on their heads; and they are followed by the princesses, with the king's musicians; and each princess has two ladies to wait on her. These princesses carry each a handful of the provisions that are to be used at the entertainment. The four principal governors of the provinces follow the ladies, each carrying a staff on his shoulder, and a purse at his waist, filled with gold and the richest perfumes. In these purses are contained the presents which are to be given to the deceased king, in order to defray his expenses into the other world. The governors are followed by eight coaches, loaded with ingots of gold, bars of silver, cloth of tissue, and the richest silks, from a persuasion, that the deceased is to carry all these along with him.

The procession is closed by all the nobility and persons of rank, some on foot, and some on horseback; and as soon as they arrive at the brink of the river, there is a galley to receive the king's body, with many others to attend it. In the first of the

two which immediately follow the corpse, are such of the great men of the kingdom who have consented to be buried along with their sovereign; and in the other, which is closely shut up, are the favourite court ladies, who have submitted to the same fate. The other galleys are transports, to carry all sorts of necessary provisions, with equipages and treasures. All these galleys are rowed from one creek to another, till they come to the most solitary place they can find, and the most difficult of access; for no persons are to know where the king and his illustrious victims are buried, except six eunuchs, who are sworn to secrecy in the most solemn manner.

When they come to the place appointed for the funeral service to be performed, several of the priests, who are indiscriminately named Bonzes, Bramins, or Talapouns, approach, dressed in their white robes, and repeat several prayers. After this they sing hymns, while those who have voluntarily consented to die with their king, are employed in washing themselves, and preparing for their passage into the other world. The priests attend the funeral pile, upon which the king's body is laid, and on piles inclosed, built of wood, are the nobles, the ladies, elephants, horses, and treasures. Fire being set to the piles, the priests sing several hymns, and as soon as the whole is reduced to ashes, there is a deep pit made, and the contents are thrown into it; but no monument is erected in the place, lest the ashes of the dead should be disturbed.

It would be impossible to hear the cries of those victims without horror, were we not, at the same time, to consider how strongly prejudice operates on the minds of men, in favour of some particular sort of superstition, which has been in a manner deified by its great antiquity. But to this we may add, that the priests take care to employ so many musicians during the burning of the funeral pile, that the cries of the sufferers are drowned.

It was a just remark of the celebrated Paschal, that in all ages and nations, men are more attentive to false than to true religion. Whence does this contradiction arise? The answer is obvious: God hath made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions. In nothing does the corruption of human nature appear more conspicuous, than in the regard men pay to false religion, while they consider that which is really pure as unworthy of their notice. This general accusation will not, however, hold good in all its parts, when applied to the heathens we have been writing of. They never heard the joyful sound of the gospel; they never saw the pure simplicity of Christian worship; nor did they ever hear the perfections of the divine attributes explained. It is true, they have the same law of nature, by which all the beathen world will be judged, yet we find how meanly they have degraded

it: but let us consider, that whatever punishment the Almighty may inflict on them hereafter, yet dreadful will be the condition of those nominal Christians, who, having the means of grace put

into their hands, and the hope of glory presented to them, forget their God and their Redeemer, and trample upon all his mercies.

## RELIGION IN COCHIN-CHINA, CAMBODIA, &c.

THE kingdom of Cochin-China, is situated without the Ganges, and the religion of the natives differs but little from what we have already described in Tonquin. They are gross idolators, and worship the meanest reptiles, and even inanimate things. The first article of their religion consists in paying adoration to the souls of those who, in this life, were distinguished for some meritorious action, and their temples are adorned with their images. These images are artfully placed, some being high and others low, much in the same manner as the pipes of an organ. This is done to point out the merits of the persons, and according to the height of the image, the degrees of worship are regulated, for those who are short are not to be treated with so much respect as those who are tall.

Between each range of these images, there is a dark opening, but no person can see how far it reaches. This their priests say, is the place where the eternal invisible God resides, and that he cannot be seen by the human eye. Being asked by a Jesuit, why they erected images, seeing they believed in one true God? they answered, that they did not set up the images as makers of heaven and earth, but they kept them to put them in memory of the virtues of great men, who could hear their prayers, and intercede with God for them. Through the whole of the country there are such a number of pagods, and in each of them several different idols, that one would be apt to imagine every family had two or three for themselves; but this is of great advantage to the priests, who are constantly employed in acts of devotion, in sacrifices, and other offices in those temples.

Such of the Cochin-Chinese as live near the mountains, have preserved a greater purity in their worship, for they have no temples crowded with idols, but offer up their sacrifices on hills, or in groves, under the canopy of the heavens, and they pay great respect to the memory of the dead.

The natives of Cambodia, are, in many respects like those of Siam, for they adore the soul of the universe as the true God. They have a celebrated temple at Oneo, in this kingdom, and to it devotees resort from many parts of the east; and the priests

who officiate in it, pretend to give answers to the most difficult questions proposed to them. There are different orders of these priests, but all of them are distinguished by their dress. Some of them make a vow of poverty, and live only on the charity of well-disposed persons; while others, who chuse to accept of salaries, spend great part of their time in visiting the sick, and healing, by magic, different sorts of diseases. Some go from place to place, instructing the ignorant, and in doing all sorts of good offices to those who want their assistance. The medicines they give to their patients are extremely simple, and they are so nourishing, that they want no other sort of subsistence until they recover. When they think a patient is incurable, they tell him so, and desire him not to load himself with medicines; but when they think there are any hopes of his recovery, then they bid him not despair, as they have a medicine will cure him, and recover him to his former state of health. They accordingly administer their medicines, which they always carry along with them, and if the patient recovers, the priests are highly honoured; but if he dies, then his death is imputed to the anger of the gods, for some secret crime.

There is but little difference between the natives of Cochin-China, and those of Cambodia, nor indeed between them and those we have already described, concerning their marriages and funerals. Both admit a plurality of wives, and both tolerate divorcees. They observe the same rules of consanguinity in their marriages as are prescribed in the law of Moses, and what we Christians practise. Indeed they have many other customs resembling those of the Jews; which may serve to shew, that there was no great difference between the inhabitants of ancient nations concerning their religious rites and ceremonies.

If a man dies, the nearest male relation, unmarried, is to take the widow to wife, and in case either of the parties refuse to comply with this established custom, or rather law, then the offending party is fined in such a sum as he is seldom ever able to pay. Both men and women are punished in the same manner for adultery, and that is exposing them to the elephants; for they believe, that if they turn them

out into a field where these creatures are grazing, such is their sagacity, that they will tread upon them till they are dead. It is certain, that an untamed elephant will tread upon any person who comes in his way, but he is so easily tamed, that there cannot be any great difficulty for these delinquents to screen themselves from him, and take shelter in some other part of the country.

We shall now proceed to describe their funeral rites and ceremonies, which, in some things, are nearly allied to those of their neighbours; but in other respects, rather more simple, and bearing greater marks of antiquity.

When a person lies at the point of death, all his male relations and friends crowd around his bed, with drawn scymitars and sabres, which they brandish around the patient, in order to drive away such evil spirits as they imagine are hovering around him, to seize his soul the moment it departs from his body. When a person of distinction dies, the priests, who are likewise the physicians, hold a consultation concerning the nature of the disorder, and when they think they have found it, they discover what evil spirit it was that inflicted it, and in the most formal manner, they condemn him to everlasting flames. But according to their notions, while they revenge themselves on the evil spirit, another is preparing to take away the life of one of the deceased's relations.

When the devil enters into the body of the next person who is to die in the family, the priests are sent for, and when they have been sometime in conversation with the patient, they give him a sleeping draught, which, for at least one day, deprives him of his senses. During the whole of that time they remain with him, and when the use of his senses and reason returns, the relations of the deceased are called in; then the priests tell them that the person who lies sick saw the soul of the deceased, and points out, in a distinct manner, how he is employed, and in what state he is. This is a very artful trick, and serves to establish the power of the priests, while it darkens the understandings of the people, and keeps their minds in a state of subjection.

When a person's funeral is to be celebrated, an entertainment is provided, and all the relations, friends and neighbours are invited; and on such occasions they invoke the souls of their departed ancestors, praying them once more to return.

The third day of the feast, the body is carried to a stage erected before the door of the house, and the priests sing and pray around it, at the same time sprinkling it all over with consecrated water. The richest perfumes that can be procured are put into the mouth, and the body is laid into a wooden coffin, but not covered with a lid; then the procession begins in the following manner:

The male relations of the deceased walk first,

after them follow the priests, singing a sort of litany, or rather different sorts of litanies; next the coffin is carried by some of the neighbours of the deceased, and the procession is closed by the women, dressed in white, and veiled, making the most hideous lamentations. When they arrive at the funeral pile, which is commonly in a desert place, near the banks of a river, or sometimes in a wood, the priests renew their singing, which continues about an hour, after which the body is a second time perfumed and sprinkled, and being laid on the pile, all the relations, one after another, touch it out of respect, and each repeats a short prayer for the repose of his soul; the priests then set fire to the pile, and they, with the relations, wait till it is consumed. The ashes are then buried in a grave dug for that purpose, except a few small bones, which the widow picks up and puts into an earthen urn, mixed with flowers. These she carries home, as the precious remains of her husband, and deposits them near her house. Sometimes they are put up in a pagod, and it frequently happens, that if the relations are rich, then they build and endow a temple for the purpose.

Consistent with the nature of this work, which is to comprehend the whole body of divinity, whether historical, theological, or practical, we have already taken notice of some of the leading principles under different heads, and throughout the remainder shall continue to do the same. It is remarkable, that in all the nations we have hitherto treated of, some rites and ceremonies are used, with respect to marriage, and although it may appear that some of these are ridiculous enough, yet their universality points out their antiquity. But where shall we look for this antiquity? Is it to be found among the heathens? The answer is obvious, nor can there be any dispute concerning it. The heathens differ from each other in the nature of marrying, and yet there is no nation that we can hear of, where celibacy is established as a principle of religion. To understand this in a proper manner, we must have recourse to the sacred scriptures, where we read, that when God had finished the greatest part of the creation, he made man, and afterwards he formed the woman to be help-mate for him. It seems to have been the design of the Almighty, that men and women, as husbands and wives, should live in peace and society together, that they should be mutual assistants to each other, that they should propagate their species, and that they should by the highest act of generosity, educate their children in the principles of virtue and religion. All this was appointed, that the government of this world should be conducted in a regular manner, and that when societies were formed, men might know the relation they stood in to each other, and to God.



Marriage is a contract, both of a civil and religious nature, between a man and a woman, by which they engage to live together in mutual love and friendship, for the happiness of each other, and that they may bring up their children useful members of society. The immediate descendants of Noah, after the deluge, seem to have had but a faint notion of marriage; for we are informed, that the first inhabitants of Greece lived promiscuously together, and that women were common to the men in general. However, when republics were established, and governments fixed, new regulations took place, and marriage was countenanced and encouraged, while those who abstained from it were treated with peculiar marks of contempt.

The Lacedemonians were particularly remarkable for their severity towards those who deferred marriage till advanced in years, and still more so to those who never married. Such persons were obliged to run once every winter naked round the Forum, and to sing a certain song, which exposed them to the ridicule of the populace. Another punishment was, to be excluded from all the public games in which the young virgins danced naked, and on certain solemn days, the old women dragged them round the altars, and beat them with their fists.

The Athenians had a law, that all those who enjoyed offices of a public nature, should be married men and have children; these being considered as so many pledges of their integrity, in discharging their duty to their country and fellow citizens. This was certainly a just and equitable law, for those who live unmarried, cannot be supposed to have any great regard for the interest of their country, whereas those who are married, seek to promote the public good, because their wives, their children, and relations, are all in one way or other connected with the event, and must stand or fall by the conduct of their parent.

Many of the ancient heathens paid little regard to the laws of consanguinity in the marriage state, for we even find, that among the Persians, men often lay with their own sisters, and what is still more shocking, with their own mothers.

The Greeks were extremely regular, with respect to their marriages, and they took care to prevent every thing that might lead towards incest, which they looked upon as unnatural. It is true, women were often purchased; but if they were orphans, then the state was under the necessity of bestowing upon them a marriage-portion, equal to what they might have expected, had their parents been alive.

The Romans, as well as the Greeks, also permitted polygamy, or a plurality of wives; but both gave too much liberty to such as sued for divorces. It is enacted by the first law of the twelve tables,

that "when a woman shall have cohabited with a man for a whole year, without having been three nights absent from him, she shall be deemed his wife;" from whence it appears, that the Romans considered living together as essential to marriage. By the second law of the same tables, it is enacted, "If a woman is found by her husband in adultery, or drunk, he may put her to death, but he must first consult her relations."

Among many of the ancients, particularly the Romans, it was considered as in some measure dishonourable for women to marry a second time; because they looked upon it as a breach in her first matrimonial covenant. This notion was carried so far, that it was imagined if ever the widow married, it would disturb her husband's repose, or as Justinian says, "the soul of the deceased husband is disturbed when his wife marries a second." All the ancients, like the East Indians, whom we have already described, were extremely superstitious concerning the time when marriages should be celebrated, some being of opinion, that winter was the most proper season, while others fixed it for the spring or summer.

Although we find no positive injunctions in the law of Moses obliging men to marry, yet the Jews have always considered it as an indispensable obligation, in consequence of the original words, "Increase and multiply." So that every young man, who did not marry before he was twenty years of age, was considered as one who was injuring the young women. There is, in the Jewish Talmud, a very remarkable question relating to marriage, comprised in the following words, "Who is he that prostitutes his daughter?" The answer is, "He that keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man."

Polygamy was not forbidden by the law of Moses; for it appears that great legislator formed most of his precepts upon the practices of the ancient patriarchs. Thus we read that Jacob married two sisters, and that he had children by both. But still we find the Jews did not content themselves with this small allowance of two wives, as will appear to any one who reads the histories of David, Solomon, and many others. However, they made a particular distinction between the wives of the first rank and those of the second. The Jews were permitted, not only to marry among their own tribes, but also among those heathen nations around them, who had been circumcised, and therefore when we read of Solomon having married strange wives, who turned his heart away from the Lord, we are to understand such as had been born in nations where circumcision had never taken place.

That marriage is an honourable institution, we can have no reason to doubt, since we find that our

Divine Redeemer was present at one, and it was there that he wrought his first miracles; and yet we find, that even during the apostolic age, soon after our Saviour's ascension that there were many persons under the name of Christians, who actually taught that men should not marry, which the apostle justly calls the doctrine of devils; with these heretics, who sprung from Simon Magus, the church had a long struggle, but at last they dwindled into contempt; nor was the notion revived till many years afterwards, when the church of Rome forbid the clergy to marry.

The primitive Christians laid several restrictions upon all those who professed the gospel, concerning marriage, such as forbidding them to marry with heretics, or such as were enemies to the faith. This injunction was founded upon the following words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 14. "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers." But particular churches differed with respect to this sentiment. In some churches it was simply forbidden, as a thing rather dangerous than criminal, but in others it was accompanied with excommunication. It was, however, carried much higher, when the Christian religion received the sanction of the civil power; for we find by an edict of the emperor Theodosius, that it was made a capital felony for a Christian to

marry a Jewish woman, nor in that age were marriages permitted, but by the consent of the church. Freemen were not to marry slaves, nor were widows to accept of a second husband, till one year after the death of the first. By the same law, a god-father could not marry the child whom he stood sponsor for, because it was supposed there was a spiritual relation between them. Some of the primitive fathers believed, that no man could lawfully marry after divorced from his wife, nor a woman after divorced from her husband, even in cases of adultery, which is one of the highest violations of the marriage vow; but the generality of the fathers were of a different opinion.

The Romish church has dignified the institution of marriage with the name of a sacrament; but the church of England, and indeed all reformed churches, reject that sentiment. The utmost respect, however, is paid to marriage, by all the Protestant churches in Europe, and indeed by every virtuous person; for it has generally been found, that those who treat this ordinance with contempt, act as unworthy members of society; and the universality of it may serve to point out, that the Mosaic account of the creation is confirmed by daily experience, and by ocular demonstration.

## RELIGION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, &c.

THESE islands, situated at the eastern extremity of Asia, are for the most part inhabited by idolators; for although the Spanish Jesuits have converted some of them to popery, yet the number is very inconsiderable. These idolators worship the sun, moon and stars, and in some places they pay divine adoration to the devil, and frequently sacrifice to him, to testify the great obligations they are under for the riches he bestows upon them; for it appears these people look upon the devil as the god of riches and money. But they have many gods or idols, both in public and private, and some of their ceremonies have a near affinity with what we often read of in ancient history, concerning the Greeks and Romans. One of their idols, to whom much respect is paid, is called Batala, which signifies god the creator; for they believe that this idol made all things in the beginning out of nothing. They have another idol, the name of which signifies time, because they believe that he began with the world, and will at last put an end to it.

The worship of these heathens is wholly founded

upon tradition, and preserved in songs and hymns, which parents teach their children to learn by heart. In these hymns, like the ancient Greeks, they celebrate the heroic actions of their gods; for it is plain, that those idols whom they worship, are no more than images of some of their ancestors, who, in former times either made wise laws for the regulation of their conduct, or invented some useful arts and sciences.

In some of the smaller islands, they have no temples, nor altars, and all their worship consists in praying to the devil whom they believe to be every where present with them. They are so much afraid of this evil spirit, whom yet they worship, that they never walk out, nor sit down at home, unless two or three, if not more are in company; for they firmly believe, that if there is no more than one person by himself, then the devil will come and kill him. In some of these islands, they have no other form of worship besides that of clasping their hands together, and looking stedfastly towards heaven. They call the Supreme Being Abba, which has in-



duced many of our voyagers to imagine that they are descended from the Jews or Syrians, that being a title which, in the Hebrew and Syriac, signifies Father; and God is, with great propriety, called Father in Scripture. This supposition, however, must have something stronger to support it, before we can give it much credit, for most of the Asiatic nations use the term Abba as a father, and in many respects there is a striking similarity in their languages.

It is remarkable, that those who worship the sun, refuse to eat swine's flesh, but they offer hogs in sacrifice. This is done on very solemn festivals, and in the following manner: after a concert of vocal and instrumental music, two old women step forward, and pay the most devout homage to the sun; for the women, particularly the old ones, act both as priestesses and magicians. The homage to the sun being over, they dress themselves in their pontifical vestments, and bind a ribbon round their heads in such a manner, that they appear to have two horns growing out of their foreheads. In the mean-time they hold something in their hands resembling a girdle, and thus arrayed, they dance and play upon a kind of rural pipe, say their prayers, and pronounce some particular words with their eyes fixed on the sun; during this act of devotion, the hog that is to be sacrificed is bound fast to a stake, and they all dance around him. A fagon of wine is next brought to one of the old women, who pours a cup full of it on the hog, performing, at the same time, some ceremonies suitable to the solemnity of the sacrifice. She then stabs the hog, and lets him bleed to death; they wash their musical pipes in the blood of the victim, and dipping one of their fingers into it, mark the foreheads of their husbands. But the most remarkable thing is, that although these people will not eat swine's flesh in their common meals, yet when the hog is killed in the sacrifice, the whole carcase is warmed a few minutes before a slow fire, and then the old women, the priestesses, cut it in small pieces and distribute it among the people, who eat it in honour of the sun. The bones, and whatever is left, are burnt, and the whole sacrifice ends with music and dancing.

These islanders, like most others who are ignorant of the true religion, form a notion that they can know, from seeing the first object that presents itself to them in the morning, whether they will be successful or unsuccessful in their undertakings during the remainder of the day. If they set out on a journey, and happen to tread upon an insect, they will return back to their houses. In their marriage ceremonies they have very little remarkable, only that they admit of a plurality of wives, one being superior to all the others. They believe in the immortality of the soul, but like most of those heathens already

mentioned, they think it passes from one body to another. Those who are most addicted to superstition, make often deep incisions into their flesh, by way of penance for their sins; for they believe that the gods are pleased with them when they torment themselves.

In some of the Philippine islands the people circumcise their children, but the rite itself is accompanied with such particular marks of cruelty as are shocking to be mentioned. Instead of cutting off the foreskin of the private parts, they force a nail into a particular part of the fundament, and this they do, that young men may be deterred from seeking after unlawful pleasures, especially while they reflect on the wounds in their bodies occasioned by this barbarous practice. It is likewise done in order to prevent youth from committing unnatural crimes, and we are told the practice itself was at first invented by the women, and this is not much to be wondered at, when we consider that nothing can exasperate a woman more than to hear that a man has debased himself below the dignity of the brute creation.—This was the opinion of the ancient Greeks, as appears from the following words of the poet.

Venus one only altar does approve,  
For offerings by nature due to love.

In their funeral solemnities they first burn the bodies of the deceased, and then bury the ashes, and upon the spot they generally erect a small pagod or temple, but if the deceased person's relations are poor, then a pole is generally stuck up instead of a pagod. Their processions to the funeral pile are rude, but solemn. As they have no priests, the old women, who act in that character, march before the corpse, some playing on instruments, and others singing to them. The relations of the deceased follow behind the corpse, and the procession is closed by the servants and neighbours. The body being laid on the pile, several hymns are sung by the old priestesses, and the relations having kissed the deceased, fire is set to it, and the whole consumed. After this, the ashes are decently buried, and the relations return home, where they have an entertainment that lasts three days.

Near these islands are many others, where, in most respects, the manners and customs, both civil and religious, are the same, particularly the islands of Ladrões, which is a term of reproach given them, by those of the Philippines, and signifies Rogues; but why that name was given them does not appear, perhaps, because some of them had been pirates, and plundered many of their neighbours. Their idols are wooden images, and their pagods, or temples, the hulks of old boats, or canoes, the fore part of which serves as an altar, and there the figure of the god is placed. They are so brutish in their manners,



that they herd together as so many swine, and, contrary to the custom of most other heathens, they know nothing of marriage; for all ranks of man and women lie promiscuously together, without any sort of distinction. They wear no clothes in common, only that when they go to worship their idols, they have their private parts covered with the leaves of trees. Their worship for the most part consists in sacrificing hogs, in the same manner as in the Philippine islands, and they have some rude hymns, which they sing around the victim before it is slaughtered. But notwithstanding all the brutality we have mentioned, yet these idolators, when they go to their temples, are extremely modest; for should a man presume to offer any indecency to a woman, by uncovering her secret parts, he would have his lips and nose cut off; and many of our Europeans, who have visited those parts, have seen instances of this severity of punishment, which may serve to shew, that in some respects, decency is to be found, even among savages.

The Marian islands are the next in order to be treated of, and if we can believe the Jesuits, it will follow, that the inhabitants are the most wretched creatures in the universe; that they do not believe there is a God, and that they have neither altars, temples, nor sacrifices; in a word (say they) they have no religion at all. This assertion, however, of the Jesuits, is not to be credited, and, probably took its rise from the circumstance of those fathers not being able to make any of them converts. The truth is, these people, like those in the other heathen nations around them, believe in a God, and the immortality of the soul; but admit, that it transmigrates from one body to another. They say, that when souls are properly purified, they go into everlasting happiness; but that such as remain impenitent, will be punished with eternal torments. Sudden death is considered by them as a sure presage of going into eternal misery; but if death comes on slow and lingering, in a natural way, then they believe that the soul will, after different transmigrations, go into paradise, and partake of all the delicious fruits with which that happy place abounds.

That they have no pagods, or temples, among them, is certain, and so it is with many other heathens in the universe; but this is no proof of their being Atheists, and it is probable there are no Atheists in the world.

It is a sentiment that can scarce ever take place in the heart of a rational creature; for how can a man believe in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, without acknowledging at the same time, that there is a Supreme Being.

These islanders believe, there are two angels attending on every person here below, the one evil

and the other good; that the good one prompts them on to virtuous actions, but the evil one is continually instigating them to commit crimes, and that they are to be rewarded or punished in the next world, accordingly as they obey the one or the other.

As they have no such ceremony as that of marriage among them, so their funeral rites are extremely simple; the body is carried out, and a pile of wood being erected, it is laid upon it, and reduced to ashes, and the whole of the ashes are thrown into the sea. The old women act as priestesses, but we do not find that they are entitled to any emoluments, probably, because they think it a most distinguishing honour to be admitted a mediator between their idols and the people.

The account we have given of these people, naturally leads us to enquire into the system of Atheism, which has been much talked of, but little understood. By an Atheist, is meant, one who does not believe the existence, or providence of God, and consequently has no religion at all, either true or false. There is reason to doubt whether there ever were in this world, rational creatures who could, by the perversion of reason, argue themselves into an opinion, that there was no God. It is true, we read of one Theodorus, who opened a school at Athens, to teach there was no God; but such was the public clamour against him, that, had he not made his escape, he would have been put to death. There were several other atheistical teachers in Athens, at different times; it does not appear, that their doctrines made any impression on the minds of the people, who, instead of one God, worshipped many. Plato distinguishes Atheists into three sects, or classes; first, such as deny absolutely there are any gods, secondly, those who allow the existence of the gods, but deny that they concern themselves with the affairs of this lower world, so that they give up all belief in Divine Providence; and lastly, such as believe that there are gods, but that they are easily reconciled to men, who have offended against them, or broken their laws. The heathens called the primitive Christians Atheists, which seems to have arisen from the notion that they worshipped a man, namely, Jesus of Nazareth; and likewise, because they would not worship the heathen idols, nor swear by the soul of the emperor, which was looked upon as an act of impiety, both by the priests and the laity, who knew nothing of the simplicity of the gospel.

Atheism, notwithstanding all the absurdities attending it, yet has had its martyrs. Lucilio Vanini, a Neapolitan gentleman, taught atheism in France, about the beginning of the last century, and being convicted, was condemned to suffer death. When he was brought out to the place of execution, he was pressed to ask pardon of God, of the king, and of justice. He answered, he did not believe there

was a God; as for the king, he had never offended him; and with respect to justice, it might go to the devil. His tongue was first cut out, and then his body was burned to ashes, April 9, 1619.

Dr. Tillotson, speaking of Atheism, says, "For some ages before the Reformation, Atheism was confined to Italy, and had its chief residence at Rome.

All that is mentioned of it in the history of those times, is to be found in the lives of the popes and cardinals, written by Roman Catholic authors; so that Atheism itself seems to have been the spawn of the superstitions of the church of Rome, in her most deformed state."

## RELIGION IN THE MOLUCCA ISLANDS, &c.

**I**N treating of these islands, we include those of Amboyna, Banda, and the Celebes. Some of the inhabitants profess the religion of Mahomet, but of that we shall not at present take any notice, confining ourselves to the Pagans only. They worship the air, under the name of Lanitho, who is subject to another being, whom they call Lanthila; but every town has its Nito, or particular god, whom they consult in all things of importance, and they do it in the following manner.

Twenty or thirty persons having assembled together, they summon the Nito, by beating a small consecrated drum, whilst two or three of the company light up wax tapers, and pronounce several mysterious words, which they consider as able to conjure him up. After some time, one of the company steps forward under the character of Nito, and speaks in his name, telling them, that the god, or demon has just entered into him. The first thing the people do, is to set victuals before him, and after he has eaten, they propose their questions to him, and he answers them. These superstitious ceremonies are public, but they have others in secret, and it must be attended to all along, that this Nito is an evil spirit, and they pray unto him as unto the devil. In their private worship, the master of every family is obliged to light up wax tapers in different parts of his house, in honour of Nito, and to set some meat before him, and he is to preserve some things consecrated by the evil spirit, which are supposed to be endowed with something having a supernatural power.

But notwithstanding all their rites and ceremonies, yet we are well assured, that fear is the leading principle in their religion; nor would they worship the demon Nito, were it not to pacify him, lest he should inflict some dreadful punishment upon them. Their ceremony of taking an oath is very remarkable.—They pour water into a porringer or dish, into which they throw some gold, earth, and a leaden bullet.—They then dip into this composition the point of a sword, or an arrow, and give the liquor to the per-

son who is to be sworn, to drink. This ceremony is attended with the most dreadful imprecations on all such as shall perjure themselves.

They have such an opinion of the power of the devil, that they believe he has emissaries employed to dig the dead bodies of their relations out of their graves, to prevent which, they keep a constant guard round their sepulchres, till they imagine that the corpse is consumed; for it is their firm belief that the demons, who take up the dead bodies, regale themselves upon them. In the island of Amboyna, there are some families who pretend to have the power of witchcraft vested in them, from one generation to another; and these persons are a terror to all the rest of the inhabitants, because they believe that they can, at any time, destroy them. In all these islands, the natives have very senseless notions concerning their first formation, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that all their knowledge flows from traditional accounts, transmitted to them by their ancestors. It is asserted, that formerly they believed the world to be eternal; but whatever truth may be in that, they are now of a different opinion, or rather, they have so many opinions, that the whole may be compared to that midnight darkness which hides every object from the eyes of men.

There are some of them so stupid as to believe, that they sprang originally from the hollow of an old tree, and some of their chiefs assert, that they are descended from the cocoa-tree; others believe, that they have descended from serpents, which has induced many learned men to imagine that they have some confused traditional accounts, in what manner our first parents eat the forbidden fruit. There are many heathens who still worship serpents, and in the island of Amboyna, the women wear jewels set in gold, in the form of snakes or serpents, which they look upon as sacred, and never touch them but with the most reverential awe.

If these islanders meet accidentally with a dead corpse on the road, they return home again in the

utmost hurry and confusion, especially if they have a young child along with them; for they imagine that the soul of the deceased hovers in the air near the corpse, and studies to do all the mischief it can to the living, but particularly to young children.—In order, therefore, to prevent mischief, they tie little beads round the necks of their infants when they are about three or four months old, after which they believe that demons have no power to hurt them. As the small-pox often rages among them, they believe they are afflicted with it by the power of some evil genius, and that if they are not more than ordinary watchful, the body of the patient will be stolen away in the night and given to Sagu, a tree, which they worship as a god. To prevent the demon from doing any mischief, they place a wooden image near the top of the house, where there is an opening, and no sooner does he see it than he flies away and roves about in the air, without the least hope of ever effecting his intended purpose. If they meet with a deformed or decried man, when they first go out in the morning, they return home, being convinced, in their own opinion, that should they proceed on their journey, some mischief would befall them before evening. They live in the continual dread of evil spirits, and to prevent their malicious intentions, they always keep some consecrated things under their pillows, and were they to neglect this, they would be unable to go to bed so as to get any rest. They are so weak as to imagine, that a person can be bewitched with a look; and therefore they take care that their children are never brought into the company of persons, besides those whom they imagine to be their friends.

A young maid must never touch any sort of fruit that grows double, nor must such fruit be presented to a married woman, lest she should bring forth twins. They imagine that such women as die in child-bed, are turned into ghosts and spectres to frighten their fellow-creatures; and that they wander about invisible, in order to find out their husbands. In order, therefore, to prevent a person who has died under such circumstances from metamorphosing herself into one of these restless spirits, they place an egg under each of her arm-pits before they bury her, and the deceased, imagining she has got her little infant under her arm, will never (they say) dare to stir abroad, lest she should let it fall. And they stick a parcel of pin in her toes, and stuff cotton between them. They likewise put saffron, in the form of a cross, to the soles of her feet, and tie her legs close together with things made of particular herbs. They put several sorts of herbs under the heads of sick persons, and beneath their pillows they place broomsticks or cudgels, that they may have it in their power to drive the evil spirits away.

In their marriage ceremonies, these islanders have nothing very remarkable; for as soon as the parties have agreed, which must always be by the consent of the parents, the bridegroom's father makes the nuptial presents, and the father of the bride invites them to an elegant entertainment, at which there is music and dancing, according to the custom of the country, and then the young couple retire. If the woman should not chuse to live with her husband after marriage, then she is obliged to return him all the presents she received from his father, after which she pours water on his feet, to denote that all those impurities are cleansed away which she contracted in consequence of her connection with him, and she, as well as the man, are at liberty to marry whom they please.

In some of these islands the young men are not permitted to marry till they have produced some of the heads of their enemies, as a testimony of their valour. But what is most remarkable, their young men are not permitted to wear any sort of clothes, not even so much as to conceal their private parts, till they have at least brought two heads, one to entitle them to wear clothes, and the other that they may be allowed to keep a house. All these heads are laid upon a consecrated stone, which serves them instead of an altar, and there they are offered up as so many sacrifices.

In their funeral ceremonies, they bury the bodies of the dead in the earth, and they watch the grave seven nights together, lest the devil should steal the body away; for they are fully persuaded that no injury can happen to them in the day. And during all this time, they make the bed of the deceased in the same manner as if he had been alive. Nay, they spread a table before the bed, and place victuals upon it. They imagine that the soul quits her tenement of clay with the utmost reluctance, and hovers for some time around it.

It has been asserted by some voyagers, that these islanders were formerly men-eaters, or cannibals; but of this we have no certain proof, and probably there are but few such wretches, if any at all, in the world.

With all the customs above mentioned, they have some of a very extraordinary nature. When a prince or chief magistrate dies, those who inhabit the other islands send ambassadors to attend the funeral solemnity, and likewise to present their compliments of condolence. When they imagine death is approaching, they swallow large draughts of opium, in order to stupify their senses, this serves to drown their tears, and make them forget all thoughts of eternity or a future state. It is the same when they execute a malefactor; for they make him swallow opium till he knows not what he is doing, and then they crown his head with a



chaplet of flowers, after which he is led out and put to death in a state of insensibility.

In their declarations of war against their enemies, they use several ceremonies of a formal and solemn nature, and very much like what was practised by the Greeks and Romans, and by many other ancient nations. They send a herald to the enemy, and when he arrives, he stands up in the most public place, where there are great numbers of people assembled, and with uplifted hands and eyes to heaven, he takes all the gods, earth, hell, and the souls of the dead to witness, that he has nothing more at heart than doing justice to his country. He then repeats aloud the reasons why his countrymen have taken up arms, adding, that they scorn to take the advantage like cowards, but will meet them courageously face to face. Before they undertake any enterprise against their enemies, they have recourse for aid to several superstitious ceremonies, such as the flight of birds; but the most remarkable is, the striking a hatchet into the body of a tree, and if it falls out of itself, it points out that they will be successful, but if it remains fixed, then they lay down their arms, and refrain for that season from fighting.

They wear round their necks bracelets of glass, and on the appearance of every new moon, they cut a hen's throat, and dip these bracelets, which they call Mamakus, into the blood, and from the colour of the glass when taken out, they pretend to foretell many future events. They use a vast variety of musical instruments on all their solemn festivals, and when on such occasions they go in procession, they dance naked behind the musicians. This practice is of great antiquity, for we find, that David king of Israel, danced before the ark, and although it displeased his wife Michal, yet we do not find that any of the prophets reproved him for it, which they always did, on other occasions, when he displeased the Divine Being.

Although it is difficult to discover any relation between dancing and religion, yet among the Pagans it constantly made a part of their worship of the gods. It was usual to dance round the altars and statues; and there was at Rome, an order of priests called the Salii; they were dedicated to the service of Mars, and they danced on particular days through the streets, in honour of their god, and had their name from that very ceremony. Indeed religious dancing was so much the taste of the Pagans, that the poets made the gods dance along with the graces, the muses, and virtues. When the Jews kept the feast of the golden calf, they sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play, which means to dance, and undoubtedly they learned this in Egypt. Arnobius, an ancient Christian writer, asked the Pagans, if their gods were pleased with the tinkling of brass,

and rattling of cymbals, or with the sound of drums, and musical instruments. The idolators in the other parts of the world, even to this day, have the same esteem for this custom, and the greatest part of the worship they pay to their deities consists in dancing. On the whole it appears, that dancing was first practised by the heathens in their temples, as a part of their religious worship, to point out their gratitude to their gods, either for general or particular favours; nor have the Christians been altogether free from this custom. The Christians of St. Thomas dance in honour of that saint, before whom they cross themselves, and sing a hymn. The men dance in one apartment, and the women in another, but both observe the greatest decency. At present, however, there are but few of the Roman Catholics who pay much regard to this ceremony, and in all probability it will fall into disrespect, and cease to be practised.

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*To the above account of the religion of these islands, we shall here add a description of the ceremonies used in the islands of Borneo, Sumatra, and Java.*

The inhabitants who reside on the sea coast of Borneo are Mahometans, of whom we shall speak in the proper place; but those in the inland parts are all Pagans. They pay divine adoration to the sun, moon, and stars, and their actions in life are regulated by the flight of birds. Therefore, if one of these birds that merit their attention, happens to fly towards them when they are going abroad in the morning, they return home, and stay within doors the remainder of the day. But, on the other hand, if the bird directs her flight towards the road the traveller intends to take, it is considered as a propitious omen, and an assurance of success. Their rites and ceremonies are so like those of the Molucca islands, that they are plainly derived from the same original.

In Borneo the young men are not permitted to marry, till they have presented their mistresses with some heads of their enemies; and the same custom prevails in Sumatra, among such of the inhabitants as are Pagans; for the sea-coast is, for the most part, inhabited by Mahometans. In Java, all the inland inhabitants are Pagans, and believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They believe there are two gods, the one good and the other evil, and it is the evil spirit or devil whom they worship, from a principle of fear. They never address him without presenting something at his altars, in order to prevail with him not to hurt them.—Some of them were formerly even more stupid, for they worshipped, for the day, the first thing that presented itself to them in the morning. This was

a species of idolatry which, perhaps, never before took place in any part of the world; and we are told, that the Mahometans, who first settled among them, ridiculed them out of these notions.

When these Indians were first discovered by the Europeans, they were more barbarous than they are at present, for whenever a person was taken sick, a magician was consulted, and if it was found that the patient was incurable, then he was immediately strangled, in order to put an end to his misery. In the same manner, they put all those to death who, either through old age or infirmities, were rendered incapable of working for a subsistence. Their nuptial ceremonies were formerly celebrated in the following manner: the friends and relations of the bridegroom marched in procession to the bride's house, with drums beating and tinkling cymbals; some of them carrying horses tails in their hands, in imitation of standards; others carried swords, and as they moved forward, they fought a kind of mock battle. The women complimented them with the usual presents, consisting of different articles of household goods, and the bride, who waited at the gate with a pitcher of water, washed the bridegroom's feet, as a token of her future submission.

This part of the ceremony being over, the bridegroom and bride went into the house, but instantly joined the procession to the bridegroom's house; with this difference, that the young couple walked hand in hand together, the bridegroom's horse being led by a servant. In this manner the procession went on, and when it arrived at the destined place, the bride and bridegroom were conducted into a

commodious apartment, and left for some time by themselves. After this a grand entertainment was given, which generally lasted about three days.—Many of these ceremonies are now fallen into disuse, but still the people are gross idolaters. It is true, the Dutch, who have some settlements in those islands, have converted a few of the natives to Christianity (though the number is very inconsiderable) owing rather to the pious zeal of the clergy, than to any assistance given by the merchants.

A fair opportunity presents itself to the Dutch, for the conversion of these idolaters, they understand their language, and the Dutch religion having few rites and ceremonies, these people having heard it explained, and been taught to read, would see the purity and simplicity of a form of worship, which could not be presented to them by the Jesuits.—They are Protestants alone who should be sent to preach to heathen nations, for it signifies very little to change some ceremonies for others, and repeat prayers in a language they do not understand.

Vast success has attended the ministration and labours of some Protestant missionaries, sent from the churches of England and Scotland, from the Methodists and Moravians; but it is greatly to be feared, that there are too many European merchants who, to acquire fortunes, would wish ignorance and error to prevail among their fellow creatures, who have precious and immortal souls as well as themselves. "They that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."—Dan. xii. 3.

## RELIGION IN CEYLON.

THE inhabitants of Ceylon are all Pagans, for although some of them acknowledge there is one Supreme God, yet they allow of many subordinate ones to act under him; and this was the idolatry of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Thus they have gods for agriculture, some for navigation, for sickness, and for almost every thing. All their idols are represented by the most fantastic and monstrous images. One of these is formed like a giant, and by them called Buddu, who lived a very holy and penitent life. The inhabitants reckon their years from the time this Buddu lived, and as it agrees with the fortieth year of the Christian Era, most of the Jesuits are of opinion that he was St. Thomas the apostle.

They add further, that this Buddu, who was not

born in their country, died on the continent, and the time of his death agrees with that of the apostle St. Thomas, although it is much more probable that he was a native of China, and perhaps the same person whom they call Fo, for we cannot depend on the truth of their chronologies. The tooth of an ape, which a Portuguese governor caused to be burnt, was formerly adored as one of Buddu's. In vain did the Portuguese attempt, by this means, to put an end to their superstition and idolatrous worship; for they gave it out that the tooth made its escape from the hands of its enemies, and took refuge on a rose. It is the province of Buddu to watch over and protect the souls of men, to be with them in this life, and to support them when dying.

The devil is also worshipped here under the name

Jaca, and their religious motives arise from fear. They often sacrifice all they have to this infernal spirit; and although the Jesuits said all they could to persuade them to desist from such abominable idolatry, yet it was all in vain; for ignorant as those people are, they made answer, that they sacrificed to the devil to procure his friendship and favour. They are extremely fond of miracles, otherwise they could not have believed that the tooth of Buddu made its escape from the fire, but they have others no less wonderful.

One of their pagods or temples, had been shut up many years, and totally deserted by the devotees, who formerly came to it to worship; for the king of the country had given out, that the image placed in it, was not capable of working miracles, and therefore he ordered his subjects to treat it with every mark of ignominy, to the no small loss of the priests.

The priests, however, who generally know how to be revenged on those who meddle with what they consider as their temporal interest, resolved to take part with their insulted god. One day, as the king went into the long deserted temple to mock at the image, the priests had so contrived matters that the sovereign was like to have paid dear for his impiety.

Fire issued out of the mouth of the image, his eyes sparkled resentment, and in his hand he held a scimitar, ready to plunge into the heart of the royal unbeliever. His majesty, conscious of his guilt, acknowledged it, begged pardon in the most suppliant manner, and adored the deity that threatened to punish him. The devotees thronged in crowds to the pagod, worship was re-established there, and the god was adored with as much fervency as ever. From that time, the natives of Ceylon have there worshipped Buddu as the guardian of their island, and of the whole universe; and they are of opinion, that the world can never be destroyed while this image stands in his temple. In sickness, in adversity, and under all sorts of afflictions, they make their addresses to this image, and in every house there is a basket of flowers devoted to his service, and kept to make a part of their free-will offerings.

As there are elephants in this island, so they have an idol, whose head resembles the head of that creature, and this image is worshipped as the deity who bestows on mankind the blessings of wisdom, understanding, riches, and health. They have likewise figures of this idol placed on their highways, and public roads, in the hollow parts of trees; and near these figures are erected heaps, or piles, of stones, to put travellers in mind that they are places of worship, and every worshipper must add a stone to the heap. This seems to have been a very ancient practice; for we read in Gen. xviii. 18. that when Jacob saw the vision of the ladder, and the angels ascending and descending while he was jour-

neying towards Padan-Aram, he took the stone he had used as a pillow, set it up, and poured oil upon it.

These people also worship the sun, moon, and stars, and to that worship, they join the adoration of the devil, which is done in little rural huts erected in their gardens, and adorned with boughs and flowers, and all sorts of provisions are left in them for the devil to regale himself with. They summon the devil to make his appearance by beating a drum, but if he does not eat up all the provisions, then the remainder is distributed among the poor. Some of the priests in Ceylon, deny that the images are the gods themselves, but they imagine they are endued with divine virtues, and that they have the power of working miracles, as long as they are treated with reverence and respect.

They have three orders of priests, each of which is subordinate to, and dependant on superiors chosen out of the Tirimanxes, or Terumwanscs; the first are, properly speaking, the sole priests of Buddu, and the most eminent clergy of the island, all the great officers being selected from them. They have likewise a high-priest, who is always a venerable old man; and as a mark of distinction and honour, wears a gold ribband and a kind of fan, which bears a near resemblance to the Talapat, made use of by the priests of Siam.

These priests have a convent, situated in a pleasant grove, but none are admitted into their order, except such as are come of the best families in the island, and whose characters are irreproachable. Buddu is the saint whom these priests adore, and they are all dressed in yellow silk gowns, tied round their bodies, with sashes made of thread. They never suffer their hair to grow, but go bareheaded. They are treated with the utmost respect, for the people fall down and adore them in the same manner as they do their idols; and, really, they are so highly conceited of themselves, that they never return the compliment, nor take any notice of those insatuated creatures who treat them with divine honours.

Wherever these priests appear, a mat is spread on the ground, and their seats are covered with a white linen coverlid, which is an honour never shewn to any, but to them and the king. They are not permitted to follow any mechanical employment, nor to marry, or even so much as to touch a woman. They eat but one meal a day, and if they indulge themselves any farther, it must be only in the use of a few fruits, rice, beans, peas, or such other innocent things. They are allowed on particular occasions to eat flesh, but they are not to give any directions concerning the killing of animals, that being considered as inconsistent with the nature of their order. Whenever they please, they may renounce their order and become laymen, which is attended with no other ceremony besides that of stripping



themselves naked, throwing their clothes into the river, and bathing themselves all over.

The devotion of the common people is very advantageous to the priests, as will appear from the following particular instances, well known to all those who have visited the island of Ceylon : When a person begins to entertain serious thoughts concerning the salvation of his soul, he sends immediately for one of the priests, who visits him in the most splendid manner, attended by four servants holding a canopy over his head. The devotee makes an elegant entertainment for his priest, and presents him with as many valuable things as his circumstances will admit of. The priest stays two or three days at the house, and during that time sings several hymns, extracted from the books of devotion used in their temples, after which he explains the meaning of those hymns to all such as are present. When the priest departs, he blesses the devotee, and tells him that he may be assured of happiness hereafter, after which the whole company depart. It is remarkable, that these people who believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, should be so earnest to know what will be their state hereafter ; but then it must be observed, that there are many different opinions among them, without so much as one being consistent to the truth.

The second order of their priests are called Koppuhs, but they wear no distinguishing habit from the laity, not even when they perform their solemn services, only that they wash themselves and put on clean linen. Each of them enjoys a small piece of ground, adjoining to their pagods, which they cultivate during their leisure hours, if the revenue of the temple is not sufficient to support them, but if it is, then they employ labourers for that purpose. The whole of their public service consists in offering up provisions to the idol, which they leave in his presence, and if he does not chuse to eat it (which perhaps he never does) then the priests and musicians come and take it away.

The priests of the Genii, are the third order ; they are called Faddeses, but they have no fixed revenue, their subsistence depending on those devotees who come to worship in the pagods. These pagods are richly adorned with figures of all sorts of warlike instruments ; but in the temple of Buddu, there are figures of men sitting cross-legged, in yellow cassocks, having their hair curled, and their hands placed before them just like women ; and these they say, are the spirits of departed saints. Some devotees who are not priests, erect chapels for themselves, but in each of them they are obliged to have an image of Buddu, and light up tapers or wax candles before it, and adorn it with flowers. Their principal days for public devotion are Wednesdays and Thursdays, and the purport of their petitions

are, that God would be pleased to bless them, and preserve them in health, to keep them humble in prosperity, and support them in adversity. Their prayers are seldom directed to the Supreme Being, but to him, through the mediation of a subordinate deity. When none of their entreaties will prevail, they offer up a red cock to the devil, and this they perform in the most gloomy part of a grove, where they believe the devil is ready to accept of it, guarded by great numbers of his imps and attendants.

They have two sorts of solemn festivals, first, in honour of Buddu, whose peculiar province it is to take care of, and preserve the souls of men ; secondly in honour of those gods, who govern the universe and all things that pertain to this life. These earthly gods are called genii, and their festivals have not much in them remarkable. When the people are assembled together, the priest holds a painted staff in his hand, adorned with flowers, and the people fall down on their knees before it. When the people have made their offerings to the staff, the priest lays it upon his shoulders, and at the same time, covers his mouth with a linen cloth, lest his breath should pollute the sacred ensign of his order. He next mounts on the back of an elephant, covered with linen, and rides in the following manner through the city :

Forty or fifty elephants, adorned with little bells, open the procession and these are followed by several men, disguised like giants. The next part of the procession consists of drummers, trumpeters, and all sorts of musicians, followed by a select band of women, who dance to their different tunes. The priest makes his appearance next, mounted on his elephant, with his sacred staff in his hand, and this is considered as an emblematical representation of the great Creator of heaven and earth. Behind the chief priest, walks one of an inferior rank, with a long pole in his hand, at the end of which is fixed an umbrella, which is held over the pontiff's head, to screen him from the heat of the sun, from the rain, or from any inclemency of the weather. There are two other elephants, one on the right hand, and one on the left, and on the back of each of these are two priests. The two priests who ride foremost on the elephants, represent gods of an inferior rank, and the two behind, hold umbrellas over their heads. These priests are followed by several female attendants, who fan them, and drive away the flies, and after them march some thousands of devotees, three abreast, walking on flowers, with which the streets are covered.

This festival is observed fifteen days together, during which time their images are set before the gates of their pagods, that the people may bring their oblations to them, and the houses are illuminated in the night, and covered with boughs in the day.

The feast begins with the new moon, and about two or three days before her full, a great number of sedans are ranged at the doors of the pagods, filled with relics, and near each of them is placed a large silver chalice, as a testimony of veneration for the gods. As soon as the moon is just upon her full, all the devotees repair to the river, to fill their chalices with water, and then they deposit them in their pagods. This holy water remains in the chalice till the next year, when it is again filled; and besides this feast, they have another in November, which consists in planting tall poles around the pagods and illuminating them from top to bottom. This festival begins when the moon is at the full, and continues seven days; but it is not so solemn as the other already mentioned.

Buddu, the god of souls, is represented by several little images made of silver, brass, stone, or white clay, and these are set up in almost every corner, even in caverns and on rocks, to all which piles, the devotees carry a variety of provisions, every new and full moon throughout the year; but it is in March they celebrate the grand festivals of Buddu, at which time they imagine the new year begins. At this festival, they go to worship in two different places, which have been made famous by their legendary stories concerning them. One of them is the highest mountain in the island, and called by the Christians, Adam's Peake; the other is in a place where Buddu reposed himself under a tree, which planted itself there for the more commodious reception of the deity, who, when he was on earth, frequently amused himself under its agreeable shade, and under that tree, the pagans in Ceylon adore their Buddu, whom they really believe to be a god.

They have such a veneration for this place, and especially for the tree, that they go in pilgrimages to it, and such as are not able to reach that sacred place, get as near to it as possibly they can, and enter the first pagod they come to on the road, where they worship with their faces towards the sacred tree. This tree is surrounded with cabins, cells, huts, and tents, besides several larger edifices of different materials, which are divided into various apartments for the more commodious reception of separate families. The devotees are accompanied by a train of dancers, who perform several antic gestures, much in the same manner as is practised by our merry-andrews on stages.

When Buddu ascended into heaven, he left the impression of his sacred foot on a rock, which these islanders beautify and illuminate, and leave their oblations for the use of the priests. There are, in many heathen nations, traditions of a similar nature; thus we read of the miraculous print made by the foot of Hercules, and we have already mentioned the tradition concerning Sommona-Codom.

Near Adam's Peake, there is a spacious plain separated from the rock by small rivulets, in which the Pagans bathe themselves with much devotion, and afterwards wash their linen and clothes, being firmly of opinion, that by such ablutions they wash away all their sins. Thus purified, they climb up the sacred hill by the assistance of iron chains, fastened thereto for that purpose. On the summit of this lofty mountain is to be seen the print of a man's foot, well proportioned, but of a most gigantic size. Beside it stands a temple, and contiguous to it is a place of residence for a priest, who receives such oblations as the pilgrims bring along with them, and he relates to them the miracles wrought by the foot, and the pardons procured by visiting it.

Another article of their religion is peculiar to women alone, who go from door to door with the image of Buddu in their hands, calling out as they pass, "Pray remember Buddu." The meaning is that will enable them to sacrifice to the god. Some of the people give them money, others cotton thread, some rice, and others oil for the lamps. Part of these gifts they carry to the priests of Buddu, and the remainder they carry home for their own use. Some of the people are so devout, that they have images of Buddu carved at their own expense, but he is never considered as a god, till his eyes are completed, and then he is carried to the pagod in triumph amidst the acclamations of the people. Sometimes he is carried from house to house, and a collection made for the carver, to reward him for his ingenuity, and when the priests have consecrated it, the god is placed in a niche in the temple.

When they are taken sick, they devote a red cock to the service of one of those inferior spirits, called genii. The priest then offers this cock to the evil spirit, telling him, that it is given him only on condition that he will restore the sick man to health. The cock is then let loose, but with a mark upon him, so as to know him again; and if the sick man recovers, the cock is left with the priest in the temple, who promises to kill him for Buddu, but if he does not recover, then the spirit is obliged to go without his hire. They believe that all the sacrifices they offer to these genii, are by them carried to Buddu in heaven; but the truth is, the priests keep the whole to themselves. In order to discover whether a good, or an evil spirit, be the cause of the patient's illness, they make a bow of the first little stick they can find, and on the string of the bow, they hang a small chisel, and holding the bow by the two extremities, pronounce distinctly the names of all the gods and devils. When the spirit is named, who is the immediate cause of the distemper, they believe the bow turns round, which no doubt but it does, but then it is by the assistance of the person who holds it, and who would have the blame to fall upon



whatever god or devil he thinks proper. To illustrate this, we have a curious anecdote in Mr. Hanways travels into Persia.

He tells us, that after he had been robbed, he travelled above three hundred miles over the snow, to the place where Nadir Shah, commonly called Kouli Khan, had his camp, and in his company were many state prisoners, who were to be examined by the sovereign. As they travelled along over the snow, they took small sticks and set them upright on one end, believing, that accordingly as the stick fell, their fates would be determined. "But," adds Mr. Hanways, "I observed, they always made 'the stick fall as they wished.'" So much by way of digression, but to return to the subject.

As the people of Ceylon are divided into clans or tribes, so they are all obliged to preserve their distinctions, those of one tribe not being permitted to marry into another. When a man courts a maid in order to marry her, she tells him upon what condition she will be his, and if its agreeable to him, she communicates the whole to her parents, in order to know their pleasure, and procure their consent. If the parents consent to the conditions, an elegant entertainment is provided, according to the fashion of the country, and the circumstances of the persons. The husband lays with his bride the first night, and if he has any brothers, they lay with her one after another, so as the number of brothers does not amount to eight, all to the number of seven being admitted, and all above excluded.

But it appears that this ceremony is only practised in some particular places in this island; for in others it is different. Thus, in some places the parents make up the match, and when every thing is agreed on, the intended bridegroom sends the wedding clothes to the bride, with such presents as are common on these occasions. A day being appointed for the wedding, he makes the bride a formal visit, attended by his relations and friends. The priest, having tied the thumbs of the young couple together, repeats some prayers, after which they eat off one plate, to denote equality of condition, and then retire to bed. Next day, after dinner, the husband conducts his wife home to his own house, and what is remarkable, she walks in the front, the rest of the company following after. But they have still another form of solemnizing their marriages, which may serve to shew, that they are not all of one opinion in matters of a religious nature.

The bridegroom takes hold of the end of a large linen cloth, with which the bride is covered all over, and wraps it round his waist. Then she takes hold of the other end, and thus linked together, a large quantity of water is poured upon both, and wets them to the skin. This concludes the marriage ceremony, which lasts no longer than both parties

can agree, for they may separate when they please, and both are at liberty to marry again, only that is, if there are any children, the husband is to provide for the sons, and the wife for the daughters. Two brothers may have one wife in common, if they live in the same house, and the children are reputed to belong to both. This practice, however, seldom takes place, for it will appear to every one acquainted in the least with history, that although the heathens are, in many respects destitute of the knowledge of natural religion, yet they observe some things peculiar to the rites of society.

In their funeral ceremonies, they differ as much as in those relating to marriage. Thus the better and more opulent sort of persons burn the bodies of their dead, to prevent the worms from feasting on them; but the poor observe very few ceremonies in their interments. Those who perform the friendly office for them, are obliged to wash themselves after the ceremony is over, for every person who touches a dead body is looked upon as polluted. The bodies of the poor are laid in the ground, with their heads westward and their feet towards the east; and this practice, which is almost universal, seems to have taken its rise from the worship of the sun, who, the greatest part of the year, makes his first appearance in the east; for it can never allude to the promise of a Redeemer, who was to be a star from the east, unless we can be lead to suppose, that the land of Judea is more to the eastward than any country in the world, which is inconsistent with practical knowledge.

With respect to such bodies as are to be burnt, they are first washed clean, and afterwards embowelled, the cavity being filled up with pepper, and several rich spices and perfumes. It is then lodged in a tree, made hollow in the inside for that purpose; nor is any person permitted to come near it or touch it, till such time as orders arrive from the king, commanding it to be burnt. If the order is delayed for any considerable time, and the smell becomes offensive, they dig a hole in the floor, and inter it till his majesty thinks proper to grant them permission to have it burnt. When the order arrives, the body is carried out to the funeral pile, and after it is consumed, an inclosure is thrown up round the ashes, and the ground is hedged about and sowed with grass; but such as die of the small-pox, or any contagious disorder, are burnt immediately, lest the infection should prove fatal to others.

When a man of rank dies, his relations send for a priest, who spends whole nights in singing hymns, and praying for the repose of his soul, and the spiritual father is elegantly entertained, and receives a gratuity for his trouble at his departure. In return for his favour, the priest assures them, that the soul of their relation is in a state of happiness, the gods



having treated it in the same manner as their generosity was extended to him (that is) the priest. The men testify their concern for the deceased by their profound sighs, and the women by their hideous lamentations. Their hair is dishevelled; they throw their hands behind their heads, and then they repeat a long detail of the virtues of their friend.

When the people of Ceylon are called upon to make oath, in order to decide any controversy between man and man, they must first procure a licence from the governor of the place, and when that is done, both parties, namely, those for the plaintiff and the defendant, must wash their bodies all over; they are afterwards confined all night, and a guard set over them, their right hands are wrapped up in a cloth, which is sealed, and the next day they are brought out dressed in fine linen and purified, as if they were just going to appear before the Supreme Being. The paper upon which the governor's permission is written, is tied round their wrists, after which they repair to Boghaah, a tree sacred to Buddha, where all the officers of the provinces, and a vast concourse of people assemble. A large quantity of cocoa nuts are then brought into open court, and pressed before all the spectators, as a sign that no deceit or delusion is intended. In one corner of the court stands a cauldron full of cow's dung mixed with hot water, and oil being put to these ingredients, a leaf of the cocoa nut is dipped into the liquid, and shewn to the spectators, to convince them that it is boiling hot; for a violent fire is kept under it, lest there should be any collusion among the parties, as too frequently happens in other countries.

Immediately after, both parties approach the mouth of the cauldron, and one says, "The God of heaven and earth is witness, I am not guilty of the fact laid to my charge," or he says, "The four gods are witnesses, that the lands or goods in debate, are my property." The other swears the reverse, and the plaintiff must always swear first. After this they both have the linen cloths taken off from their hands, and he that swears first repeats the oath, and dips two of his fingers in the boiling oil, throwing a few drops of it out of the cauldron three times, to prove that there is no deception. Afterwards he does the same with the boiling cow dung; and the defendant performs the same operation.—Then their hands are wrapped up again, and both are confined till the next day, when their fingers are rubbed with a linen cloth to try whether they will peel. He whose fingers peel first is adjudged perjured, and obliged not only to make satisfaction to the other party, but likewise to pay a considerable fine to the king.

When a man commits murder, and is apprehended within sixty days; he is put to death without the form of a trial; but if he is not taken within that

time, he is acquitted for ever. A person charged with theft, in order to vindicate himself, brings his children, if he has any, into court, before the judge, or if he has no children, he brings his relations, and on the head of each he lays a few small stones, praying at the same time, that if he is guilty, his children or relations may live no more days than the number of the stones amount to, after which he is dismissed.

The Maldivia islands consist of a vast number of small spots of ground, which are extremely fertile, producing not only the common necessities of life, but likewise many superfluities. In their worship they differ but little from those of Ceylon, but they have a remarkable ceremony which does not seem to have been practised by any besides themselves, except the Greeks and Romans, and they did it in a different form. This ceremony consists in offering a sacrifice to the sea, when any of their relations go on voyages. On such occasions a vast number of persons of all ranks, assemble together, and march in procession to the sea coast, singing hymns in praise of all their gods. A woman carries a small basket, made in the shape of a boat, and covered with a piece of sail-cloth, being attended by three men, carrying all sorts of provisions. When they arrive at the place appointed, they throw the baskets of provisions into the sea; all which is done in order to obtain the favour of the watery element in behalf of their absent friends or relations. The ceremony concludes with singing several hymns to the sea, and they return home in the same manner they came.

They have another remarkable ceremony, namely, that of sacrificing to the winds, which is done by setting fire to a new boat, and reducing it to ashes. If their circumstances will not permit them to purchase a boat, then they fling into the sea some cocks and hens as a sacrifice; for it is their opinion, that there is a god in the sea who eats such things as are offered to him. They must not, when at sea, spit against the wind, nor are they permitted to turn their faces towards the quarter from whence it blows.

All their vessels are consecrated to the gods of the sea and the winds, and yet they acknowledge that these are no more than subordinate deities, there being one Supreme Almighty Power, who governs all things. Many of the women, especially those of a higher rank, wear hung to their girdles, round their necks, arms, and sometimes their knees, small boxes of gold or silver, with secret characters enclosed in them, which they call *Tavides*, and which they imagine to be a preservative against all sorts of diseases or accidents. They are so much afraid of the devil, that they offer up sacrifices to him, particularly of cock and hens, and sometimes flowers. They impatiate all their affliction to him, and he is supposed to occasion their deaths. This fear of the devil keeps

them in a continual state of slavery, being afraid either to sit alone in their houses, or to go about any work in the fields, unless there are two or three in company. They have many magicians among them, and never undertake any thing of importance without their consent and directions. When they want to go on a voyage, they ask these magicians whether one day or hour will be more proper than another? and according to the answer they receive, they act. For these astrologers, or magicians, pretend to know every future event, by consulting the stars, and they calculate children's nativities, for which they receive considerable emoluments.

As the people in these islands are so much attached to the superstitious practice of finding out the truth, in cases of a criminal nature, it may not be improper in this part of the work to take some notice of what is commonly called the fiery ordeal. All oaths, with respect to the deciding of controversies, should be considered as appeals to the Divine Being, and those who can trifle with things of such a sacred nature, have just reason to fear the divine vengeance. It was, however, and still continues to be, the wretched notion of the heathen world, that, by a few legerdemain tricks, and ridiculous ceremonies, the truth can be discovered. Happy, had this perverted principle been confined to the heathen nations; but so far from that we find, that, before the sixth century, it made a considerable figure in the Christian church. Not that Christianity gave any countenance to such an opinion, but only that the designing priests finding it suitable towards promoting their interests, encouraged it as far as lay in their power; and hence the origin of our trials by fire, water, and single combat. Instances applying to all these practices, are so frequently to be met with in the history of England, that every one must know them.

When Edward the Confessor ascended the throne of England, 1042, he accused his mother, queen Emma, of being accessory to the murder of his father. The accusation itself was of a malicious nature, and the queen, consistent with the ignorance of the times, was obliged to purge herself by trial. She made choice of the fiery ordeal, and it was conducted in the following manner:

Twelve plough-shares made red hot, were placed about two feet distant from each other, and the queen, being first blindfolded, was to walk over them. If she went over the plough-shares without receiving any injury, then she was to be declared innocent, but if, on the contrary, her feet should be burnt, she was to be considered as guilty, and to suffer death as a traitress. The queen submitted to this harsh sentence, and walked over the plough-shares without receiving any hurt. This, in the opinion of the people of that age, made her innocence

conspicuous, but whatever assistance she received from the priests at Winchester, certain it is, that she heaped vast emoluments upon them.

The trial by water was seldom used, except in cases of witchcraft, and Mr. Keysler, the German traveller, has given us an account in what manner it is practised in Hungary, which he visited in 1735. They are generally old women who are accused of witchcraft, and perhaps for no other reason but that they are forsaken by all their fellow-creatures. Those who knew them in prosperity are dead, and their relations think it beneath their dignity to take any notice of them.

When a woman is accused of witchcraft, she is brought before the judge, who tells her, that she must either submit to be burnt alive, or to undergo the trial by water, and the only way to prove her innocence, and wretched as life may be to the accused person, yet perhaps, with some hopes of still living in the world, she acquiesces in all that the judge appoints. She is then led out to the brink of a deep lake or river, and a heavy bible, or mass book, being tied round her neck, she is thrown from the top of a precipice into the water. If she sinks to the bottom, she is declared innocent, but at the same time she dies under the experiment. If she swims upon the surface, she is declared guilty, and immediately burnt to death at a stake. This was the practice throughout Britain many years, and although the severity of this barbarous custom gradually wore off, yet the existence of the witchcraft laws continued, till they were abolished by an act of the legislature, 1736.

The trial by single combat, although confined to the military, yet was no less barbarous than those we have already mentioned. To enumerate instances in proof of this would be endless; for throughout all the European kingdoms, it was once as common as it is for people now to go to law. It is acknowledged by our best historians, that it took its first rise in barbarous nations and ignorant ages. Mariana, in his history of Spain, seems to be of opinion, that trial by single combat was not known in Europe till about the eighth century, when the Moors invaded the kingdom of Andalusia, and put many of the Spaniards to death. It is well known that the Mahometan religion was established by power, and in consequence of the progress it made in the world, they estimated the value or virtue of that force by which it was propagated. Thus duels, or single combats, became frequent among the Moors; and the Christians, in that dark age, too much degenerating from the simplicity of their ancestors, made great improvements upon the barbarous scheme. The aid of the priests was called in, to give a sanction to what was contrary to the first dictates of natural and revealed religion, and what was in itself a crime, came to be considered as a virtue. Honour,



that prostituted word, which includes every thing in moral virtue, but in its present acceptation, is debased to the lowest degree, was the pretence for those unnatural, inhuman combats; and the rufian, who was afraid to stand up in defence of the fatherless and widow, thought it no crime to plunge his dagger into the bosom of his friend, or even his dearest relation. In all trials by single combat, the parties were obliged to confess their sins to the priest, who granted them conditional absolution; that is, he forgave them all their sins, upon condition that they had been sincere in their declarations. After this, they were obliged to go up to the altar, and laying their right hands on the holy gospels, they swore not only that their cause was good, but also that they would leave it to the arbitration of the Divine Being, and the will of God was to be known according to the success.

The religious part of the ceremony being over, the combatants walked forth into what was then called the Lists, by which was meant, an open place, where there could be no interruption, nor could assistance be given to the one party, or the other.—Around the Forum, or square, were galleries, placed for the reception of the spectators; and previous to the two combatants meeting together, in the way of engagement, the sentence was read, namely, that the conqueror was to be held as innocent, but the vanquished, was to suffer death, as a perjured blasphemer. Both parties were mounted on horseback, and covered with coats of mail, from the head to the feet. They had lances in their hands, fixed to the end of a wooden pole, with which they pushed furiously against each other, and it appears that their horses were trained to the combat.

If one of the parties was unhorsed, he was again replaced in the saddle, and the combat renewed afresh; but the circumstance of falling from the horse, was always considered as a bad omen by the superstitious crowd. At last, the conqueror was crowned with garlands, and the person conquered, was obliged either to spend the remainder of his days in a convent, as a monk, or to be put to an ignominious death. Of this we have many shocking instances in the history of England, and such as are too numerous to relate.

When Henry II. invaded Wales, 1157, the Earl of Essex, a gallant young commander, challenged a Norman baron to single combat, for having accused him of cowardice. The contest was long, and obstinate, and although the king would have willingly dispensed with the rigour of the law, in favour of Essex, who was defeated, yet such was the popular clamour, such was the strength of superstition, that all the favour the king could grant to the unfortunate nobleman, was to permit him to become a monk in the abbey of Waltham. This barbarous custom continued so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, but from that time it gradually decreased; only that we find an instance of a gentleman challenging another to single combat, in Tothill-fields, near Westminster, 1632, but the Court of King's-Bench ordered them both to be taken into custody. Upon the whole, to imagine that the approbation or the anger of God, is to be known by any external circumstances, is the most horrid blasphemy that can be thought of, and renders us unworthy of his providential care.

## RELIGION IN JAPAN.

THE people of Japan have, in all their religious ceremonies, such an affinity with the Chinese, that many have been induced to consider them as originally one people; which is not at all improbable, especially as they are situated in almost the same corner of the world. Although there are many religious sects among them, yet they may be all comprehended under the two following, viz. professed epicureans, who deny God's moral government of the world. They are called Xenxi, and they pay adoration to the memory of such great men as have been honoured for their heroic actions, but they laugh at a future state of rewards and punishments.

This sect, however, is not numerous, and most of its professors consist of drunkards, debauchees, and such others as would mock at religion in any nation whatever.

The other sect is much more respectable, and men of the best understandings belong to it. According to their own traditions, their founder was one Xedorius, a prince of the blood royal, who had two sons; but his wife dying, he lamented for her in the most pathetic manner, and afterwards ranked her among his idols, commanding all his disciples to pay her divine honours. The lesser sects are extremely numerous, and although they differ in the objects of



their worship, yet they are all idolaters, and in many respects, as far from the truth as any in the world. One of these sects are called the disciples of Amida, of whom we have the following account from the best authorities extant, as well as from the testimonies of our voyagers.

He is the sovereign lord and absolute governor of paradise; the protector of human souls; the father of all those who are to partake of happiness; and the mediator and saviour of all those who are accounted worthy of eternal life. He has such an influence over Jemina, the Japanese god of hell, that by a stern look, he can mitigate the pains of the damned; and sometimes not only releases them, but sends them once more into the world. This idol is sometimes represented as mounted on horseback; the horse having seven heads, denoting so many thousands of years, and the figure is placed on a stately altar. The head of the idol resembles that of a dog, and in his hand he holds a gold ring, or circle, which he bites, thereby pointing out that he is eternal.

Amida, is also worshipped under another form, which is properly represented in one of our copper plates, and some of his devotees voluntarily drown themselves in his presence. In performing this horrid ceremony, the victim enters into a small boat, and dances to the sound of several musical instruments; after this he ties a heavy stone to his neck, and another to the lower parts of his belly, and then jumps into the water. On such occasions he is attended by all his relations and friends, with several priests, who all consider him as a saint, and as one who is gone into everlasting happiness. Some of them, who are rather timorous of throwing themselves into the water, get one of their friends to bore a hole in the keel of the boat, so that it sinks gradually; the devotee all the while singing hymns to Amida. Others of these enthusiasts shut themselves up in a small inclosure in the form of a tomb, where they eat nothing but a morsel of bread and water once in the day, and keep calling on their god Amida till they expire.

There is another of their inferior sects, distinguished by the name of Jammabos, or Jammabugi, a term which signifies captain of the mountain, because this sect reside chiefly in rocks and deserts, where they spend most of their time in the study of magic. Most of these persons procure a subsistence, by pretending to tell people's fortunes, and, in a great measure, resemble those whom we call gypsies, or Egyptians. They have an almost incredible number of idols, and yet there is a general toleration granted to all sects and parties, and it is difficult to distinguish which is considered as the established religion.

Abutto, one of their idols, is noted for curing many different sorts of inveterate diseases, and also

for procuring a favourable wind, and a quick passage at sea. For this reason, sailors and passengers generally tie some small pieces of coin to sticks, and throw them into the sea, as an offering to this idol. His priests tell the people that these offerings are always conveyed to the god, although it is evident, that they have the art of picking them out of the water as soon as the ship has sailed. Nay, it often happens that the god Abutto himself, dressed in the habit of one of his priests, comes in a boat to demand this offering, and he remains near the shore till the ship is out of sight of land.

Like most other heathen nations, they have their gods for almost every thing. Thus the goddess of their riches or treasures is called Ben Saiten, and of her they give the following account: When a mortal, she was called Bunso, and not having any children by her husband, she prayed earnestly to the gods of the country, and with such success, that she soon found herself pregnant, and was brought to bed of five hundred eggs. Being extremely surprised, lest, should the eggs be hatched, they would produce some monstrous animals, she packed them all up in a box, and threw them into the river Kiusagawa; but with this precaution, that she wrote the word Fosgoroo upon the box. Some time afterwards, an old fisherman, who lived a good way down the river, found the box floating, and seeing it full of eggs, carried it home as a present to his wife, who put them into an oven, and each of the eggs produced a child. The two old people brought all these children up, with rice and mugwort leaves minced small, but when grown up to their full stature, the old people were not able to support them any longer. Accordingly, being left to themselves, they took to robbing on the highways, and it happened, in the course of their travels, that they came to their mother's house. Being asked by a servant what were their names, they answered that they had no names, but that they were the breed of five hundred eggs, and that they were in great want of the necessaries of life.

This message was carried to their mother, who sent out to know concerning the word written on the box, and being answered that the word Fosgoroo was on it, she found they were her own children, and received them as such. She was afterwards taken up to heaven among the gods, where she is now, and always will be, attended by her five hundred sons. There is in this story something of an allegorical nature; for, by the five hundred sons being the offspring of one woman, who was incessant in her prayers to the gods for only one, points out, that unwearied industry, in private, or public life, will procure more than perhaps we ever thought of at first, so that there is nothing unnatural in these idolaters worshipping this woman as the goddess of riches.





*Amida, a Deity of Japan, with the manner in which his Votaries  
Crown themselves to his honour*

Engraved for J. Leake's Edition.



Another of their most celebrated idols is named Budsdo, which signifies the worship of foreign idols; for this god was first imported among them from some other part of Asia. The natives of the country give the following account of this idol, and how his religion was first established. He was born at Siaka, which signifies the country of the heavens, about a thousand years before the commencement of the Christian era, and at nineteen years of age, he became a disciple, or scholar to a famous hermit, whose name was Arara Sennin, and who lived on the top of a mountain called Dandokf. Under this holy man, he lived in the most austere manner, spending most of his time in the contemplation of divine things, and sitting cross-legged with his hands in his bosom, so placed, that the extremities of his thumbs touched each other, a posture considered by these heathens as the most proper to meditation. By this means he penetrated into the most secret and important points of religion, which he afterwards communicated to his followers. He taught, that the souls of beasts, as well as those of men, are immortal, and that both will be rewarded, or punished hereafter, according as they have acted in this life. He prescribed five precepts of a general nature, and all negatives, being almost similar to those in the kingdom of Siam, and in many other parts of the east. These laws, or precepts are as follow:

- I. Thou shalt not kill.
- II. Thou shalt not steal.
- III. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- IV. Thou shalt not lye.
- V. Thou shalt not drink strong liquors.

It is upon these precepts that all their political, moral, and religious discourses are delivered, but like the people in other countries, they have put strange constructions upon some of them, and in many cases, that which is murder in reality, is considered as a virtue, rather than a crime; so that although their laws are good in themselves, yet they are perverted to the worst of purposes.

Two of his disciples, Aman Sonsja, and Rosia Sonsja, collected his wise sentences; which were found after his death, written with his own hand on leaves of trees, and made up into a book, called Fohelio, that is, the book of flowers, as being the most perfect performance in the world, and esteemed by them, as we do the bible. The two disciples who compiled it, are now ranked among their gods, and are worshipped along with their master, in all his temples, one being placed on his right hand, and the other on his left.

Before the doctrine of Budsdo, or as he is sometimes called Siaka, was introduced into Japan, the people were extremely simple in their manners, hav-

ing very few temples, or festivals, living consistent with the dictates of reason; and aiming chiefly at the practice of moral duties. But this new religion taught them to build stately temples, and to offer up the most pompous sacrifices, imagining that the whole of piety consists in rites and ceremonies. They have many convents and temples, in honour of this idol, but the priests never walk in procession, for they confine themselves to their own limits, and subsist on the voluntary contribution of the people.

Canon, the god who presides over the waters and the fish, as represented in their pagods, has four arms, and the lower part of his body is swallowed up by a large sea monster. His head is crowned with flowers, in one hand he holds a sceptre, in another a flower, a ring in the third, and the fourth is closed with the arm extended. Over-against him stands the figure of a humble penitent, one half of whose body is concealed within a shell, and the temple is adorned with arrows, and all sorts of warlike instruments. As all false religions have something in them of a pretended miraculous nature, so we find the people of Japan, joining with other heathens, in this sort of artificial impiety. Debis, one of their idols, is represented in the shape of a man of gigantic stature, in an image of brass, but without a temple, or pagod, for he is placed on the most conspicuous part of a high road. To this idol, young women repair to know when they will get husbands, and as the image itself is hollow, a priest stands within it, and answers all the questions proposed. He takes care that the virgin shall not go away in despair, and in return for the favour, she leaves something of value; not doubting, but that it was the god himself who spoke to her.

Daiboth, another of their idols, has many temples erected to his honour, and vast numbers of devotees resort there to worship. Before you come to the temple of this idol, you pass through a gate, on each side of which are erected two monstrous figures, with several arms, holding all sorts of warlike instruments. In the centre of the pagod, the idol is seated, after the oriental fashion, on an altar table, raised a little above the ground; and he is of such a monstrous height, that his head reaches to the roof of the temple. This idol has the breast and face of a woman, with black locks, curled like those of a negro, and his hands are bigger than the body of a man of an ordinary size. He is encircled on all sides with gilded rays, in which are placed a great number of images, representing the inferior idols of Japan; and the altar is illuminated with a great number of lamps. The temple is supported by wooden pillars, not according to any of the rules of architecture, but by the trees as cut down in the woods, or gardens, which gives the whole a very romantic appearance. All the wooden work of the temple is painted red, and ad-

joining to it is a chapel, where the sacrifices are prepared, and where the people resort to worship, except on the great festivals. As for the idol itself, it is gilt all over; its ears are large, and its hair curled, with a crown on its head, and a speck, or mark, on its brow; its neck and breast are naked, and its right hand is extended, pointing to the hollow of its left, which rests upon its belly.

Their god of plenty, is named Daikoku, and he is represented as sitting on a bale, or sack of rice, with a hammer in his hand, and whenever he strikes the ground, they promise themselves a plentiful harvest; on all these occasions, many offerings are brought to the pagod, and the priests take care to appropriate them to their own use, while they keep the people in a state of profound ignorance.

Before we proceed to give any further account of their idols, it may not be improper to take notice, that they have a sovereign supreme high priest, who is called Dairo, and entitled to the highest honours. His ancestors were formerly emperors, but the family having fallen into decay, they are now confined to the priesthood. But still the person of this sovereign pontiff is considered in so sacred a point of view by the people, that his feet are not permitted to touch the ground, nor his head to be exposed to the sun. He is never to have his head, beard, or nails cut; and his victuals must be carried to his table in new baskets, and served up on new plates. When he goes abroad he is carried in a magnificent litter, whose pillars are of massy gold, and the outside enriched with figures carved on the same precious metal. It is covered with a thin transparent silk, so contrived that the priest may see every one without being seen by any. In this litter he is carried by fourteen persons of the highest rank, and the emperor's guards march before. A coach follows behind, drawn by two horses, whose housings are adorned with pearls and diamonds, after which his wives and concubines follow.

Their god of physic, to whom the people under all bodily disorders are to apply, is called Jakusi, and he is placed in a small temple richly adorned, standing upright on a gilt flower, with one half of a large cockle-shell, over his head, encircled with rays of glory. This image is gilded all over, and in his right hand is something concealed, but in his left he holds a sceptre. There are little bells hung up at the entrance into his temples, and all passengers going along ring them, and make a most reverential bow, holding their hands to their foreheads, and repeating some prayers. In performing this part of devotion, they believe that they will be preserved from the fatal effects of diseases, and that their lives will be prolonged to the latest period.

The Jesuits, during the last century, made several attempts to convert the natives of Japan, from ido-

latry to popery, but these fathers being rather too officious, and having delivered their opinions concerning some affairs of state, the emperor ordered them to depart out of his dominions. In memory of this event, the Japanese observe at the close of every year, the following ceremony, which they call Jesumi. Certain persons appointed for that purpose, go from house to house, and take down the names of all the inhabitants in a book, after which they oblige every individual to appear before them, and declare upon oath, that they are not Christians. This being done, the form of the Virgin Mary, and a crucifix, are both laid on the ground, and every one is obliged to trample on them. From this circumstance, we may learn that the Jesuits are not the most properly qualified to teach the Christian religion; for had they endeavoured to inculcate the simple truth, without the use of images, the people might have been brought off from their idolatrous practices; but substituting one image instead of another, is only setting up a more refined scheme of idolatry, in the room of one, which to them, appeared more gross than their own.

Ingen, one of their saints, is much adored by the vulgar, although he is but of a very modern original. They tell us, that he was born in China, and that he travelled to Japan, in order to make himself acquainted with all their mysteries in religion. He was received with the utmost respect, and there being, at that time, a violent drought in the country, the people applied to him for rain, which he did in so earnest a manner, that a flood ensued, which carried away all their bridges. They observe a festival in memory of him every summer, by offering sacrifices on the top of a high mountain, where, according to their tradition, he stood when he repeated the prayer, and such are the notions, that if one of their priests will annually ascend the same hill, they will have plenty of rain.

Nor are the people of Japan without their nuns, for they have an order of female devotees named Bikunis, chosen from among their most beautiful women, and they take upon them a particular habit, either to please their parents, or gratify their own inclinations. In general they are very lewd in their deportment, so that they may be justly styled whores, or daughters of Venus. They travel round the country from place to place, and when they meet a passenger, they uncover their breasts, as an incentive to lust. So far we may consider them as so many licensed prostitutes, who have no regard to either modesty or decency.

The secular priests in Japan, are called Camusis, and they have no other maintenance, besides what arises from the voluntary contributions of the public, particularly the devotees. These priests wear a yellow silk robe, with a cap made in the form of

a boat, and tied under their chins with fringes, longer or shorter, according to their quality. They suffer their hair to grow long, so as to cover their shoulders, but they shave their beards every morning, and their superiors have their hair curled up in a bag of black silk. At each ear is a piece of black silk that comes forward to the jaw; but if they are of an eminent rank, then it comes much more forward. When these priests walk in procession, which they do on all solemn festivals, they have sabres and other warlike instruments carried before them, and in their deportment they are so proud, that they refuse to converse with any of the common people, except such as contribute towards their subsistence.

They have in Japan a society of monks, if they may be called so, or rather devotees, who are all blind, and are called Feki, and they acknowledge for their founder, one Kakehigo, who lived many centuries ago, and who supported a notorious freebooter, or rebel, named Feki. The emperor having defeated this rebel, he sought to enter into an alliance with Kakehigo, not doubting but he would do as much in support of the regal government of his country, as he had done in support of rebellion; but the brave Kakehigo, sooner than comply with the intreaties of the emperor, tore out his own eyes, and threw them in the face of the monarch.

As soon as he had done this, he spoke to the emperor in the following words: "To demonstrate to you, sir, how conscious I am of your generous deportment to me; I give you the strongest proof of it possible, by making you a free present of those eyes which gazed on you with detestation." From this circumstance, the order alluded to was founded, and they are now very numerous throughout the whole empire of Japan; for every man who has been deprived of his sight, or born blind, is admitted among them.

Great part of their religion is emblematical, and the demi-creator of the universe is represented as seated on twelve cushions, placed on the trunk of a large tree, fixed on the back of a tortoise. The supreme Being is represented as a Moor, perfectly black, and has a crown upon his head, which runs up into the form of a pyramid, and his breast is bare. He has four arms, with as many heads, all made of solid gold, and the drapery is adorned with precious stones. A serpent of a monstrous size, twists himself round the image, and two devils, the one with the horn of a stag, and the other with the head of a dog, lay hold of the serpent's head. This is allegorical, and points out, that their race of kings are to exist four thousand years.

Toranga, one of their idols, was formerly a husbandman, and took possession of the empire soon after its first establishment, and by his extraordinary merits, was ranked among their gods. He delivered

Japan from a tyrant, who, with eight other kings, laid the country waste, so that he is always represented with eight arms; and in each hand is a warlike instrument. He has many temples dedicated to his memory, throughout every province of the empire; but the most remarkable, is that situated in the province of Vacata, where there are the figures of four oxen cast in brass, and gilded all over. The wall of this temple is adorned with the figures of many of their subordinate deities, and beggars continually assemble at the door, where they sing hymns and beg charity from the people.

Apes and monkeys, with a variety of other creatures, are worshipped in their pagods, and each of these is emblematical of some of the works of creation or providence. All the attitudes in which these creatures are placed, afford subject matter for the priests to enlarge on in their sermons. During the time they are worshipping at their altars, a bonze, or priest, beats a drum to enlame their devotions. They are so fully persuaded of the transmigration of souls, that they have hospitals for beasts, who are fed and supported in the same manner as if they were human beings; nay, what is more remarkable, there is a convent near Jeddo, the chief city of Japan, where a vast number of priests reside, and they have very rich endowments. Near the convent is a hill, on the top of which is a wood, and in it a vast variety of different animals, which are fed, once at least every day by these priests. The priest whose turn it is for the day to feed them, tinkles a little bell, at the sound of which they come all round him, and when they have received their allowance, he again tinkles the bell, and they retire.

These creatures, the priests say, are animated by the souls of the most noble and illustrious heroes that ever adorned their empire. They have such a profound veneration for stags, that they are to be met with as common in their streets, as dogs are with us, and it is death for any person to kill one of them; nay, when that happens which is but seldom, even the life of the person is not considered as sufficient to make atonement for his guilt, for the street in which he lived in is razed to the ground. It is true, however, that they do not worship these creatures, but they have the same respect for them, as the people of Siam have for white elephants, for both believe them to be inhabited by the souls of their princes, and that they have the same rational faculties as men.

But they are not stags only whom they thus honour, for dogs are treated by them in the same manner; but this practice is of a very modern date. The emperor who reigned about one hundred and twenty years ago, was extremely fond of hunting, and therefore kept a great number of dogs; being so extremely fond of them, that some of them used to



sit behind him on the throne. As this sovereign was much respected by his subjects, so we find, that ever since his death, they have honoured dogs in the same manner as was done by himself when alive. Every street is obliged to support a fixed number; they are quartered on the inhabitants, like so many soldiers, and in case of sickness, they are obliged to nurse them tenderly. When they die, they are obliged to inter them decently in the hills and mountains, where they bury their own friends and relations. To kill one of them would cost a man his life, and only to insult them, would be attended with a very severe punishment. In the whole of their religion we meet with a vast number of contradictions, and this will always be the case with those who are addicted to superstition.

Near the capital city stands a celebrated pagod, on the banks of a river, and it is so plentifully stocked with fish, that they thrust one another on shore; but notwithstanding this, they remain in perfect security, through the fear and superstitious folly of the honzes and devotees. They believe, that were they to touch one of them, they would be immediately smitten with the leprosy, and they consider it as a mortal and unpardonable sin to eat of them. They are looked upon as sacred, and this notion operates so strongly on their minds, that the honzes will rather commit murder, or any other crime, than suffer the most delicious of them to be served up at their tables. They believe that these fishes are inhabited by the souls of some of their naval officers: but this is an absurdity, even according to the doctrine of transmigration; for as they believe that souls inhabit all sorts of animals, so according to this notion, it would be unlawful to eat any of them, or even to offer them in sacrifice.

In Miaco, a celebrated city of Japan, there are a vast number of pagods, or temples, and one in particular, has no less than three thousand idols in it. In the middle of the temple there is a gigantic figure of an idol, whose head is bald, and his ears bored through; his chin is shaved, and over his head he wears a canopy, with several little bells hanging from it. On each side of his throne there are several statues of armed men, moors dancing, witches, magicians, and devils. There are likewise several representations of thunder, winds, and rain, with all sorts of storms. Each idol has thirty hands, with seven heads on his breast, all made of solid gold, and all the decorations of the temple are made of the same precious materials. Near this idol is another of a most gigantic size, with forty-six arms and hands, attended by the figures of sixteen black devils. A row of idols is placed at a considerable distance, each of whom has several arms, all which serve to point out the power they have over the affairs of this lower world. Their heads are adorned

with rays of glory, and some of them have shepherds crooks in their hands, pointing out that they are the guardians of mankind against all the machinations of evil spirits.

They have many festivals in honour of their gods, some of which are fixed, and others moveable. The fixed ones are on new-year's day, and the moveable ones are such as are appointed in their calendar to vary, as our Easter does, according to the change of the moon; each of those festivals continue about three days, and the first day is spent in making merry with their friends, on the second they proceed to offer up their sacrifices, and on the third, having adored their idols, they take farewell of each other, and return home. It is their opinion, that nothing gives so much pleasure to the gods, as that of the two sexes enjoying themselves in innocent amusements, which may serve to point out, that the heathens, in all ages and nations, have invariably formed wrong conceptions of the Divine Being.—For although innocent amusements are no way contrary to religion, yet there is but little necessity for injoining them as articles of practice, seeing men, in their present state, are too apt to turn those things into abuse, and injure themselves, instead of promoting their own interest, or the glory of God.

On the new-year's day, they make presents to their friends and relations of a sort of shell-fish, called by them Awabi, which, according to tradition, was the original food of their ancestors, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Europe fed on acorns, herbs, and roots. This fish is an emblem of industry, and points out in what a frugal manner their ancestors lived, before they acquired riches. In the beginning of the spring they have a solemn festival, at which all the young women dance, and their parents provide for them an elegant entertainment. All their relations and friends are invited, and the rooms in which they sit, are decorated with the figures of babies, pointing out that the young women will in time be mothers. Before each of these puppets, a table is placed with all sorts of food upon it, dressed according to the fashion of the country, and as it cannot be supposed that inanimate beings will eat any thing, so when the provisions have stood some time, they are placed before the young women and their gallants. On that day the doors and windows of their houses are adorned with mugwort, and in the morning the young men assemble and divert themselves on the water. This holiday is not, however, observed in such a manner as to exclude those advanced in years from enjoying a share in the pleasures. The gay of both sex, let their age be whatever it will, attend their relations and children, this being considered by them as very honourable.

This naturally leads us to take some notice of the

origin of this festival, which has been transmitted to us by the most faithful authors.—Pierun was many ages ago king of Formosa, and his subjects being rich traders, they became so abandoned in their manners, that the gods threatened to drown them and the island. This great and good king saw, with sorrow and abhorrence, the wickedness of his subjects, he devoted himself entirely to the worship of the gods, and they graciously decreed to save him and his family.

Accordingly they forewarned him in a dream, to depart from his country, in order to avoid the impending judgments; assuring him, as a mark of the truth of what had been advanced, that the cheeks of two of his most celebrated idols would become red, a few days before the destruction took place.

The pious prince advised his subjects of the displeasure of the gods, but they received his admonitions with scorn and derision. One of these atheistical libertines, in order to ridicule the pious advice of the king, went privately in the night to the pagod where the two images were, and daubed their faces all over with red, which impious project was the very signal intended. As soon as the king heard the news, that the faces of the images had been daubed over with red, he gathered together his wives and children, whom he put, along with all his effects, on board a ship, admitting, at the same time, as many of his subjects to accompany him as the vessel could carry. Scarce had he set sail, before the island, with all its inhabitants, sunk down to the bottom of the sea; and sometime after, the good king with his whole retinue, landed safely in China. From thence he went over to Japan, where he has been ever since worshipped as a god, and the above festival celebrated to his memory.

In doing penance, the people of Japan are, perhaps, more extravagant and superstitious than any we have hitherto mentioned. The penitents are ordered to travel over several high and almost inaccessible mountains, into some of the most solitary deserts, inhabited by an order of hermits, who, though almost void of humanity, commit them to the care of such as are more savage than themselves. These latter lead them to the brinks of the most tremendous precipices, habituate them to the practice of abstinence, and the most shocking austerities, which they are obliged to undergo with patience at any rate, since their lives lie at stake; for if the pilgrim deviate one step from the directions of his spiritual guide, they fix him by both of his hands to the branch of a tree, which stands on the brink of a precipice, and there leave him hanging, till through faintness he quits his hold, and drops down and is killed. But this is little more than the resemblance of a discipline others undergo; for in the sequel, after an incredible fatigue, and a thousand dangers,

they arrive at a place surrounded with lofty mountains, where they spend a whole day and night with their hands extended, and their heads reclined on their knees. During this act of penance, they are not to shew the least symptoms of pain, or endeavour to shift their unweary posture; the unmerciful hermits, whose province it is to overlook them, never fail, with some hearty bastinadoes, to reduce them to their appointed situation.

In this attitude, the penitents are to examine their consciences, and recollect the whole of their sins, so as to be ready to confess them. This strict examination being over, they march again till they come to a steep rock, which is the place set apart by these savage monks to hear the sinner's confession. On the summit of this rock there is a thick iron bar; about three ells in length, which projects over the belly of the rock, but is so contrived as to be drawn back again, whenever it is thought convenient. At the one of this bar hangs a large pair of scales, into one of which these monks put the penitent, and in the other a counterpoise, after which they push the scales off the rock into the open air. Thus hanging, the pilgrim is obliged to make a full and ample confession of all his sins, which must be spoken so distinctly, as to be heard by all those who assist at the ceremony, and he must take particular care not to conceal or omit one single fault; to be exact in his declaration, and not to contradict himself, for the least diminution or concealment, although accidental wounds, ruins the penitent for ever. Those savage hermits are so inexorable, that if they can but discover the least prevarication in the penitent, he who holds the scales gives the bar a sudden jerk, by which the poor penitent is tumbled down and dashed to pieces at the bottom of the precipice.—Those who are so fortunate as to satisfy the hermits in their confessions, are obliged to pay a fine, and are then absolved from all their crimes.

The bonzes, or priests of Japan, sell to the devotees small billets of wood consecrated, and they teach them to believe, that these will preserve them from the power of the devil, and prove a remedy for all those diseases to which the human body is subject. Nay, they carry this piece of deception still farther, for they borrow money upon these consecrated billets, and give their note for the payment in the next world, which note is put into the penitent's hand when he dies, the people being firmly of opinion, that it will procure him a full remission of all his sins.

In their prayers they repeat a vast number of collects, some fifty times over; and lest they should forget any of them, they have a string of beads to count them by, in the same manner as is used by the Roman Catholics. Those who repeat their prayers one hundred and eight times over, are considered

as saints, for the bonzes assure them, that there are so many sins by which a man is polluted, and that against each of them a faithful believer should have a particular prayer. When they arise in the morning, they stretch out the fingers, of the right hand, and offer up an ejaculatory prayer to one of their idols, thereby imagining that the devil will not have it in his power to injure them during the remainder of the day. Like the rest of the Indians, they believe that some days are more fortunate than others, and this notion leads their minds into the most abject state of slavery; for men can never enjoy much peace of mind, or real happiness, who are not convinced that God has made all days alike to his creatures. Of their fortunate and unfortunate days they keep a table, or calendar, and each family has one hung up in the passage, leading from the door into their houses, to put them in mind of the day when they go out.

This table of fortunate and unfortunate days, was the work of a celebrated astrologer, known by the name of Seimei, a man of universal knowledge in all mysteries, both of nature and art; whether relating to the stars, to dreams, to omens, or, indeed, to any thing else. As this astrologer was so profound a scholar, it was necessary, in order to establish his reputation, that he should be born in a miraculous manner; which notion seems to prevail over all those eastern nations. We are informed, that his father was a prince, and his mother a fox, who, being closely pursued by the huntsmen, had fled for refuge and protection to his majesty. This fox, it seems, was what is called in Europe, a fairy, who throwing off her masquerade dress, appeared before the sovereign in all the splendour of a perfect beauty.

The king being enamoured with her admirable charms, married her, and had by her this famous astrologer. When he grew up he invented a set of mysterious terms, which he comprised within the compass of one verse only, as a charm or preservative for such persons in particular, whose narrow circumstances obliged them to work on unlucky days, for the support of their wives and children. They believe that there is such a supernatural virtue in this single verse, that all those who repeat it reverently, in a proper manner, on the morning of an unlucky day, will be preserved from all the evils that would otherwise attend him.

It is a circumstance but little known to the Europeans, that in Japan there are several orders of heathen monks, many of whom live in convents, founded by some of their great men, but the greatest number live in woods and deserts, where they feed on roots and fruits, or whatever else the places will afford. They have likewise places of refuge for such as have committed the most horrid crimes,

particularly murder, theft, &c. Near Miaco there is a mountain which they call Koia, inhabited by monks, whose rules and statutes are less severe than any of the other orders. This convent is very large, and affords an asylum for the most flagitious offenders, nor can the civil magistrate enter within their bounds to seize any criminal whatever. The malefactor is not only secure while under their protection, but may purchase his liberty, if he is able, by depositing a certain sum of money for the service of the convent. This order was founded by one Kabodai, who is adored as a god, and lamps are kept continually burning before his image; and although it is considered as one of the highest acts of piety, to contribute towards the support of this convent, yet the monks do not altogether depend on the oblations of the devotees; but spend much of their time in agriculture and commerce, which brings them in a considerable revenue.

The person whose peculiar province it is to ring the hours of the day, gives the people notice likewise of the times appointed for public prayers as well as preaching. Their sermons turn, for the most part, on moral duties, and the preacher is exalted on a rostrum or pulpit, much like those used in Europe. On one side of him is placed the image of the titular saint or order to which he belongs, and to this idol the devotees present as much money as the nature of their circumstances will permit. On each side of the pulpit is a lighted lamp hanging from the canopy which covers it; and a little below it is a kind of desk or pew, for the junior scholars, where some sit and others stand. The preacher, who is generally a person well advanced in years, wears a hat on his head, in the form of an umbrella, and holds a fan in his hand, and before he begins his sermon, he seems to be much absorbed in contemplation to the gods, and attentive to what he is about to deliver. After this the preacher rings a little bell, that is ready at his hand, which is the usual signal for silence; then he opens a book which lies upon his cushion, containing the fundamental principles, and moral precepts of his sect. Having read his text, he explains it to the people, and concludes with saying something in honour of the sect or order to which he belongs. It is expected, that each of the hearers shall contribute something to the preacher, who never neglects to put them in mind of it; and both before and after sermon, they are obliged to fall down on their knees and repeat some prayers, which they do by the signal of the preacher's ringing his little bell.

The natives of Japan have, for the most part, but one wife; but then they are allowed to put her away whenever they think proper, even on the most trivial occasions. She never brings him any marriage portion, lest she should boast that she had



enriched her husband; for the men are so jealous of their honour, that they will not have it insinuated, that they are under obligations even for the highest favours they can procure, or attain to in the enjoyment of this life.

But notwithstanding all these pretensions to honour, yet in many parts of their conduct, they are so avaricious and dishonest, that although crucifixion is the common punishment for theft, yet nothing is more common than for them to steal from each other. Divorces are very frequent among them, as may be naturally concluded from what has been already advanced; but still those who put away their wives, are never much esteemed afterwards. All their marriages are contracted by the consent of their parents, and care is taken that the parties be as near the same age as possible; and although the bridegroom does not accept of a marriage portion with the bride, yet he bestows several presents upon her relations, according to the nature of his circumstances.

On the morning of the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage, both parties, attended by their relations, go out of town, at different gates, and meet at the bottom of a steep hill, which they ascend by a flight of steps, and the young couple place themselves in two tents made for that purpose. The parents of both parties seat themselves behind the bride, while a band of music plays behind the bridegroom, but all without the tents. The rest of the retinue remain at the bottom of the hill, and while the music is playing, the bridegroom and bride walk with lighted flambeaux in their hands, towards the altar of the god of love, whose image is represented with the head of a dog, as an emblem of that fidelity which should take place in the marriage state. The image holds a string in his hands, as a symbol of the form of matrimonial engagements, and near the god, and between the two parties, stands a bonze, whose office it is to perform the marriage rites. There are several lamps lighted at a small distance from each other, at which the bride lights her flambeaux, which she holds in her hand, pronouncing at the same time a form of words dictated to her by the bonze, and after this the bridegroom lights his flambeaux by that of the bride's.

This part of the ceremony is accompanied with loud acclamations of joy, and all the relations and friends congratulate the young couple. The bonze then gives them his benediction or blessing, and those who remain at the bottom of the hill make a large bontire, into which is thrown all the little toys, and other play-things, with which the bride amused herself, while she was in a state of childhood.—Others present the bride with a distaff and some flax, thereby intimating, that from thence-forward she must apply herself to the prudent management of

domestic affairs. The ceremony concludes with the sacrifice of two oxen to the god of marriage, and then the bride is conducted home to her husband's house, where she meets with every thing proper for her reception. The pavement and threshold are both strewed with greens or flowers, according to the season of the year, and flags and streamers on the top of the house, seem to promise one continued scene of uninterrupted happiness and delight.

As they are divided into many sects, so we find, that in the education of their children, they instruct them in the knowledge of those principles which they themselves have embraced; for they consider it as a duty they owe to the community at large, to bring up their children useful members of society. The principal part of the education of youth consists in laying before them the most striking and exemplary parts of the conduct of their gods and heroes, that they may imitate their example, and live in subordination to the civil power. This is in all respects, consistent with natural religion, which, so far as we can learn, is implanted in the heart of every man; for how could we be condemned by a righteous Being, unless at the same time it was acknowledged, that we have the purity of a divine law set before us, and invitations to obey its precepts. Every parent feels a secret pleasure in giving his children a virtuous education, and although it too often happens, that the best instructions are prostituted to the worst of purposes, yet the duty remains binding, and will do so to the end of time.

On the first day of the new-year, all the priests walk in procession to the emperor's palace, where they renew their oaths of allegiance, which however, is not looked upon as a sufficient security to the prince, who has always a confidant in waiting, who obliges them to swear the following sacred oath; "I call heaven to witness, and all the gods of the sixty-five provinces of the empire, that I will be a loyal subject to my sovereign." All these oaths are ratified by the person swearing, opening a vein, and letting out some of his blood, and if it should happen afterwards, that he is found perjured, then his life must make an atonement; for as blood is required to ratify the oath, so a proper reparation for a breach of his infidelity must be, his blood spilt in such a manner as the judges shall direct.

When a person dies, they are obliged to produce at least two or three witnesses, to prove that he was not a Christian at the time of his death; and they go so far, as to inquire whether in the whole course of his life, he ever made any profession of Christianity; for were such a circumstance to take place, the body of the deceased would be thrown upon a dunghill like that of a dog.

If the deceased has lived in reputation in the world, and it is discovered, upon the strictest ex-

amination, that he never was a Christian, then the civil magistrate permits that his body shall be burnt. On all such solemn occasions, the relations and friends, all dressed in white, as a sign of deep mourning, repair to the funeral pile, about an hour before the procession begins. All the women are veiled, and a superior bonze marches in the front, attended by thirty others of an inferior rank. The priests are dressed in linen frocks like surplices, over which they wear a black cloak, and above all, a brown garment, and each carries a taper in his hand. After these come two hundred bonzes, who sing hymns to, and invoke the god whom the deceased worshipped while he was alive. Then follows a great number of hired mourners, who carry poles in their hands, with papers fixed to the ends of them, pointing out the virtuous actions of the person whose funeral they are about to celebrate. After them come eight young bonzes, divided into two bands, holding long canes over their heads, with streamers at the ends of them, on which are inserted several hieroglyphical figures, and these last are attended by two young men, who carry unlighted torches.

Several other persons, all dressed in brown, with black leathern caps on their heads, varnished over in the neatest manner, with the names of their idols inscribed on them, follow after the bonzes. After this first train, come four men, with the corpse of the deceased, sitting upright in his coffin, with his head inclining somewhat forwards, and his hands closed, as in a praying posture. The corpse is dressed in white, having a paper robe over it composed, of the leaves of a book, wherein are described the actions of the god, to whom he was, in his life-time, most devoted. The male children surround the corpse, and the youngest son carries a lighted taper in his hand, it being his business to set fire to the funeral pile. The whole of the procession is closed by the neighbours, who testify their sorrow by deep sighs and hideous lamentations.

In this order, they march to the place where the funeral pile is erected, which is surrounded with four walls covered with white cloth, except the gates through which they are to enter. In the middle a

deep grave is digged, and at each side of it, is a table covered with all sorts of provisions. On one of them stands a chafingdish, like a censor, full of live coals and sweet wood, and as soon as the corpse is brought to the brink of the grave, they fasten a long cord to the coffin, which is made like a bed for the deceased to rest on. After they have carried the body in procession three times round the grave, they lay it on the funeral pile, while the priest and relations call on the gods to be propitious to the soul of the deceased. After this, the superior priest, who leads the van of the procession, walks three times round the corpse with his lighted taper, waving it three times over his head, and repeating some mystic words, the meaning of which none present knows; besides himself and his brethren. The body is then consumed to ashes, and the whole contents of the funeral pile are thrown into the grave, where a monument is set up in memory of the deceased. This part of the ceremony being over, the relations of the deceased retire home, where they have a splendid entertainment, and all that is left is given to the poor. If any remains of the deceased are left unburied, the relations pick them carefully up, and bury them in a gilded urn, in their gardens, which they visit from time to time, with the utmost fervour of devotion, believing in the immortality of the soul.

All those honours we have just now mentioned, are appropriated to the noble, the great, and the illustrious, for the poor and the indigent have no right to expect any such things. It is sufficient that the king and the beggar die just alike, but there is no necessity that the same pomp should attend both after their death. In Japan, those whose narrow circumstances will not permit them to honour their relations with pompous funerals, are obliged to employ their neighbours to inter them any where in the fields, without the least regard to decency. The bonzes or priests abhor the poor, and shun them in every place, as they would a person who is labouring under an infectious disorder, nor do they ever pray to the gods in their behalf. Perhaps this is too much the case in other nations, but of that we shall leave to the candid reader to judge.

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## RELIGION IN COREA AND JESSO.

THE inhabitants of these countries are all heathens, and their form of religion is the most stupid and senseless that can be imagined. They believe, that if they appear at particular times and seasons before their idols, and make a few unmeaning gri-

nces and ridiculous gestures, they will be rewarded for ever in eternity. They are all of one sect, so that there is no necessity, as in Japan, for one party to seek a toleration in matters of religion, from another. Their priests, monks, or bonzes, as they are

indiscriminately called, are so ignorant, that they know little more besides that of perfuming their idols once every morning, to which service they are called by the ringing of a bell. Their convents and pagods are situated for the most part on mountains, and subject to the power and authority of the city or town near to which they are situated. They have one particular convent with six hundred monks in it, and one city that has four thousand of religious sects under its jurisdiction. They are distributed into select bands, or companies, some of ten, some of twenty, and others of thirty members, the oldest of whom, in each class, is the principal, or superior, and if any one proves careless, or remiss in his duty, he is ordered to be corrected and chastised by the rest of the brethren, but if the crime is of a flagrant nature, he is given up to the power of the civil magistrate.

Relations are not allowed to marry within the fourth degree of consanguinity, and love is a passion to which they are in a manner strangers; for it often happens, that their nuptial ceremonies take place before they are nine or ten years of age, so that if ever they know any thing of love, it must be long after marriage. The women, particularly the wives of the poorer sort, are treated with great cruelty, but their spirits are so much depressed, and not knowing where to procure a remedy, they become as it were insensible of their misery. The marriage ceremony consists of the relations of the bridegroom, accompanied by himself, making a tour round the town with a band of music playing before them. When they come to the door where the bride lives, the bridegroom knocks, and meets with a very favourable reception. After this, he conducts the bride home, and the whole ceremony ends with a splendid entertainment. Polygamy is allowed among them, and when they please they can put away both their wives and children; but this horrid, unnatural practice, seldom takes place; for as we have already taken notice in the former part of this work, "The light of nature is not yet extinguished among the heathens."

When a person of rank dies, all his relations go into mourning for three years, nor are they permitted, during the whole of that time, to follow any secular employment. They weep, howl, and tear their hair, to shew their concern for the deceased; and they put the corpse into a double coffin, finely varnished, and gilt over, according as the nature of their circumstances will permit. They put into the coffins whole suits of clothes, with provisions, money, and several sorts of warlike instruments, for the use of the deceased in the other world; from which we may learn, that they have but very carnal notions of the soul.

The night previous to the funeral, is spent in inno-

cent amusement, and at day-break all the relations set out on horseback, making the most hideous lamentations. Those who bear the corpse, move in a slow solemn manner, singing hymns; and if the deceased was rich, he has generally a monument erected to his memory, but those who are poor, are buried in graves about three feet deep. Three days after the interment, the relations and friends of the deceased make a formal visit to the grave, and recreate themselves there some time. Every full moon, they cut the grass that grows around the tomb, and make free-will offerings of rice. But this is not all, for it often happens that the bonzes, in order to get some employment, will tell the relations, that the deceased lies uncased in his grave, upon which they take up the coffin, and renew the whole funeral solemnity, for which the bonzes or priests receive their fees.

Having said so much concerning the idols of these heathen nations, it may not be improper in this place, to say something concerning the true God, and also on the nature of idols. The true God is defined to be a most glorious object, the author of all things, who had no beginning of days, nor will have any end of years. He is infinite, eternal, and unchangeable; he is possessed of all those perfections which we admire, but cannot fully comprehend. His wisdom is conspicuous in the formation of the world, and indeed in the creation of every thing; for as a great divine says, a pile of grass is sufficient to confute an atheist. His power is displayed to our senses in the works of his providence; he holds the waters in the hollow of his hands; he weighs the mountains in a balance, and taketh up the earth as a very little thing.

In his holiness, he exceeds all that we poor mortals can comprehend, for he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. Sinners shall not stand before him, nor the wicked dwell in his presence. Men should tremble at his justice, especially when they consider their own guilt. The justice of God in the moral government of this world, may be known by particular instances of its operations, but will not be fully understood, till Christ shall come to judge the world in righteousness. The temporal death to which every human being is subject, is a proof of the justice of God, in punishing our first parents for their disobedience; but the most awful display we have of divine justice, is in the death of Christ. There the wrath of God against sin was displayed in the most lively colours; divine justice was satisfied by the sacrifice offered, and man, a rebel to his Creator, reconciled through the blood of atonement prophesied of long before, and pointed out by types and figures. His goodness fills the devout soul with admiration here below, and will afford him matter for praise in eternity. Is not that goodness infinite, that can bear with our daily and numerous provocations? Is not



that goodness infinite, that can stoop down to behold the affairs of this lower world, and raise up one, while it casts down another? But above all, is not that goodness infinite, which could send an only begotten son to die for sinful men, when they were lost in all sorts of iniquity, working all manner of uncleanness with greediness. Such are a few of the outlines of the characters of the true God, whom every Christian worships; and, therefore, we shall next say something concerning the false gods of the heathens.

As the benefit of light is best known when contrasted with darkness, so truth is the more admired for being compared with falsehood. All that is good, amiable, praiseworthy, glorious, benevolent, just, and merciful, is to be found in the character and attributes of that God, whom the Christians worship; among the gods of the heathens, it is just the reverse. And here let us inquire into their attributes, for there must be some qualities ascribed to them.

Are they infinite? that is impossible, for they are actually lodged in temples, made with hands; nay, they are often carried from one place to another, their heads and their hands cut off, and sometimes they are reduced to ashes.

That they are not eternal, we can make no manner of doubt, for new ones are made almost every day; and surely a created being cannot properly be an object of divine worship. Sculptors, painters, engravers, smiths, and indeed almost every trade, have, in their turn, contributed towards the making of gods; and so infatuated are mankind, that many of them can fall down and worship the works of their own hands. Are they unchangeable? No: instead of enjoying such a variety of qualities, their very colours are often changed twenty times in an age; and almost every year, new passions are ascribed to them. And this is done merely according to the capricious manner in which men are led by their passions, without considering that they degrade their nature, and become more contemptible than the beasts that perish.

Again, let us inquire more minutely into those qualities which naturally present themselves to our observation, as rational creatures. And first, with respect to wisdom, let us for once suppose that the idols adored by heathens, in ancient and modern times, were, and really are, what their worshippers believe them to be, namely, beings endowed with sovereign power, able to reward the virtuous, and punish the vicious, to pardon the penitent, and to supply the wants of those in distress. I say, let us admit these things by way of supposition, and then inquire, whether one or all of them will hold good? For if it can be made appear, that they have none of the qualities of the true God, then they are no

more than dumb and dead idols. And first, have they wisdom? No: how can an inanimate being be endowed with wisdom. But then supposing them to be real objects of worship, it will naturally follow that the religion enjoined by them, is the result of divine wisdom and knowledge. Now let any reasonable person ask himself, whether the forms of worship which we have already taken notice of among the heathens, being in themselves altogether barbarous, could, on any account whatever, point out happiness to poor fallen men? Certainly the contrary did, and always will continue to take place. Had these beings been endowed with wisdom, they would have led their people who worshipped them to happiness; but alas! the poor votaries were and are left in a state of darkness, no hope beyond the grave was promised, nor the means prescribed by which it might be attained.

Again, with respect to power, where did they shew it? a god without power, is no god at all. Nothing was more common than to find the victorious commander of an army setting fire to consecrated temples, and carrying off the gods, as so many prisoners, in triumph. Nay, what notions could the people have of power, who, when their idols refused to comply with their requests, actually brought them out into the open streets and scourged them.

Holiness, the life and soul of practical religion, is not to be met with among heathens in this age, nor was it to be found among those of ancient times. Where could holiness or purity of the heart and life be found, where whoredom, drunkenness, and even unnatural crimes, were not only tolerated, but even celebrated. Let us, like Constantine the Great, draw aside the veil which concealed the impurities daily committed in their temples, and we shall behold, what is not proper to be named. Should those idols be objects of worship, whose priests taught the grossest impurities; who rejoiced in what the worst of men consider as shame; who set aside the order of nature, and actually attempted to overthrow divine Providence itself? But is justice to be found among these gods? No: we must not look for justice in a system established on falsehood. All those actions by which men are enabled above the irrational part of the creation, were treated with contempt. Revenge, theft, plunder, murder, and indeed, the most odious crimes were, and still are considered as so many virtues; and the more notorious the guilt of the criminal, the more he was considered as an object of approbation. Goodness, that glorious attribute of God, was not to be found among the ancient heathens, and in vain do we look for it at present. Could a good benevolent Being teach men to do that which is cruel? No: but such was, and still is the practice of the heathens. Can that religion have goodness in it, which teacheth husbands to inculcate

into the minds of their wives, that it is necessary for them to burn themselves on a funeral pile? Can there be goodness in that parent, who, divesting himself of bowels of compassion, can see his child offered up as a victim at the altar of an idol? True religion condemns the sentiment, and humanity shudders at the practice.

Truth, the last attribute or quality we shall mention, never could, or never can be found among the heathens. Can truth be found in that system from which wisdom, power, holiness, justice, and goodness are banished? It was said of God, that it was impossible for him to lie; and with respect to the heathens, it may be justly taken notice, that even supposing their idols were animated beings, all that their priests have taught us is no better than the

grossest falsehood. Plato said, that truth was the form of the Divine Being, and if so, then every thing contrary to it must constitute the character of an idol. Having thus drawn a parallel between the true God and the idols of heathen nations, we shall say with Joshua of old, "Chuse you this day, whom you will serve." The best way to point out false religion, is to display it in its native colours, and men, by seeing unaccountable absurdities presented to them as objects worthy of their notice or regard, will become in love with the truth. Truth carries conviction along with it, and happy must that man be, who seeks wisdom. He who sincerely inquires after truth, has great reason to hope, that God will direct him to it, and convince him of its excellency above every thing in this world.

## THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

AS the author, who would wish to obtain the approbation of his readers, will, at all times, blend entertainment, information, and instruction together; so we shall now part with the heathens for some time, and present the public with an account of that religion which has the true God for its author, the blood of Christ for its foundation, happiness for its object, and glory for its consummation.

But here it is necessary that we should lay down the plan upon which we intend to proceed, because Christianity lays open to us an ample field for speculation, for information, and for instruction: we shall therefore divide the subject into the following branches:

First, the state of Christianity from the time of its first promulgation, till it received the sanction of the civil power, under the emperor Constantine the Great.

Secondly, an account of all the heresies that sprang up during the first three centuries.

Thirdly, an account of the Christian church, from the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, down to the Reformation.

Fourthly, an account of the Greek church both in ancient and modern times.

Lastly, an account of the Albigenes and Waldensians.

In conducting this most laborious part of the work, we shall endeavour not to give offence to any person whatever, and having finished it, we shall once more return to heathens, and then to those religious

parties which took their rise in Europe after the Reformation.

Long had the wretched race of Adam continued in a state of ignorance and darkness, and from these sources, all sorts of crimes took their rise. To draw a picture of the heathen world at the time of Christ's appearance among men, would be to paint out human nature in its most depraved state. The knowledge of the true God was lost; blasphemy, obscenity, and impiety constituted the essential parts of their public worship; and although many of them believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet they had confused and carnal notions concerning it. As God is the universal Lord and Sovereign of nature, so he generally accomplishes the schemes of his providence by natural means. Thus we find, that in order to introduce the glorious Redeemer into the world, and make way for the propagation of his gospel, a variety of circumstances took place, which human sagacity could not have planned, nor could the deepest penetration have seen into the important events.

About three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation, a remarkable change took place in the civil government of this world. The Persian kings with their subjects, having forgot the dignity of their characters, and bravery of their ancestors, became an easy conquest for the ambitious Grecian hero (Alexander) and by this important, unthought of event, the Greek language was taught and propagated throughout a great part of Asia, where dif-

different dialects had been spoken before. It was also an insuperable advantage to the world, that thro' the Roman empire, new languages were generally spoken, namely, Greek and Latin, and it frequently happened, that such as learned the one as the language of his country, acquired the knowledge of the other, partly by reading, and partly by conversation.

Such was the situation of the world, at the time when God sent his only begotten Son to justify sinners, both by his active and passive obedience. But in what manner was this great Redeemer ushered into the world? Here angels are first in admiration, deliberation are filled with gratitude: whilst the people are left in amazement. The sacred Lamb of heaven and earth is assumed to lodge here upwards of a year, at a poor obscure virgin, and although he was the King of kings, and Lord of lords, yet his mother, at the command of a Pagan emperor, was obliged to leave the place of her marriage and travel those strict laws, in a state of pregnancy, in order to pay a poor impost and poll-tax. Although he was a Jew, the heathen for his inheritance, and the other nations, parts of the earth for his possession, yet his mother was obliged to undergo the pains of child-bearing at a poor obscure virgin, and amidst of a crowd, the long promised Messiah was lost in a number. His son was sought after privately by the Jewish High-priest, and his poor separated parents were obliged to travel for another and longer time along with their son who was to justify sinners with a robe of righteousness. In a humble, obscure situation, the eternal Son of God, and who thought it no robbery to be equal to God, and to be God himself, lived all he was thirty years of age, along with his separated parents. The time in the eternal decree of God was fixed for his entering upon his public ministry, and then Christ Jesus, that he might suffer labour in his own government from the Augustus, submitted to be baptised in the river Jordan, for although sinners with every impurity, yet he made the following declaration, "that it behooved him to fulfil all righteousness," that is, he was to comply with every ceremony to be used, and the preparation to his mission." From that period, all upwards of three years after, he went about doing good, from place to place, and from house to house. To the humble minister, the glory of the divinity shone through the veil of his humanity, and under the character of a poor peasant man, the attributes of the Deity were seen. At last the Jews, that persecuted him as an impostor, because he did not make an appearance among them with popular grandeur, he wrote a curse inscription against him, and he was condemned by the Jewish power to be crucified, a death only inferior to slaves, but all this had been pointed out in the prophecies, long before Christ

made his appearance in the world, but the hearts of the Jews were hardened, and they could not see the glory of their own Messiah.

It has been objected by the deists, why might not an angel, or even a human being, have suffered for the sins of mankind, upon the supposition of there being any necessity for an atonement? To this it is answered, first, that there was an absolute necessity for an atonement, for without that, offending men could never have been reconciled to an offended God. Secondly, neither a human being nor an angel could make an atonement, for the guilt having been contracted in consequence of the breach of a divine law, prescribed by an infinite being, it was necessary that an infinite being should make the proper satisfaction. Lastly, whenever regard was to be paid to the arguments here laid down, we shall easily answer, that this scheme of divine redemption was perfected by inserting wisdom, by that wisdom it was carried on, and so thoroughly power it has risen triumphant over all opposition. Again, it has been objected, why did Christ submit to lay his head in the silent grave? to this it is answered, that it was done in order to complete the whole scheme of redemption, and in this sentiment we are recommended, not only by all the ancient Christian fathers, but also by the argumentative reasoning of the late Lord chancellor King, who was in argument to his country, and in answer to the deists.

And first, the reason why he submitted to be buried, and to lie silent amongst the faithful followers to meet death with discretion, and lay down their heads in the grave, in hopes of a blessed resurrection & immortality. He submitted the grave for us poor sinners, and as death could not destroy him in a state of immortality, so death shall not have dominion over his followers, who are not under the law, but under grace.

Secondly, our Saviour submitted to be buried, and to lie silent in the grave, that he might complete the whole work of his mission. As he himself knew, and he knew to death and death, even the death of the cross, so he submitted still further to be buried, and his soul went to that place where the spirits of just men are waiting to be made perfect.

Thirdly, he laid himself down in the grave, and his soul went into the invisible regions, that he might triumph over principalities and powers, and that he was to be in his own proper person, to convince the proud adversary of mankind of his almighty power, and to encourage his faithful followers to believe that he was to conduct them through time, and make them sharers in eternity.

Lastly, the principal end of our Saviour's descent into the grave and into the invisible regions below



was, that he might subject himself to the pain of death, and to a every thing conformable to them, for seeing that he became our high-priest in heaven, and came to believe him in all things to be true and to be our mediator. Therefore he said to his Father that only one was conformable to the grave, and he spent his to the redemption of sinners souls, who were in the grave.

Moreover we have seen our Mediator and Redeemer in the glorious and great estate of his majesty, throughout all the stages of that temporary life he submitted to for our sakes. We have attended him in the most pleasing period, namely, the separation of his two precious parts, his soul and his body, and the continuance of them in their respective mansions and habitation. His resurrection and ascension are that sort of righteousness, which are in request and demand, and which are the fruit of his sacrifice.

Each could not detain his body, nor the receptacle of our sins, to be sold; but each was changed in order to our joy. His body was changed into the most perfect matter, which was not liable to decay, and the vessel of glory, in the most shining manner, when our devotion rises from the grave. He triumphed over the power of death, and hell, he lost captivity, and gave gifts for man, and for the salvation of the soul the Lord might dwell among them. But here it is objected, is the desire, why did he not show himself openly to those rulers or the Jewish people, who had condemned him as an impostor? The answer is obvious, they were unworthy of such a favour; they had rejected the evidence of their own senses, while he was daily working miracles among them, and at length, he appeared to them after his resurrection, they would have treated him in the same contemptible manner.

St. Austin says, "there is a certain measure of sin and of grace, after which God withdraweth himself." Looking from down Christ conversed with his disciples, and then he ascended his heaven, where he sat down at the right hand of his Father, and shall remain until he comes to judge the world in righteousness. But the Divine Redeemer did not forget his glorious mission here below. While he is now in heaven, he has his disciples, and he would be with them to the end of the world. "Because I live, ye shall live also." And consequently we find, that a few days after his resurrection, he sent the Holy Ghost, in a most efficacious manner, upon his disciples, and that was beginning the most vital, and by means the most desperate in human estimation, the little spark cut out of the rock became an exalted monument, and dashed in pieces every thing that opposed it, and this seems to naturally into that part of our narrative, which is the first place, presents itself in our consideration.

For some time after our Saviour's resurrection,

his disciples preached in Jude, except in the circum-cised, whether Jews or proselytes, and this was true, that the multitude of God might have conspicuous. He had promised that the effect of grace and salvation should first be made to Israel. This plan, however, was soon successful in one of a much more enlarged manner. For as it had been foretold that the Messiah should be a sign to all nations, so it was necessary that the apostles should extend their labours all over the world. Wherever they went to preach the gospel, it was their constant practice to obtain the first fruits of their labours to the work of the ministry, or in other words, their first converts were appointed elders in the churches. These elders, men or women, are generally mentioned in the several numbers in the account we have of churches in the new testament. For this there might be many particular reasons, which have not been communicated to us, though there are several others in which we need not be strangers. First, the necessity of the perseverance was such, that many of these elders were put to death, and it was therefore necessary, that there should be some always ready to succeed them. Secondly, their great attention to the duties of their station, found them in more engagement, that it was necessary to have more that are in a church. Lastly, it seems to have been a temporary institution for the advantage of the church, in its infancy, as instead the converts, who were extremely numerous, and to guard them against relaxing their industry, and it does appear that this office was to be perpetual. For if a church, was before the death of the apostle St. Paul, that many churches had not one elder or bishop each. Thus we find Ignatius writes to Anicetus, and Polycarp to Sagaris, both of whom were disciples in the apostles. The business of the bishops or elders, was to preach to the people, to pray with them, and administer the sacraments.

The second order in their churches was that of deacons, and from amongst them, the bishops were generally elected. Their office was to visit the sick, to pray with them, and in times of persecution, to assist the bishop in visiting the people, from house to house. Both the number, and the followers of their divine master, that are their people is a shepherd does not think, but could the fear of death prevent them from visiting and administering consolation, in such a way as possible. During their absence, their followers receive communications, and their people might not be distressed in support them, but without support and without a few deacons, to guide them. In their times they were extremely pious, for they ministered chiefly spiritual things, waiting for the coming of their Lord. It is plain, that such as were Jews, and embraced the Christian

religion, were at liberty to practise their own rites and ceremonies, but they were not to impose them on others: but this fell into disrespect, and Jewish ceremonies were seldom used after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Such was the state of the Christian church during the age of the apostles, and it is generally allowed, that few ceremonies were observed till the time of Constantine the Great. All denominations of Protestants allow this; the greatest writers of our established church have proved it, nor indeed do any of the learned Roman Catholics say much against the Protestants. We shall now attend to the Christian form of worship, till Constantine the Great depressed the power of the heathens, and granted the followers of our Lord a civil establishment throughout every part of the empire.

When the congregation was assembled, the first part of divine worship was to read a portion of the sacred scriptures, and besides the scriptures, they often read epistles from neighbouring churches, particularly such as related to the martyrdom of those who had laid down their lives for the truth. The person who read to the congregation, was one who was a candidate for holy orders, and he was called the clerk, or more frequently the reader. The place from whence he read was an eminence in the church where he could be seen and heard by all the people. This eminence was called pulpitum, from whence our word pulpit is derived. No person was permitted to speak while he read, for during the three first centuries of Christianity, responses were not used in the church. How much was read at a time is not certainly known, but it appears that it was sometimes more or less, according as circumstances varied the case; for the Christians were often obliged to meet privately in the night.

When the reading of the scriptures was over, then followed the singing of psalms, which made a considerable part of their service; for as Pliny writes, they met together an hour before day to sing an hymn to Christ, and this was done to elevate the mind by heavenly raptures of praise and adoration, and to raise a pious soul into a greater degree of admiration of God's love and bounty. What those psalms were which they sung, is a question which should be resolved, and in doing this we are not left in the dark, for we have the testimony of the most learned fathers to support us.

These divine songs, were either such as they had collected out of the sacred scriptures, particularly the book of psalms, or such as were of their own private composing. As for the manner of singing there was not a fixed rule, every church being at liberty to make choice of what they most approved of, for it was the matter, rather than the manner, that was attended to. In some churches, the people

sung all together in concert, and in others alternately. As for organs, or any other sort of instrumental music, it was not then known in the churches: it cannot rationally be supposed, that in those days of almost continual persecution, they could either use or preserve them.

When the singing was over, the bishop stood up and delivered the sermon, which generally lasted an hour, but seldom more. It consisted in an explication of what had been read in the lessons, and concluded with some practical inferences. As soon as the sermon was ended, all present in the congregation rose up to present their public prayers unto Almighty God, which according to the evidence of Justin Martyr, Cyprian, and many others of the fathers, were offered generally standing, particularly on Sunday, for on that day it was considered as a sin to kneel. Indeed, the preacher generally concluded his sermon with an exhortation to the people to stand up, as will appear from the following specimen of one of Origen's. "Wherefore standing up, let us beg help from God; let us pray that we may be made worthy of Jesus Christ; let us offer up sacrifices to the father through Jesus Christ, who is the propitiation of our sins, to whom be glory and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen."

Accordingly, the whole congregation stood up, and turned their faces to the east, in which attitude they continued during the time of prayer; but here it will be necessary, that we should account for this ceremony. First, it was assigned by many of the fathers as a reason for praying to the east, that it was the most excellent quarter of the world, because it was symbolical of the glorious light which arose upon the heathen world; for as the sun gives light to the world, so does the gospel to sinners. But the best reason assigned for this practice is, that they misunderstood the prophecy of Zechariah vi. 12. where it is said, "Behold the man whose name is the Branch;" and because they did not understand Hebrew, they used the Septuagint version, where the word Branch is translated the East.

The congregation being thus turned towards the east, they put themselves in a praying posture, stretching out their hands, and lifting up their eyes to heaven; when the minister said, "Lift up your hearts." After this, the minister began to pray; but here it is necessary we should take some notice of the habit in which he officiated, and with respect to this, we shall only repeat what has been left on record by the fathers who lived in those times.

His usual garb was a pallium, which was the same with what we call a cloak, for that being the most plain, simple garment, it was worn by the Christians in general, in preference to the Toga, or Roman gown, which was more gay and splendid. Therefore we find, that those who embraced Chris-



trianity, quitted the Toga and put on the pallium, as a sign of humility, and indicating their being dead to the world. This mean habit induced the heathens to ridicule the primitive Christians; for in the works of Tertullian, there is extant an essay, entitled, "A Defence of the Cloak." Tertullian adds further, that no vestments were worn over the cloak, and speaks against some preachers in his time who used to throw off their cloaks, which he condemns as a superstitious affectation, and a heathenish custom. "So," says he, "the heathens pray to their gods, which if it ought to have been done, would have been enjoined by the apostles, who have given directions concerning the manner of prayer."

Prayer was delivered with a modest, bashful voice, that being most proper for those who came to acknowledge the multitude and heinousness of their sins, and beg God's pardon and grace, which are the chief parts of prayer; music being more for praise and thanksgiving. When prayer was concluded, the people said Amen, or, So be it, and sometimes the Lord's Prayer was used, and at other times omitted. Thus in the divine and heavenly prayer of Polycarp, when chained to the stake: "Lord, I will praise thee, I will magnify thee, through the eternal high priest, Christ Jesus thy beloved Son, by whom to thee, with him and the holy ghost, be glory, now and for ever. Amen."

Every bishop prayed in what words he pleased, but no doubt they were such as were proper to elevate the mind to the highest strains of devotion. We do not mean to say, that they did not occasionally use forms, for, probably, many of them did, but only that they were not imposed, one bishop using one form, and another using another; others did not use any. But whatever forms they used, they could not be read out of a book, which is evident from the posture in which they stood, which was either with their eyes lifted up to heaven, or with them shut. Thus Origen says, that, "A true Christian prays in every place, closing the eyes of his senses, but opening those of his mind." Now let them have prayed in either of these postures, it will appear evident that they could not read: for how could they turn over the leaves of the book while their hands were stretched out towards heaven in the form of a cross, or when their eyes were shut?

The last thing to be said concerning their prayers, is to inquire whether they used only one at a time, or whether a great many short collects, as we do in our public worship. In answer to this, all we can say with any degree of probability is, that for the ease of the bishops on fast days, when the service was three times as long as on other days, they might use several short collects; but this we advance rather by way of conjecture, than as amounting to a full proof.

Baptism is the next ceremony to be taken notice of, and here it will be necessary to point out, first, who baptised? secondly, who were baptised? and lastly, the manner of baptizing? And first, the person baptizing was usually the bishop or president of the church: for after the beginning of the second century, when the churches were greatly increased in the number of members, and the bishop was not able to discharge the whole of the duty, a new order was instituted, called Presbyters. These Presbyters were chosen from among the people, and ordained in the same manner as the bishop; but although they for the most part, assisted him in all the sacred offices, yet the chief parts particularly the celebration of the sacraments, were discharged by him as president, if he was present. But by his consent, even if he was present, Presbyters and deacons were permitted to do all these things, and this was the more necessary, as it frequently happened, that the bishop was confined in prison for preaching the gospel, a truth which most of them sealed with their own blood.

Secondly, with respect to the persons who were baptized, all that we can learn, is, that they were of two sorts, namely, they were either infants, or persons grown up to years of maturity. Infants were the children of Christian parents, and grown persons were such as had been covered from Pagan idolatry. That infants were baptized, appears evident from many considerations; baptism was always precedent to the Lord's Supper, and none were admitted to receive the Lord's Supper till they were baptized. This is so obvious that it needs no proof, for if any one doubts of it, he may find a thousand proofs in the writings of Irenæus, and Justin Martyr, who were among the first of the fathers that lived nearest to the apostolic age. We do not intend here to insinuate, that all the churches were unanimous in their consent, that the baptism of infants was a gospel doctrine, but only that it was generally practised as coming in the room of the sacrament of circumcision. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider what a near affinity there was between the Jewish and Christian systems; the one was the shadow of good things to come, the other was the completion of all the prophecies and promises.

The person, if advanced in years, was first asked several questions by the bishop, concerning his knowledge of the principles of the Christian faith; as, first, whether he abjured the devil and all his works; and, secondly, whether he assented to all the articles of the Christian faith proposed to him? By these articles of the Christian faith is generally understood that symbol called the Apostles' Creed; but this is false, for before the time of the Emperor Constantine, the creed called the Apostles, was not known. Previous to that period every church had



its own creed, but still in essentials they agreed; they all agreed in the fundamental articles of religion, but they often differed with respect to disputed points. This, however, made no breach in the unity of faith; for although they differed in smaller matters, yet they were all united in those things that related to their eternal salvation; they lived in harmony together, and they considered each other as brethren.

Thirdly, let us attend to the manner of baptism, one of the most solemn rites in the Christian church; for as a person who enters into a military life swears to be obedient to his general, so the Christian at baptism swears to serve faithfully the captain of his salvation, the Lord Jesus Christ. And the first part of the ceremony was exorcism, which was the casting out the devil, or the unclean spirit. This practice they founded upon an explanation of our Lord's farewell discourse to his disciples, Mark xvi. 17, 18. There Christ commanded them to go forth, preaching the gospel, and to baptize; which was to be an unalterable, perpetual ministration, to the end of the world. Then he proceeds to tell them, that for the speedier propagation of the gospel, and that the heathens might the more readily embrace it, he would confer on them, and the first preachers thereof, the gift of working miracles. That is, they should in his name cast out devils, and speak in unknown tongues, as they most eminently did on the day of Pentecost; that they should without being injured, take up serpents, as St. Paul did at Malta; and if by accident they drank any deadly thing, it should not hurt them. It was added, that by laying their hands on the sick, they should heal them; and all this they did, as we are assured by ecclesiastical historians.

However, all these were extraordinary gifts, that were to last no longer than the apostolic age; but we find that their immediate successors, and even down to the time of Constantine the Great, they believed them to be ordinary, and of a fixed nature. In the act or ceremony of exorcism, the bishop, or whoever officiated for him, commanded the unclean spirit to depart out of the catechumen, using several prayers suitable to the occasion, with imposition of hands. Next followed baptism itself, and the person being ready to be baptized, the minister by prayer consecrated the water for that use, and baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. As to the form of baptizing, it seems to have been by dipping the whole body, except in cases of sickness, when the life of the person might have been in danger. If the person baptized by sprinkling happened to recover, he was generally re-baptised by immersion; and no person could be admitted to holy orders who had not been baptized in this latter form.

Justin Martyr, who lived about the middle of the

second century, relates, that when baptism was over, the person baptized was admitted into the number of the faithful, and received the other sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the rest of the congregation; who sent up their united prayers to God for him. From this circumstance as related by Justin Martyr, it appears that prayers only followed after baptism; but soon after his time, some other rites were introduced, which although in themselves rather of an indifferent nature, yet, in after ages, were very much abused, and upon them was raised a system of superstition.

The first of these ceremonies, which probably was introduced in the church towards the latter end of the second century, was called unction, or anointing, which ceremony they borrowed from the Jews; for Tertullian writes, "This unction is according to the Jewish dispensation, wherein the high-priest was anointed with oil out of an horn, as Aaron was by Moses." The design was, that they might be considered by their brethren as consecrated persons, like Christ, who is often called the anointed of God.

The second of these rites was, the marking the baptized person on the forehead with the sign of the cross, by which was denoted that they were to be strong and valiant in the cause of Christ, having their hearts fortified and strengthened; and therefore it was made on the most visible part of the body, the forehead, which is the seat of courage and confidence. As the Christians in their afflicted persecuted state, could not prevent the heathens from coming into their assemblies, so we find, that part of the informations exhibited against them was, that they made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, that they might fight for Jesus Christ against the emperors. The consequence was, that the first part of their punishment consisted in marking with a hot iron the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Another ceremony was imposition of hands, or what has been since called confirmation; and this was practised from an opinion, that baptism was not perfect without it.

Confirmation was considered in the same light as absolution of sins, as appears from the united testimonies of all the Christian fathers who lived between the death of Justin Martyr, and the reign of Constantine the Great, and although the ceremony was in its own nature simple, innocent, and expressive, yet we find that it was afterwards used to a bad purpose, by placing too much confidence in it. But the ceremony of confirmation was not confined to a single instance in the life of one person, for as many of the primitive Christians, through the fear of persecution, relapsed into idolatry, and were again restored to the bosom of the church; so it was necessary, before they were re-admitted, that they should be confirmed. It may be further added, that

presbyters had a right to confirm, as well as bishops, their ordination being the same, the difference consisting only in dignity and power.

Having said thus much concerning the first sacrament of the Christian church, baptism, we shall now proceed to consider in what manner the primitive Christians administered the second, called the eucharist, or the Lord's Supper. And in treating on this, that the reader may be led into a methodical system, we shall point out, first, the time when, secondly, the persons by whom, and lastly, the place where it was administered, or in the language of some divines, solemnized.

First, as for the time, it was generally at the conclusion of their solemn services; for as Justin Martyr writes, "after they had read, sung, preached, and prayed, they proceeded to administer the eucharist." But as for the particular time, there was no rule, in general; every particular church fixing the time according to the nature of their circumstances. In the age of Tertullian, who lived about the latter end of the second, and the beginning of the third century, they received it in the evening, which induced the heathens to accuse them with putting out their lights, and mixing together in an indecent manner. This however, was a false accusation; for the Christians avoided ostentation in their sacred mysteries, on account of the cruelties inflicted upon all those who had the unhappiness to be informed against, and dragged before the pro-consul of the province where they resided.

Pliny, a heathen, in his letter to the emperor Trojan, says, that the Christians met before sun-rising to celebrate their mysteries; but instead of accusing them of any crimes, he says, that they bound themselves by an oath, not to injure any one, to be obedient to the civil powers, and to contribute towards relieving the wants of their brethren, according to the nature of their circumstances, for every one was at liberty to give what he pleased. St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, says, that some received the eucharist in the morning, and others in the evening, from all which we may learn, that the meetings of the Christians were not exactly fixed, but that they met together as often as they had opportunities, only that they preferred the first day of the week, now called Sunday, to all other times whatever.

Secondly, the persons communicating, were not all who professed the Christian faith; for Origen writes that it did not belong to every one to eat of the bread, and drink of the cup, in the sacrament. This privilege was reserved for those whose characters were unspotted, and who lived holy lives in the fear of God, in the practice of religious duties; by all which they did honour to their Divine Redeemer. Now as none but the faithful and the pious were admitted to this sacred ordinance, so it will naturally

be inferred, that catechumens, who had not been properly instructed, and relapsed penitents who had returned from idolatry, were excluded. Thus when the common service was over, and the congregation of the faithful were going to approach the sacred table of the Lord, all the penitents who had not been reconciled, and the catechumens, who had not been properly instructed, were desired to withdraw; and however just and equitable such an institution might appear to an unprejudiced man, yet partly from the unjust accusation of false brethren, and more generally from the malice of the heathens, particularly their priests, the civil governors were made to believe, that the Christians practised unnatural crimes; an accusation, not only unjust, but in all respects contrary to their principles, which were pure and holy.

Thirdly, let us now attend to the manner of celebrating the eucharist, but here it is necessary to observe, that the external rites were not always the same, for in some parts they made offerings to the poor before the minister consecrated the elements, and in other parts of the world it was done afterwards. In general the rule was for the minister, bishop, or presbyter, or by what other name he was called, to begin with an explanation of the sacrament, and an exhortation to the faithful to receive it in a worthy manner. After the exhortation, the minister prayed for a blessing on the elements, to which the people gave their assent, by saying Amen. This prayer was one, but it consisted of two parts, namely, petition and thanksgiving. In the former, they prayed for the peace of the church, the quiet of the world, the health of the emperors, and, in a word, for all men who needed their prayers.—In the latter, they thanked God for sending Jesus Christ, his son, into the world and for the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and during this solemn act, the minister took both the bread and wine into his hands and consecrated them at once.

Prayer being ended, the words of institution were read, that so the elements might be consecrated by the word as well as by prayer. Then the minister took the bread, and having broken it, gave it to the deacons, who distributed it to the communicants; ceremonies being but little attended to in those ages by the Christians. In most places every individual had the bread and wine delivered to him, either by the bishops or deacons; but in the church of Alexandria, the whole was placed on a table, and every one took what he pleased. As for the posture of receiving the sacrament, it was different in various places. In Alexandria the communicants stood up and received the elements, which was after the following manner: The bread and wine being consecrated, the faithful came up in order to the

communion table, where, standing, they received the elements, and then returned to their places again; but although this practice was not universal, yet this much is certain, that no person could receive the eucharist kneeling, between the feasts of Easter and Whitsunday, that posture, during that time, being absolutely prohibited by the church.

The communicants having received the elements, a psalm, or hymn, was sung to the praise and glory of God; for as Tertullian writes, "every one sung an hymn to God, either of his own composition, or out of the sacred scriptures." Then followed the thanksgiving to almighty God, for his great mercies, and a collection was made for the poor, which money was left with the deacons, in order to be distributed among those who were in want, and as the name of every individual was known to the officers of the church, so deception seldom took place.

Having hitherto spoken of the particular acts of public worship among the primitive Christians, let us now inquire into those circumstances that attended them; that is, such as are inseparable from all human actions, such as place, time, habit, and gesture. Some of these things have already been taken notice of, but to keep on in the most regular systematical manner possible, we shall enlarge a little farther. And first, as for the place, all will readily grant, that it is, and always must have been a necessary circumstance of divine worship; for if we serve God, it must be in one place or other. Now here it is necessary to propose the following question; Had the primitive Christians fixed and determined places for public worship? To this it is answered, that usually they had, though in times of persecution it was often otherwise. Then, as Eusebius says, they used to meet in fields, in woods, in deserts, and sometime in ships that lay near the sea coast, yet in times of peace, they chose the most convenient place they could get for the performance of their solemn services, and that was called a church. Thus at Rome, in the time of Eusebius, the place where the Christians met to chuse their bishop, was called the church. At Alexandria, much about the same time, the bishop appointed women to sing to the faithful, and the place where they were to officiate, was the church. At Carthage, when a person renounced the devil, and was baptized, it was in the church, the common name for the place where the Christians assembled.

As for the form of their churches, we have the following description of them in Tertullian; "The house of our dove-like religion, is simple, built on high, and in open view, respecting the light, as the figure of the Holy Ghost, and the east, as the representation of Christ." The meaning is, that their churches were built on high and open places, and made light and shining, in imitation of the descent

of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, at the feast of Pentecost. As the most conspicuous part stood towards the east, it was in honour of Christ, whom they imagined to be called the east, because they did not know the Hebrew, where the word is. But, although they had these churches for decency and conveniency, yet they never imagined there was any holiness in them, so as to recommend, or make more acceptable their services to God, any more than if they had worshipped him in another place.

Time is another necessary and indispensable circumstance of religious worship, for while we are in this world, we cannot join at all times to serve God. Thus we find, that under the law, God instituted the Sabbath, with other festivals, for the benefit of his people meeting together to worship him. And so, under the Christian dispensation, there are times and seasons for worship, for the benefit of the faithful, that they may be built up in true holiness. Now the principal time was the first day of the week, and it was sometimes called the Chief of Days, the Lord's Day, and by several of the fathers, it is called Sunday, although not often. It was kept as a day of rejoicing in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead. On this day they met together and performed all the acts of divine worship, such as we have already described, and in private they spent the day in the most pious and heavenly manner, in reading, praying, singing, and in holy conversation.

It was called Sunday, out of compliment to the heathens, that they might know when they met, and be witnesses to the purity of their worship. But although they complied so far with the heathens as to call it Sunday, yet from the whole of their writings, they never called it the Sabbath; and Justin Martyr wrote a treatise against those who used Jewish manners. But in some parts of Asia, where there were many Jews, the Christians performed divine worship, both on Saturdays and on Sundays, that they might convince those infatuated people, that although they worshipped Christ as their God, yet they honoured Moses, who was a divine law-giver.

But besides the first day of the week, the Christians had some other times appropriated for public worship, and these consisted of fasts and feasts.—Their fasts were either occasional or fixed. Occasional fasts were such as were not determined by any fixed period of time, but observed on extraordinary occasions, according as the nature of their circumstances pointed out. Thus, when a violent persecution raged, they kept fasts, and confessed their sins, as being the procuring causes of the divine displeasure. In the same manner, when the empire was threatened with any apparent danger, they kept fasts, and prayed for the prosperity of those emperors by whose cruel edicts they were persecuted.—These occasional fasts were appointed by the bishops



of every church, as they thought them requisite; for Tertullian writes, "the bishops ordain fasts for their churches, according as the circumstances require."

The other sort of fasts were fixed ones, that is, such as were always observed at the same time and season, and these again were two-fold, either weekly or annual. The weekly fasts were kept every Wednesday and Friday, and they were called stations, in allusion to the military stations, or the soldiers standing while on guard; why they fasted on Wednesday does not appear in any part of the writings of the fathers, but on Friday, they fasted in memory of Christ's crucifixion.

As for annual fasts, they had but one, and that was what we now call lent. Two reasons were assigned for their keeping this fast, and the first was founded upon the misconception of that expression Matth. ix. 15. "The days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them." This they imagined to be an injunction of Christ to all his followers, to fast at the return of that season, when the bridegroom was to be taken away; for the church is often compared to a bride, and Christ to a bridegroom; intimating thereby, the spiritual union that is between them. Therefore these primitive Christians considered the time when the bridegroom was to be taken away, to imply the period from his crucifixion till his resurrection; and during that time, they thought themselves obliged to fast.

Secondly, from hence we may observe the duration of this fast, or how long it was continued, and that was from the time that Christ the bridegroom was taken away, to the time he was restored again; that is, from his crucifixion to his resurrection. Now according to their various computations of the beginning and end of Christ's being taken away, so was the duration of their fast. Some reckoned from the beginning of Christ's agony in the garden, and others from his being betrayed by Judas. Some again from the time of his being nailed to the cross, and others from his being actually dead; and so according to the diversity of opinions and computations was their fast of lent, either lengthened or shortened. Thus Irenæus writes, "some believe that they must fast but one day, others two, others more, and some that we should fast forty hours," which last space of time seems to have been general among them.

In after-times, this fast was called Quadragesima, that is, not a fast of forty days, in imitation of Christ's fasting in the wilderness, but a fast of forty hours, beginning at twelve o'clock on Friday, about which time our Lord was dying, and ending on Sunday morning, when he arose from the grave; so that from twelve o'clock on Good-Friday, as we call it, when Christ the bridegroom was taken away, they fasted in obedience to his command, as they imagined, till Sunday morning, when he was found again

by his resurrection, at which time they forgot their sorrow and mourning, concluded their fast, and began the joyful feast of Easter, or Christ's resurrection.

As for the manner of these fasts, they were somewhat different; as first, there was the fast of stations, which ended at three o'clock in the afternoon, or at the ninth hour, as it was called by Victorinus an ancient author. This service, as we have already observed, was used on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on them divine worship was ended at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The second were the occasional fasts, which we have already mentioned, and these lasted till late in the evening, and here it may be necessary to observe, that all occasional fasts were kept in the most solemn manner, by prayers and intercessions.

The third sort of fasts was called Superposition, and lasted till the morning of the next day. In some of the western churches, this fast began on Saturday, and continued till Sunday morning; but it differed much in the various parts of the world, some following one ruler, and some another. And indeed, an unanswerable reason has been assigned, why they did keep these fasts at different times, namely, that many Christian women were married to Pagan husbands, and therefore such could not be up all the night without making mischief in their families, which is contrary to the gospel of peace; so that the woman in compliance with the duty she owed to her husband, refrained from fasting on that night which ushered in Easter.

As the fasts observed by the primitive Christians, were either occasional, or fixed, so were their feasts: but as for the occasional feasts, there has been so little controversy concerning them, that we shall only add, that many of them were kept when some of the heathens were converted, and others in commemoration of a variety of particular events.

Their fixed feasts were either weekly or annual, and by weekly is meant, that they always observed the Sunday as a feast, but it was spent in the most solemn acts of divine worship. Their annual feasts were either those held in commemoration of Christ, or in honour of the martyrs. Those in commemoration of Christ, were at first only two, namely, Easter and Whitsunday, but afterwards we find Christmas added to them, and of these we shall treat in their proper order.

The most ancient feast was that of Easter, concerning the solemnization of which among the primitive Christians there never was the least doubt; but there were violent disputes concerning the time when it should be kept. The churches in the lower Asia, kept their Easter on the same day the Jews kept their passover, whether it happened on a Sunday or not; but the church of Rome kept it on the Sunday afterwards.

This diversity of customs created much disorder, and many confusions in the Christian church, for the church of Rome attempted to impose her usages on all the Christian world, and the churches of the lesser Asia peremptorily refused to comply. To quell the storms, and appease these heats, the great and good Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, went to Rome, and conferred with Anicetus, bishop of that church, who agreed that every church should follow their own customs, and thus they continued to do till the time of pope Victor, who lived about the latter end of the second century. This Victor was a man of a violent temper, and so turbulent a disposition, that he excommunicated all the churches in Asia, calling them by the opprobrious name of heretics, because they would not comply with the customs of the church of Rome.

But the churches in Asia stood their ground, and maintained their old custom, till the council of Nice, 325, by their authority decided this controversy, decreeing, that throughout the whole Christian world, Easter should be observed on the Sunday next after the Jewish passover, and so it has continued in most parts of the world ever since.

The next feast observed by the Christians was that of Whitsunday, or Pentecost, in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, which also was very ancient, as appears by the testimonies of many of the fathers, particularly Origen and Tertullian.

As for Christmas, there is reason to believe it was not observed by the Christians in the time of Origen, who lived near about the middle of the third century; and the reason is plain, because they could not fix upon the day, nor even the month. Indeed there were so many opinions concerning the time when this most important event happened, that we are led to believe, there were none of the primitive Christians who observed it before the time of Constantine the Great; that is, they did not keep it regular on a particular day; some churches observing one, and some another, while others paid no regard to it at all.

Thus we find, that almost from the beginning of Christianity, or at least soon after the death of the apostles, Easter and Whitsunday were both celebrated as festivals, but no notice was taken of Christmas, till Christianity had received a civil establishment; that is, it was not observed in a general way. The Basilidians, a sect often mentioned in ecclesiastical history, were the first who observed what has been since called Epiphany, as the day on which Christ was baptized; but in the churches in general, little or no notice was taken of it, because all customs, rites, or ceremonies, first introduced by heretics, were little regarded.

Besides these festivals above-mentioned, there

were none others observed to the honor of the blessed Jesus, nor of the Virgin Mary, nor of any of the apostles and evangelists, and which is very remarkable, it is seldom or ever that the ancient fathers, in their writings, gave the title of saints to those holy persons who propagated Christianity, but style them simply, Peter, Paul, John, &c. for the title of saint was introduced long afterwards. But there was another sort of festival, which every church commemorated annually, in memory of those who had suffered martyrdom for the gospel, and when they assembled together in their churches, they recited the glorious acts of their martyrs, and exhorted the people to imitate them in an uniform course of Christian duty. That this was their practice, will appear evident, when we consider that the truth of it is supported by the testimonies of Cyprian, Tertullian, and many others; but when it first took place in the church cannot well be ascertained at this distance of time. The first instance we have of it, is in the epistle from the church of Smyrna, giving an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, wherein they write, that they had gathered up his bones, or rather his ashes, and buried them in a decent place, where they were to meet once every year, and celebrate his pious actions with joy. And that they might be very certain as to the day on which the martyr suffered, there was in each church a person appointed to take an account of these things, and to keep a faithful register of them; of this we have an instance in the works of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who during his exile, wrote to his clergy, desiring them to mark down the particular day upon which the martyrs suffered, that so they might be commemorated along with the rest of the faithful. In this ceremony they had two things in view, first, to animate and encourage others to follow the glorious example of those blessed martyrs, whose sufferings were recited to them; and secondly, to declare the veneration and respect they had for those Christian heroes and champions of Jesus Christ, who by their martyrdoms were now freed from all their miseries and torment, and translated into a blessed and glorious immortality, and expecting the truth of that saying, that the day of a man's death is better than the day of his birth.

As for the place, or places, where these anniversary solemnities were performed, it was at, or near the tombs of the martyrs, who were usually buried, with the rest of the faithful, in a distinct place from the heathens; it being their custom to inter the Christians by themselves, separate from the Pagans, accounting it an heinous crime to mingle their sacred ashes with those of their idolatrous, and persecuting neighbours. And this was the reason why the Christians would run upon ten thousand hazards to collect the scattered members of the dead martyrs,

and decently to inter them in the common repository of the faithful. The Christians had such respect to the ashes of their departed brethren who died in the faith, that they thought they could not do too much to honour them.

If in the next place, it should be inquired, in what manner they spent the days appropriated for these festivals? the answer will be obvious. They did not spend them like the heathens, in riot and debauchery, but in religious exercises, praying that God would give them grace and strength to imitate those martyrs who had gone before them; but during the whole of the period we are now writing of, no prayers were offered to the dead. That the circumstances related above might lead to such a practice cannot be doubted, and the whole may serve to shew, that the best means may be perverted to the worst of purposes.

As this is a very important period in the history of the Christian church, and as much has been written concerning the rites and ceremonies, it is necessary that we should in this place, say something concerning both, because we are of opinion that too many confound the one with the other.

By rites, are meant such actions as have a relation to the circumstances or manner of worship. As for instance; the sacrament of the Lord's supper was to be received in one manner or other, but whether from the bishop or deacon, was the rite. Lent was to be observed a certain space of time, but whether one day, or two days, or more, though not exceeding three days, was the rite thereof; so that rites are necessary concomitants of the circumstances of divine worship, appendages to them; but they cannot with propriety be called essential parts, because divine worship can exist without them.

By ceremonies, we are to understand such things as are no way connected, either with the manner or circumstances of divine worship; but that the acts thereof may be performed without them. As for instance, in some churches they gave to persons whom they baptised, milk and honey, and before they prayed, they washed their hands. Now both these actions were ceremonies, because they were not necessary in discharging the duties of divine worship, unto which they had been affixed; but still those acts might have been performed without the assistance of such ceremonies; for surely baptism might have been administered without milk or honey, and prayers offered up without washing of hands. And previous to our entering upon a subsequent part of this work, it will be necessary to inquire how, or in what manner, such ceremonies crept into the Christian church, while it laboured under a state of persecution, and long before it received a civil establishment from the emperor Constantine the Great.

It is evident, that many ceremonies did creep into the church in the most early ages, but from the beginning it was not so; for soon after the death of the apostles, the church became gradually spotted in her doctrine, as well as in her worship; for corruption in doctrine, and pollution in worship, go hand in hand together—they are inseparable companions. Some eminent men, in all other respects, are ornaments to the Christian church, yet were so weak, that they attached themselves to trifles and to ceremonies, upon which they laid too much stress, and although they did this with no evil intention, yet it was perverted to the worst of purposes afterwards. Some made use of crosses to stir up their devotions, and others had recourse to many more insignificant ceremonies; and this being done during the heat of persecution, may serve to shew that human nature, in its present depraved state, is just the same as it has been in all ages. Simplicity in the exterior parts of religion, will always point out a divine origin in all, but when human inventions are once mixed with the worship of God, then the glorious fabric is deformed, and the purity is spotted.

Others again were introduced through a misunderstanding of some passages in the scripture; such were the exorcism before baptism, and their unction or anointing after it, as we have already observed. And lastly, some of them crept in through their dwelling among the Pagans, who in their ordinary conversation, used an almost infinity of superstitions, and some of these Pagans, when converted to the Christian faith, brought along with them some of their innocent ceremonies, as they esteemed them to be, either thinking them decent and useful to stir up their devotions, or to gain over more heathens, who were offended at the plainness and simplicity of the Christian worship.

By these means, with others of a similar nature, many ceremonies crept imperceptibly into the church, of which Tertullian gives the following severe censure: "That they are deservedly to be condemned as vain, because they are done without the authority of any precept whatever, either of our Lord or his apostles; that they are not religious, but superstitious, affected, and constrained; curious rather than reasonable, and to be abstained from, because heathenish." Such are the words of Tertullian, a learned presbyter of the church of Carthage, about the latter end of the second century, and as he was one of the most eminent writers in those primitive times of Christianity, much regard should be paid to him.

But with respect to the use of the rites and ceremonies hitherto mentioned, all churches were left to their own discretion, to follow their own customs and usages, or to embrace those of others if they pleased; from whence it is that we find such a variety of methods in their divine service. Thus in



some churches, the communicants received the elements from the hands of the bishop, and others from the hands of the deacons; some made a collection before the sacrament, others after it; some kept lent one day, some two days, and others exactly forty hours. Some kept Easter on the same day with the Jewish passover, while others kept it on the Sunday following: and so in many other things.

But although one church could not oblige another to a conformity in rites and ceremonies, yet a particular church or parish should enforce its own members to such a conformity; of which we find many instances in church history, and in the writings of the fathers. So that churches might differ from each other, but particular members could not form their own church; which serves to shew, that they were charitable to each other, and yet regular in their discipline. A bishop with the consent of his people might introduce a new ceremony, but no individual was to bring in new ones, much less was he to foment tumults and dissensions; which practice is condemned by the holy apostle Paul in the following words, "But if any man seems to be contentious, we have no such customs, neither the churches of God." 1 Cor. xi. 16. Which is as if the apostle had said, if men, either to shew their wit, or to lead and strengthen a party, will contradict what we have said, and affirm it to be decent and comely, either for men to pray covered or women uncovered, this should silence such opposers that there is no such customs in the churches of God.

When a bishop died, the whole congregation met together to chuse another in his room, and as there were presbyters and deacons after the end of the second century, lay deacons from the beginning, so it was necessary, as they lived in the strictest harmony, that the laity, nay all the members of the church, whether males or females, should give their consent. There were seldom any disputes among them, for when the bishop was elected by the majority, the minority were obliged to submit; that is, they were not to disturb the peace of the church; for with respect to the period we are here writing of, Christians had no civil power to support them. When the people had thus elected their bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring bishops for their approbation and consent, because without their concurrence there could be no bishop legally instituted or confirmed; for as the people could not be supposed to be proper judges of their qualifications, so unless this method had been attended to, ignorant and scandalous persons might have crept into the office.

When the neighbouring bishops had approved of the election, the next thing to be done was to pro-

ceed to his ordination, which was always done in his own church, and by some of the neighbouring bishops, but the number has never been ascertained; for although the book called the Apostolical Canons says, that a bishop should be ordained by two or three bishops, yet that book is of no great authority; and from all we can learn of ordination in the writings of the ancient fathers, it is evident that three generally attended this sacred ceremony. The number, however, was not confined to three; for if more attended, it was considered as more valid and honourable. The ordination or consecration being over, which was done by imposition of hands, and a charge to the new bishop, he was delivered to the congregation as their shepherd or pastor, and from that time he took upon himself the care of the church. The newly consecrated bishop sent letters to the other bishops in the province, intimating, that as he was now one of their brethren, so he begged that they would co-operate with him in all things that could promote the prosperity of the church, and build up believers in their most holy faith. Thus a sort of harmony was kept up among them, they lived as brethren of the same profession, as servants of the same Divine Redeemer, and heirs of the same eternal inheritance. Happy for the Christian church, had this simple method of ordination continued; but alas! we shall find many deviations from it in the course of this work; men are fond of changes, and such is the depravity of human nature, that we seek to mingle with the purity of the truth, our vain imaginations and carnal practices.

The discipline in the primitive church, was as regular, mild and simple, as ever could be devised, considering that the Christians lived in the midst of heathens, who not only sought every opportunity to calumniate them, but also stirred up the civil power against them, by which many pious persons were condemned to suffer the most excruciating tortures, were torn away from their families and children, dragged before the Roman tribunals, and at last condemned to suffer the most ignominious deaths.

As all communities must have laws for their government and good order, so it is necessary that the church of Christ should have the same; for without that, every thing would be discomposed, and instead of regularity and order, we should have nothing but anarchy and confusion. Let the Christian church be ever so pure in its doctrines, yet either offenders will creep in, or some will become obnoxious by their refractory behaviour, who were not so before. It was therefore necessary, that some sort of punishment should be inflicted on such offenders; but that was only of a spiritual nature, carnal methods having not then been thought of. To clear up this point, we shall state the following queries, and answer them in the very words of those Chris-

tian writers, who lived before the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great.

First, for what faults were offenders censured?

Secondly, who were the judges that censured;

Thirdly, the manner of their censures?

Fourthly, what these censures were?

Fifthly, the course that offenders took to be absolved?

Lastly, the manner of their absolution?

And first, for what faults offenders were censured?

The answer is, for heresy, schism, covetousness, gluttony, fornication, adultery, and for all other sins of a scandalous nature, which gave offence to the church. So zealous were the holy men in that age, that they would not suffer the first buds of sin to make their appearance, without doing all in their power to check them, that iniquity might be ruined before it had an opportunity of coming to a state of perfection. That which they punished with the greatest severity, was a sin but too common among them, namely apostasy from the church. This was occasioned by the severity of persecution, when many, who had not been well grounded in the faith, forsook their sacred profession, and sacrificed to idols. We have many striking instances of this in the writings of the primitive fathers, and the penance in such cases was very severe, for the person offending was often denied the privilege of all church ordinances, for upwards of three years, unless it happened that he was dying, and then it was necessary that he should give all the signs of the most genuine repentance, otherwise his absolution was not considered as valid, nor himself ranked among the number of the faithful.

Secondly, who were the judges before whom the offenders were to be tried? And by whom they were to be censured? The answer is, the whole church at large, consisting both of the clergy and laity, not the bishop without the people, nor the people without the bishop, but both conjointly constituted that tribunal, before which all delinquents were to be judged. All the power that any church enjoyed, was derived from the following words of Christ, and of which the Roman catholics have made a very improper use. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matt. xvi. 18. 19. Now, most of the ancient fathers considered the power here mentioned, as lodged in every particular church, by which we are to understand the whole constituent members of a particular congregation. Not the bishop alone, but the bishop and the people, for all were members of the same body: as for the executive power, such

as the pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and the imposition of hands at the absolution, that could be performed by none but the bishop, who was considered as the father of his church, unless he was disabled by sickness, or perhaps confined in prison, and then a presbyter was permitted to officiate in his room.

Having thus considered who were the members of this spiritual court, we may add, that as many of the people were encumbered with attending on their secular offices, so it was necessary that the offices of the church should act in their room. At first, these officers were the deacons, but when the churches began to be enlarged, and there were more members, then we find that presbyters were added, and these in conjunction prepared all materials that were to be laid before the body of the people at large; when every thing was prepared in this manner, the congregation met, and the person accused, having been heard in his own defence, in opposition to all that had been objected against him; the bishop stated the case to the people, by whose majority of votes, the whole affair was settled.

Thirdly, with respect to the manner of their inflicting censures, it was certainly both solemn and simple; when compared with the actions of men here below. Tertullian tells us, that when divine worship was ended, then followed exhortation, reproofs, and a divine censure; by which is meant the casting out of those who were considered as unworthy members. Thus, when the bishop, with the other church officers were met, the offender was called before them, but if he did not appear, this did not hinder them from proceeding against him. However, all necessary means were used to make the delinquent appear, and if he did, then he was heard in the most calm and dispassionate manner. Every person present had a right to give his opinion, and judgment was pronounced accordingly. Before the sentence was pronounced, the bishop, or in his room, the presbyter, or any of the presbyters, exhorted the faithful to use all diligent care to avoid those sins or crimes, which had brought the offender before them, in so lamentable a condition. Then he addressed himself to the delinquent, putting him in mind of the nature of his guilt, that it was inconsistent with the Christian practice, grievous to the faithful, scandalous to religion, injurious to his own soul, and dishonourable to God. After this, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication, by which the offending person was cut off from the body of the faithful, and declared to be in the same state of heathenism he was in before he embraced Christianity.

Fourthly, as the church itself was spiritual, so all her aims were of a spiritual nature, and the highest severities of her censures consisted in suspensions

and excommunications, in electing and throwing out scandalous and rotten members, without permitting them to return, till they had given the most evident signs of sincere penitence and repentance. Every person cast out of the church was looked upon as accursed of God, a limb of satan, a member of the devil, and one who was consigned over to eternal perdition. Nay, if he died in that unhappy condition, he was considered as one unworthy of the divine favour, who was excluded for ever from the kingdom of heaven, and given up to a state of condemnation.

Fifthly, from the nature of this dreadful sentence, we may be well assured, that those who had once embraced Christianity, would be afraid to offend, and it always happened that those who were sensible of their guilt, became sincerely penitent. They fasted, prayed, watched, and mourned, and went through the most severe course of mortification, till they were absolved, and reinstated in the favour of God and the church. And this leads us to consider the means that offenders took to be delivered from that miserable state.

They came in the most humble manner to the door of the church, where they stood weeping, and as the faithful passed by, they prostrated themselves at their feet, begging their prayers to God for them. The behaviour of these penitents is finely expressed in the following extract of a letter from the church of Rome to St. Cyprian, bishop of the church of Carthage, about the middle of the third century — “Let them, say they, knock at the church doors, but not break them; let them come to the threshold of the church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the gates of the celestial tents, but armed with modesty, by which they may remember that they were deserters; let them resume the trumpet of their prayers, but not to sound an alarm to battle; let them arm themselves with the darts of modesty, and re-take that shield, which by their apostacy, they lost; that so they be not armed against the church, which grieves at their misery, but against their adversary, the devil. A modest petition, a bashful supplication, a necessary humility, an industrious patience, will be advantageous to them; let them confess their grief by their tears, and their sorrow and shame for their crimes by their groans.” This curious epistle is extant in the works of St. Cyprian, as it was written to him in answer to one he sent to the church of Rome, desiring their advice how he was to act towards those who had first relapsed, and then desired to be restored again to the church. The truth is, the persecution raged at that time more severely in Africa, and particularly at Carthage, than in any other part of the Roman empire; and Cyprian, having a numerous congregation, many of the young converts, in order to

avoid the fury of the pro-consuls, relapsed into idolatry, but soon after becoming grieved for what they had done, desired to be re-admitted to the church. They were ashamed of themselves when they beheld the courage and constancy of the martyrs, the fortitude with which they met death under the most excruciating tortures, and the glorious and triumphant manner in which they died; and there being many of these penitents, the good bishop sought advice of his brethren at Rome how he was to proceed.

How long the penitent was to continue in a state of mortification before he was to be re-admitted to the church, does not appear, nor indeed was the time fixed; for it differed according to the circumstances of the offence, and the will of the church. Some continued in a state of penitence two years, and some more; nor could they be restored till the church had been fully satisfied of their sincerity.

Lastly, with respect to the form of their absolution. When the appointed time for penance was expired, the penitent applied to the bishop and all the rest of the officers of the church, and if they were satisfied of his sincerity, a day was appointed to re-admit him, which was done in the following manner:

On the appointed day for absolution, the penitent, or the person to be absolved, came into the church, expressing every sign of grief and sorrow. He then presented himself before the bishop and the people, and made, first a confession of his sins in general, and then proceeded to enumerate the aggravating circumstances of the offence for which he had been excommunicated. This confession was made with all the outward signs of grief, which usually so affected the faithful, that they sympathized with him in mourning and weeping. As soon as confession was over, the person to be absolved, kneeled down before the bishop and the rest of the church officers, who laid their hands on his head and blessed him, by which external ceremony, the penitent was re-admitted to the peace of the church. Such was some part of the discipline of the primitive church, even during times when its members were sealing their testimony to the truth with their blood. It was the fear of God, the love of Christ, the love of one another, and above all, the glorious hope of a blessed immortality, that made them prefer the peace of the church to every thing.

To what has been said concerning the discipline of the primitive times, we must add that every church proceeded against offenders in their own way; and although there was an unity in all the essentials of religion, yet they sometimes differed, without breaking the unity, or becoming schismatics.

Thus every church had an inherent right in itself, to be independent without the concurrence of another, especially in casting out offenders; but yet in



another sense, every church was dependant, as being one of the members of the whole. Thus the great St. Cyprian writes, "there is but one church of Christ, divided throughout the world, into many members, and one episcopacy diffused through the numerous concourse of many bishops." A particular church was not the whole chosen church of Christ, because it could not represent his mystical body, but only a part or member of the universal one; and as one member of the natural body hath a connection with, and a regard to all the other members thereof, so a particular church which was but one member of the universal one, had respect and relation to the other members. This friendly and brotherly connection deserves to be taken notice of, and the rather, because it has been much misunderstood by those who never spent much of their time in reading the primitive fathers of the Christian church. Besides that of every church keeping up a brotherly correspondence with those who were situated at a distance, we find many instances of several churches meeting together, to decide on controverted points, and to regulate the discipline; and those meetings were called synods. During the first three centuries, these synods were not universal, but provincial; so that in some parts, the members were more numerous than in others. There was not a fixed time for those meetings, but they were called according to the circumstances of the times; such as when they apprehended an approaching persecution; and at other times, when they wanted to renew their friendly associations with each other. The members that composed them consisted of the bishops, some of the presbytery and deacons, and from each church a deputation of the laity was sent, who were admitted to sit and vote in the name of their brethren, and to deliver their opinions on all disputed points with freedom.

If it should be asked by whose authority those synods were called? it is answered, by their own authority; for at that time, they had no civil magistrate to give them either countenance or protection when they met together. The first thing they did, was to chuse a president, which for the most part was one of the bishops, who had been celebrated for his learning, gravity, prudence, piety, and sufferings, in discharging the duties of his office. He was to preside in the synod, to see that every question was calmly and fairly debated and decreed; and at the conclusion of the argument, to sum up what had been advanced on both sides, after which he collected the votes, and then delivered his own.

When the president was chosen, then they entered upon the nature of the business that lay before them, which may be considered as consisting of two different parts: first, with respect to foreign churches; and secondly, as to the concerns of those with whom

they were more immediately connected. And as to the first, namely, concerning foreign churches, all they did was, to give their opinions and their advice, but they never dictated, because these churches were not represented in their assembly. It is true, they often admonished them when they thought they had embraced errors, or acted inconsistent with the nature of their sacred profession, that they might bring them to a sense of the truth; this was done in such a friendly and affectionate manner, that the advice had generally the desired effect. But with respect to those churches whom they represented, all their decrees were binding and obligatory, because it was chiefly on their account that they were convened together.

Various were the reasons for their meeting together; but in general it was to regulate the whole system of church discipline within their own respective jurisdictions. They consulted about the discipline, government, and polity of their churches, and what means were most expedient and proper for their peace, unity, and order; which by their common consent they enacted and decreed, to be observed by all the faithful of those churches whom they did represent. That this was their practise, will be freely acknowledged by all those who have read the fathers of the three first centuries; and although many of their decrees could not be so well preserved, as those of the synods that met after the time of the emperor Constantine, yet by the following decrees of a synod that met at Carthage, about the middle of the third century, and in which St. Cyprian presided, it will appear, that all their meetings were for the good of the church, and to promote the happiness, temporal and spiritual, of every member thereof.

The first decree was, "That although an offender had not endured the whole time of penance, yet if he was very sick and in danger of death, he was to be absolved."

Secondly, "That at the approach of a persecution, penitent offenders should be restored to the peace of the church."

Thirdly, "That penance should not be hastily passed over, nor should absolutions be too speedily or rashly given."

Fourthly, "That all lapsed and apostate clergymen, should, upon their repentance, be only admitted to communion as laymen, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any office in the church."

And lastly, "That no clergyman should be the trustee of a last will or testament."

We might transcribe many others of these decrees, but the above may serve to shew upon what principles and with what views these holy men met together; which leads us to consider two things,

viz. first, the lives of the Christians in those ages; and secondly, the extent of the promulgation of Christianity, before the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great.

And first, with respect to the lives of the primitive Christians, the whole may be comprised in what was said of them by the heathens; "Behold how they love each other; and this love for each other was not confined to times of prosperity; but it displayed itself in the clearest light, and in the strongest colours, when life itself was in danger."

At first, the Christians, as followers of our Divine Redeemer, were called by several odious names, such as Nazarenes, because Christ lived at Nazareth. They were for similar reasons, called Gallileans, and under that name they were always mentioned by Julian the apostate emperor. The Pagan priests used to call them Atheists, because they ridiculed the worship of their gods.

But this was not all, for because Christ and his disciples wrought miracles, the Pagan priests said it was by the power of magic, and therefore stirred up the populace against them as impostors and magicians. But notwithstanding all these instances of malice, and many more, that might be added, yet the Christians always called themselves by some of those names which had a relation to the divine attributes. Thus they sometimes called themselves temples of the Holy Ghost, or temples of God, alluding to the purity of their lives; and at other times, they were called by each other, men of understanding, because, that despising all the trifling things of this world, they made choice of that religion which could alone secure their eternal happiness, notwithstanding what they might suffer here below.

However, Christian was the name they boasted of more than any, and this we find was first given them at Antioch, for before that time, as they lived together in harmony, so the heathens and the Jews, out of derision, called them brethren. Eusebius has related a most remarkable anecdote, concerning one Sanctus, a deacon belonging to the church of Vienna, who suffered under the emperor Marcus Antoninus. This Sanctus, being put to the rack, and examined by the pro-consul, concerning his name, his country, his city and his quality; his answer to all these questions was, "I am a Christian." This he said was to him both name, city and kindred, nor could his persecutors extort any other answer from him.

The first churches distinguished themselves in the most remarkable manner, by their prudence, piety and virtue. They made a proper use of all temporal things so far as their families were concerned in the enjoyment of them, and that they might imitate the character of their Divine Redeemer, they not only forgave their enemies, but they also prayed for them, and in distress relieved their wants; but

all these good actions and many more that might be mentioned, could not screen them from the most cruel persecutions.

The Jews were the first and the most inveterate enemies of the Christians, for as they had crucified the Lord of Glory, so they did not think it any crime to persecute his followers. This they continued to do so long as they had power, and when after that power was taken from them, they used to accomplish their hellish purposes by means far more diabolical than open violence. They preferred false accusations against them to the pro-consuls of the provinces, endeavouring to make them believe that the Christians were enemies to the emperors, and this occasioned the martyrdom of many of the faithful. The same Jews reproached them with idleness, and being a useless race of people, and they charged them with treason, because they called Christ their king. They affirmed that in celebrating their sacred mysteries, they killed a child and eat of its flesh, and these falsehoods were believed by the heathens. But the lives of the Christians in the most striking manner, refuted all those calumnies, and the more they were depressed, the more conspicuous for virtue and piety did their characters shine. This will appear evidently, if we attend to the following passages in the famous letter written by Pliny the younger, to the emperor Trajan, sometime between the years 103 and 105, and this was either before the death of John the Evangelist, or at least within two or three years after it, according to Eusebius and all the ancient ecclesiastical writers.

The persecution having raged violently in the Lesser Asia, during part of the reign of the emperor Trajan, who in many other respects was a man of humanity and benevolence, Pliny the younger, a learned lawyer, was sent to govern the provinces of Pontus and Cythynia. Finding many of the Christians daily dragged before his tribunal, he was at a loss how to act, and therefore wrote the following epistle to the emperor.

"I take the liberty, Sir, to give you an account of every difficulty which arises to me. I have never been present at the examinations of the Christians, for which reason I know not what questions have been put to them, nor in what manner they have been punished. My behaviour towards those who have been accused to me, has been thus: I have interrogated them, in order to know whether they were really Christians. When they have confessed it, I have repeated the question two or three times, threatening them with death if they did not renounce this religion. Those who persisted in their confession that they were Christians, have been by my order led to punishment. I have even met with some Roman citizens infected with this phrenzy, whom in regard to their quality, I have set aside from the rest, in

order to send them to Rome. These persons declare, that their whole crime, if they are guilty, consists in this: 'That on certain days they assemble together before sun-rising, to sing alternately the praises of Christ, whom they call God, and to oblige themselves by their religious rites, not to be guilty of theft or adultery, to observe inviolably their word, and to be faithful in the discharge of every trust reposed in them.' This information has obliged me farther to put to the rack two of their women servants whom they call deaconesses, but I could learn nothing more from them, than that the superstition of these people, is as ridiculous as their attachment to it is prodigious."

In answer to this famous epistle, Trajan, the emperor sent another to Pliny, desiring him not to suffer any persons whatever to give informations against the Christians, but if it should happen that any of these Christians were to come voluntarily into the forum or common-hall of justice, and declare themselves to be Christians while no information was lodged against them, then they were to be put to death. From this circumstance it appears that many of the primitive Christians were imprudently forward in confessing themselves to be Christians, and this will always happen where an intemperate zeal gets the better of prudence.

There is still extant a vindication of the Christians, pronounced by the mouth of a heathen. This was a letter written to the states of Asia, who had accused the Christians of being the cause of several earthquakes which had happened in that part of the world. It was written in the year 152, by the emperor Antoninus, and in it he advised the governors to take great care, lest in punishing those whom they called Atheists, meaning the Christians, they should make them more obstinate than before, instead of changing their opinions; since their religion taught them to suffer with pleasure and resignation for the sake of their God. As for the earthquakes which had happened, he told them, that they themselves were always discouraged, and sunk under such misfortunes, whereas the Christians never discovered more cheerfulness and confidence in God, than upon such occasions. He concluded by telling them, that he would not have the Christians injured, for although they did not worship the gods of the empire, yet they had a god of their own, and that they were a peaceable, inoffensive people.

Such were the sentiments of one of the greatest philosophers, and wisest emperors, that ever governed Rome; but notwithstanding the mildness of his government, yet the persecution raged violently, owing to the wickedness of the pro-consuls, who did many things in the absence of the emperor, to which he had never given his consent. It is not a difficult matter to discover the cause which promoted

the persecution of the Christians, during the first three centuries. The purity of their morals, the innocence of their lives, and above all, their love of each other, totally opposite to the heathens, was doubtless one of the most powerful motives of the public aversion. To this may be added, the many calumnies spread abroad concerning them by their enemies, particularly the Jews which occasioned so strong a prejudice against them, that the Pagans condemned them unheard, and without so much as making the least inquiry concerning the truth of the accusation, or giving them an opportunity to defend themselves.

To this may be added, their worshipping Jesus Christ as God, which was expressly contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire, which forbade any god to be worshipped, that had not been acknowledged by the senate. The Christian doctrine was despised by the profligate Romans, as well as by the superstitious Jews, and when we consider how corrupt both were in their sentiments, and profligate in their lives, we need not be much surprised; for wickedness has been an enemy to piety ever since the fall of man.

That the primitive Christians believed the same doctrine, with respect to faith and duty, as taught in the sacred scriptures, except in some rites and ceremonies, will appear to any one from what we have already written, and we shall here give a short abridgment of it in the words of Pollio, a Christian martyr, who suffered for the truth, 304. This Pollio was a lector or reader in the church of Cibales, in Pannonia, and was accused before the governor Probus, because he derided the gods of wood, and stone, which the heathens adored. Being brought before the judge, he confessed that he was a Christian, and one of those who, in spite of tortures, would persist in his fidelity to the eternal King, and in obedience to the holy commands which Jesus Christ had left him. Probus, upon this, demanded to know what those commands were; to whom Pollio replied, "These commands are they which teach us, that there is but one God in heaven; that images made of wood and stone cannot be called gods; that we must correct our faults by repentance, and persevere inviolably in the good we have embraced; that virgins who maintain their purity, are advanced to a high rank; that married women ought to preserve their conjugal chastity, and attend to the education of their children; that masters ought to rule over their servants with mildness and goodness; that servants ought to acquit themselves of their duty, rather from motives of love than fear; that we ought to be obedient to the civil power in every thing that is just; that we ought to reverence our parents, love our friends, and forgive our enemies; we must be tender and affectionate to all our



fellow subjects, humane to strangers, charitable to the poor, and live in peace with all men; that we must do no injury to any one, and suffer with patience the wrongs others do to us; that we must bestow our goods with liberality, and not covet those of others; and that he shall live eternally, who, in the defence of his faith despises a momentary death, which is the utmost you can inflict." Pure and heavenly as these sentiments were, yet they did not please Probus, the governor, who ordered Pollio to be chained to a stake, and burned to death.

We shall here subjoin the famous story concerning the Christian legion in the army of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and we the rather do it, because it was not invented by Christians, but attested by heathen authors. That prince, having led his forces against a people on the north of the Danube, was surrounded by the enemy, and hemmed in, in a place where they could not procure any water. The Romans were greatly embarrassed, and being pressed by the enemy, were obliged to continue under arms exposed to the violent heat of the sun, when, on a sudden, the clouds gathered, and the rain fell in great abundance. The soldiers received the water in their bucklers and helmets, and satisfied both themselves and their horses.

The enemy presently after attacked them, and so great was the advantage they had over them, that the Romans must have been totally defeated, had not heaven once more interposed in their favour, by sending a dreadful storm of hail, lightning and rain, which falling upon the enemy, obliged them to retreat. It was found afterwards, that one of the legions, which consisted wholly of Christians, had, by their prayers, which they offered upon their knees before the battle, obtained this favour from heaven; and from this event that legion was surnamed the Thundering Legion. Some have denied the Christians this honour, but it ought to be remembered, that the emperor in one of his edicts, acknowledged, that they were the procuring cause of his victory over the enemy; and perhaps God interposes more for his people than some are aware of.

Having said so much concerning the purity of the Christian doctrine, and the piety of its professors, we shall now, in the second place, proceed to inquire into the universality of its promulgation before the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great; and this is the more necessary, because whatever progress it made during a state of persecution, was wholly owing to divine means; whereas, when it received the sanction of the civil power, things took a very different turn. Compulsion was used instead of persecution, and many of the heathens were forced to acknowledge the truth of what they did not believe.

The apostle Paul (see Rom. x. 18.) says, "their

sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." This has generally been considered, as intimating, that the religion of Christ had been taught throughout all the provinces of the Roman empire; and that it was so, is evident from the testimonies of the heathens themselves. For notwithstanding the violence of persecution, the Christian religion daily gained ground; and we are assured, that in the third century, there were Christians in all the public offices under the Pagan emperors; and they were to be found in the camp, in the senate, in the palace, and indeed every where but in the heathen temples. Provinces, cities, towns, islands, and villages, were filled with them; men, women and children, even those of the highest rank thought it an honour to embrace the faith; inasmuch that the heathen priests made heavy complaints that the revenues of their temples daily decreased, and that unless a stop was put to the propagation of this new doctrine, they would be totally ruined. Nay, Tertullian boldly declared, that were the Christians to find an unknown country to retire to, the Roman empire would be left a solitary desert.

We have a list of upwards of twenty churches established during the times of the apostles, and undoubtedly each of these churches added twenty more to the number. But yet, extensive as the Roman empire was, the gospel was not confined to it; for according to the testimonies of both heathens and Christians, it was preached in the most distant parts of the world where the Roman name was not so much as known. In the East-Indies, in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in the interior parts of Africa, and in many other places, the name of Christ was known, and his gospel believed long before the end of the second century. Tertullian, who lived about the end of the second, and beginning of the third century, tells us, that the gospel of Christ was preached in the barbarous island of Britain, which the Romans could never subdue. Now as the Romans had long before subdued all that part of Britain which lies south of Northumberland, so by the barbarous island must be meant either Scotland or Ireland, or both; for it was customary with the Romans to call all those barbarians whom they could not subdue. And thus, if the Christian religion made its way among the inhabitants of those parts of Britain and Ireland, which were never subject to the Roman yoke, may we not suppose, that it did the same in other parts of the world; certainly we may; and that the power of God might shine conspicuous, all these events took place before the aid of the civil magistrate was either asked for or obtained.

Had not this been the case in those early ages, all the ancient prophecies would have been rendered as it were abortive; for it had been foretold, that the Messiah should be a light to lighten the Gentiles;

that he should come to give salvation to all the ends of the earth; that he should be the desire of all nations; nay, that he should satisfy the desires of all nations; and that even the heathens being converted should as an obedient people, be willing in the day of his power. Now as these expressions are general, and as the Roman empire did not extend over all the heathen world, so the gospel must have been preached in countries with which they were entirely unacquainted; of this many vestiges are daily discovered by our modern travellers; for although almost all mankind have corrupted their ways, yet it does

not import, but they were once well acquainted with the truth. For the whole, that has been said, we may draw the following conclusion, that in general the gospel was preached throughout the greatest part of the world, long before the reign of Constantine the Great; and although in many places the knowledge of it is lost, yet we have the greatest reason to believe, and a well-grounded hope to expect, that before the coming of our Lord, it will rise triumphant above every opposition, and shine gloriously, till it is swallowed up in eternity.

## ACCOUNT OF THE HERESIES IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BEFORE THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

IT was a just observation of a wise man, that if no genuine coin was to be found in the world, there would not be any temptations for men to counterfeit it; and to this we may add, that unless truth had been promulgated, many errors would have remained unknown. The promulgation of the Christian religion, was the most memorable event that ever took place on the theatre of this lower world; and as it was new and mysterious, we need not be surprised to find, that many persons embraced it in an external way, whose hearts were strangers to its purity; nor did they chuse to comply with that self-denial and mortification, which must ever distinguish the followers of Jesus from all others. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter 8, where we are told, that Peter having preached the gospel to the people of Samaria, one Simon, commonly called Simon Magus, professed to believe the gospel, and was baptized: but no sooner had he seen the wonderful signs and miracles which accompanied the doctrine of the apostles, then he offered money to Peter, in order to be endowed with the same power; this shewed that his heart was corrupted, and that he had only embraced the name of the Christian religion, and satisfied himself with the shadow, while he was a stranger to the substance.

All the ancient writers in the Christian church acknowledge, that this Simon was the first who broached heresy; and he even went up and down the world propagating his notions, or rather his blasphemies. Several stories have been told concerning him, but many of these are not to be credited; for although there can remain no doubt that he was a bad man, yet it will never serve the cause of truth to call him worse than he was. He gave out

that he himself was the Messiah, and the eternal God; and having gathered together a vast number of disciples, he sent them into different provinces, where they perverted many professing Christians from the faith, by teaching them the most horrid blasphemies, which gave much offence to the real Christians, who in consequence thereof, were accused of teaching notions they abhorred.

Many of those heretics observed the same ceremonies as the catholic Christians, and had their places of worship, or rather blasphemous; others had no places of worship at all, and some were so few in number, that they were confined to particular places; we shall therefore proceed to treat of them in the most regular manner, by laying before the reader all we have had transmitted to us concerning them.

The Abeliasts, or Abelonians, were a very remarkable sect of heretics, who lived somewhere near Hippo in Africa, but were extinct long before St. Austin was bishop of the church in that city.

They permitted a man to marry one woman, but they were not to have any carnal knowledge of their wives. They pretended to regulate marriage on the footing of the terrestrial paradise, when Adam and Eve lived together in a state of innocence before the fall. For as Adam and Eve were only, according to their notions, united in heart, so they believed that they were to be so also, without considering that our first parents were sent into the world to propagate their species. They said, that as Abel was married and had no children, so it was probable he never knew his wife. But here was a double absurdity; for first they did not know from any part of the sacred scriptures, that Abel was ever married,

and supposing he had been married, which is not in the least improbable, yet how should they know whether he had children, seeing we read nothing concerning them.

When a man and a woman entered into this unnatural society, they adopted two children, a boy and a girl, who were to inherit their goods, on condition of their marrying on the same terms, and living together without carnally knowing each other. We never read of this sect but in the writings of St. Austin, and probably they were but of short continuance; for as Mr. Bayle justly observes, it was offering too great a violence to nature to command a man and woman to live together, and have all things in common, except that which was one of the ends, and a principal one, of marriage, to propagate their species, and bring up children as useful members of society.

Adamites were another set of heretics, who sprang up about the middle of the second century. Their founder was one Prodicus, a disciple of Caprocrates, and they assumed the title of Adamites, from imitating Adam's nakedness before the fall. They imagined themselves as innocent as Adam was before the fall, and therefore they met together in all their public assemblies naked; asserting that Christ had restored them to a state of innocence, and that marriage was in all respects unnecessary. When any among them were guilty of crimes, they called him by the name of Adam, and drove him out of paradise, by which they meant, they drove him out of their own society. St. Epiphanius says, they met together to satiate their most beastly lusts; and Clemens Alexandrinus says, that when their candles were put out, they fell to the most promiscuous copulation. They renounced all humanity, they fed together like beasts, but with some remaining sparks of shame, they fled to hide themselves when they saw a human being approach. Some of them returned again into society, when they could no longer live without a connection with it; but then they put on the habits of madmen to shew their contempt of glory, and make the vulgar believe that they were something more than human. They eat in public-houses, went into the public baths, and mixed promiscuously with every company; but it is related, that they were guilty of unnatural crimes, for to the men they were men, and to the women they were women. These heretics became obnoxious to the civil power, and as their horrid abominations could not, like Christian virtue, support them in a day of trial, so they were soon brought back to Paganism. It is true, the same heresy was revived by one Picard, a native of Flanders, in the fifteenth century, who retired with his followers to the mountains of Bohemia, and they were at last seized at Amsterdam. It may not be improper to add in this place,

that the Roman catholics have called this Picard a Protestant, although he lived before the Reformation, and the Protestants in their turn have called him a Roman catholic. The truth is, he was neither the one nor the other; but only a mad-brained enthusiast, who, knowing nothing of the principles of religion, sought to invent a new one.

About the latter end of the reign of the emperor Constantine, there was a sect called Aerians, and ranked among the number of heretics, but seemingly with very little propriety. The truth is, these people only differed from the established churches, in asserting that no clergyman was superior to another. They likewise taught, that it was unlawful for the clergy to marry; nay, they went so far as not to admit any into their communion, unless they were unmarried. This sect did not continue long, for it cannot be supposed that a whole society of people can exist long without marrying, nor is it either natural or reasonable they should.—It was thought proper to mention them in this place, in order, to distinguish them from the Arians, there being almost a similarity in the name.

Arianism, was a sect that spread itself through many parts of the world, and took its rise in the following manner: Arius, a presbyter of the church of Alexandria in Egypt, and who, being a man of some abilities, spent much of his time in disputing concerning controverted points in religion. Some of the ecclesiastical historians say, that he first opposed the orthodox, because he had set himself up as a candidate for the bishopric of Alexandria, and lost his election. Whatever truth may be in this, and in some other things related concerning him, cannot be well known at this distance of time, only that his notions created much disturbance in the church, and he happened to live at a time when controversy was more attended to than practical duties.

Alexander, the person who had succeeded in the election of bishop in opposition to Arius, preached frequently on the doctrine of the Trinity, and in his discourses asserted, that there was but one substance in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the three persons in the Trinity were but one. This gave Arius an opportunity of opposing him; and, having taken a school, he taught his disciples that there was a time when the Son was not created; that he was like the angels, liable to commit sin; that being united to human flesh, he supplied the place of a human soul, and consequently was subject to pains and all sorts of sufferings in the same manner as men.

At first the bishop used all the means he could think of to reclaim him from his errors, but that proving ineffectual, he and his followers were, at a council or synod of one hundred bishops of Egypt



and Lybia, degraded from their orders, and excommunicated out of the church.

The many disputes occasioned by the heresy of Arius, created so much disturbance in the church, that the emperor Constantine the Great found himself under the disagreeable necessity of interposing between the contending parties. That illustrious emperor, who not only wished the peace and happiness of the church, but likewise regarded the characters of ministers of the gospel, used to say, that if he saw a bishop commit a crime, he would shut his eyes. It was, therefore, reasonable to believe, that such a sovereign would be affected when he found so many contentions arising among the followers of the blessed Jesus, that the heathens derided them, and even hoped their religion would soon destroy itself.

It was to remedy these disorders that Constantine the Great called the first general council of Nice in Bithyna, at which were present three hundred and eighteen bishops, from all parts of the empire, besides a vast number of other church officers, and amongst these bishops were several from Britain. This council summoned Arius to appear before them, which he did, and boldly supported his opinions; but the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by Alexander, was confirmed. To this was added a decree of the emperor, excluding him and all his followers from places, either ecclesiastical or civil; and, at the same time, they were condemned to perpetual banishment.

But this severity did not last long; for in about three years afterwards, all the Arian bishops were restored to their sees, and Arius himself was recalled also. Being permitted to wait on the emperor, he presented him with a confession of his faith, so artfully drawn up, that Constantine was satisfied; which so enraged Athanasius, then advanced to the bishopric of Alexandria, that he refused to admit him and his followers. The Arians, equally enraged, made interest at court, and having many friends there, Athanasius was sent into banishment; but still the church of Alexandria refused to admit Arius.

This induced him once more to apply to the emperor, to whom he presented a second confession of his faith, drawn up in more modest terms than the first; and Constantine was so well pleased with it, that he ordered Alexander, the bishop of Constantinople, to admit him into his church the next day, but the night before this was to take place, Arius died.

There have been many different accounts of his death transmitted to us, and all contradictory to each other. His enemies say, that going to the necessary to ease nature, all his bowels gushed out as a just judgment of God upon him for his impiety and heresy. Other accounts say, that he was spent with

the fatigue of travelling, so that he expired soon after he arrived at the palace of the emperor. His followers, however, have advanced, that he was murdered by some of the orthodox party; but all these accounts being so contradictory, we shall leave them to be cleared up when the Lord our Redeemer shall come to judge the world in righteousness; for it is invidious to reflect on any body of people, unless we had sufficient proof of their guilt, and in many cases, Christians should endeavour to extenuate, rather than aggravate crimes.

But this heresy did not die with the author of it; it was countenanced by many of the emperors after Constantine the Great. There were many disputes between the orthodox and the Arians, for although Athanasius was recalled from his exile, yet this did not cool the violence of persecution. They continued to excommunicate and anathematize each other; but we hear little of Arianism after the end of the seventh century. In their sentiments they acknowledged one God the Father; that the Son was a created being; and that the Holy Ghost was a ray or emanation of the Deity. Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, revived this heresy about the time of the Reformation, for which he was burnt alive at Geneva, but his followers were few in number. The Arians, notwithstanding their denial of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, yet acknowledged that there was a necessity for an atonement, in order to reconcile sinners to an offended God. They did not, however, consider, that no atonement can be made, unless the Redeemer is equal in dignity to the person who has been offended; and as God is infinite in all his glorious attributes, so it was necessary that the satisfaction should be equal to the guilt. So far as we can learn, there is not in the world at this day, a collective body of people who profess themselves to be Arians, but there are many among the different denominations of Protestants who believe, that Christ was no more than a created being. How they can trust for salvation to a created being, we leave themselves to judge.

In the primitive ages, the Arians divided themselves into so many branches, that it is almost impossible to find out all their names. We shall, however, take notice of such as have been, without any sort of dispute, transmitted to us. The first division of them, or rather the first subordinate sect, was the Semi-Arians, so called, because they pretended to differ a little from Arius in sentiment concerning the Trinity, by using more modest expressions, but in reality there was no difference; for when every thing came to be considered, their notions in effect were the same. They maintained that Christ was not of the same substance with the father, but of a substance like him, so that according to what they taught, he was no more than a created being. It

does not appear, from any thing we read in ecclesiastical history, how long this sect continued, but probably as long as professed Arianism itself.

The next sect of the Arians was called Anomœans, that is, Pure Arians, because they opposed the Semi-Arians, and pretended that they were the only genuine followers of Arius himself. Like him they denied the divinity of Christ, and refused to pay divine honours to him. They condemned the Semi-Arians, for teaching that Christ was of the same substance with the Father, they themselves declaring that he was of a different substance, and that he was liable to corruption, so that upon the whole there could not be much difference between them and the original Arians.

Eudoxus, bishop of Constantinople, who had been educated under Lucian the martyr, instituted a new sect of Arians, who, from him, were called Eudoxians. This Eudoxus being a man of an enterprising disposition, and some talents, undertook the defence of Arius, and made some refinements on his doctrine, which created him such a number of friends, that he was elected bishop of Germanicia, in Syria, by the Arian party. He opposed the doctrine of the Trinity in the grand council of Antioch 341, and afterwards in the council of Sardica, Sirmium, and Selincia. The emperor Constantine the Great, appointed him archbishop of Constantinople, and after the death of Arius, he became the head of his party, and his followers were called Eudoxians.

Eunomeans, another branch of the Arian heretics, took its rise soon after the time of Arius himself, and was first founded by Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicus, who had been originally in the army, but afterwards applied himself to the study of divinity. Having placed himself under the direction of some Arian teachers, he soon imbibed their sentiments, and opposed the orthodox party with all the severity of unmerited abuse, one Eëtius, having given him all the instructions he could, and this Eëtius was not only a heretic, but also a person of an immoral character.

This Eunomius became such an enemy to the orthodox, by inveighing continually against them, that the emperor caused him to be banished, but the Arians procured his recall, and he was afterwards treated with the highest honours. These people differed in very few points from the original Arians, only that they re-baptized all those who entered into their communion, a thing much attended to by all the ancient heretics.

Another sect or party of these Arians was called Eusebians, from Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and afterwards bishop of Constantinople, who, about the year 325, became a most zealous opposer of the orthodox. As he had the reputation of a man of learning, the emperor Constantine the Great treated him with so much respect, that for some time he

favoured the Arians. Afterwards, at the instigation of the Catholic bishops, he was banished, but the Arians had interest sufficient to get him re-called, and he became the declared enemy of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who opposed the Arians with more virulence than any other of the Christian fathers.

After the death of Constantine the Great, this Eusebius prevailed with his son Constantius to patronize the Arians, and in 341, a council, by the emperor's orders, was assembled at Antioch, which declared the Arian heresy to be the established religion of the empire.

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, was the inventor of another sect of Arians, after the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great. He governed the church in a very tyrannical manner, and he was so superstitious, that he caused the bones of Constantine the Great to be removed from the church of the holy apostles, to the church of Acasius the martyr, which occasioned great tumults among the people, and many persons lost their lives.

This person, Macedonius, had been formerly deposed by the council of Constantinople, and it was generally supposed that he became a heretic from resentment. He not only denied the divinity of Christ, but he also exclaimed bitterly against all those who worshipped the Holy Ghost. He even went so far as to declare, that the Holy Ghost was no more than a mere created being, dependent upon the will of the Almighty, in the same manner as men are. His followers made great pretensions to superior sanctity, and were very austere in their lives, which induced many unthinking people to embrace their doctrine, and live according to their rules. Most of those bishops who were dissatisfied with subscribing to the Apostles' Creed, joined themselves to this heresy, and such was its prevalence for some time, that it spread over, and procured great respect in the Christian world.

Maritanius, bishop of Nicomedia, a man possessed of great riches, spent vast sums of money in order to propagate this doctrine, and yet it does not appear that ever it made any great figure in the world. Athanasius exerted himself in writing against it, and it was condemned by the bishops in several councils.

The Pholinians were another branch of the Arians, about the time of Constantine the Great, and followers of Pholinus, who was bishop of Sirmich, in Pannonia; for the church was so distracted at that time with different sorts of heresies, that those who loved the truth, scarce knew where to meet with a faithful friend.

This Pholinus had been advanced to the dignity of bishop, through the interest of the Arians, who were at that time very powerful. But not content

with denying the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, he even went so far as to declare in his writings, that God was not immense, for which he was discarded by the Arians, and excommunicated in the council held at Milan, 346. There were many other sects among the Arians; but of such short duration, and so insignificant while they existed, that little more need be said concerning Arianism.

Gnostics were another set of heretics, and according to Epiphanius, Simon Magus was their first founder. They pretended to the highest degrees of piety, and gave out that they were divinely inspired. Like some of the heathens in the East Indies, they acknowledged two superior beings or principles, a good and a bad. They supposed consistent with the rest of their unintelligible notions, that there were eight degrees in heaven, and each of them governed by a different prince. The prince who resided in the seventh heaven, they called Sabaoth, and believed that he created the six heavens below him, and that the earth with all things in it were the works of his hands. They said, that this prince or god, was formed in the shape of a hog; and this gave rise to the report among the heathens, that the Christians, worshipped the head of a hog. In the eighth heaven, they placed the Supreme god of all; but he was considered in the masculine and feminine gender. They denied that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, or that he suffered except in vision; and yet, at the same time, they acknowledged that he was the Messiah promised of old by the prophets. With respect to the Old Testament, they embraced such parts of it as suited their own notions, believing, that some parts of it were written by divine inspiration, and some not. In the New Testament, they rejected both the Epistles to Timothy, because they are expressly condemned in them; and in general, they condemned the greatest part of divine Revelation. Men and women lived in common together, without any regard to decency or modesty; and it is generally believed, that the apostle Jude alludes to them, in the latter part of his epistle. They denied a general resurrection, and mocked at the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. They forged a great number of apocraphical books, containing ridiculous stories and horrid blasphemies; but for the good of mankind, and the happiness of every Christian, they are now lost.

The Valentiniens, so called from their founder Valentinus, were another sect of heretics, that sprung up about the middle of the second century. This sect was one of the most famous and most numerous in the early ages of Christianity, and it first made its appearance in Egypt, Valentinus himself being a native of that country. He was first a gnostic, but refined much on the sentiments of those people; and leaving Egypt, he came to Rome,

where he continued preaching upwards of twenty years. Being a man of learning, he drew his notions from the Platonists, making every idea that could be formed stand in the room of a god.

He taught, that the first principle of all was depth, and that it had remained for many ages unknown, having along with it thought and silence. From it sprung intelligence, the son, and his sister was truth.

He likewise taught, that there were three substances, the material, the animal, and the spiritual. They denied that Christ took upon him human flesh, but that he only passed through the womb of the Virgin, as a liquid does through a pipe; they likewise asserted, that there were three sorts of men, the spiritual, material, and animal. These three substances were united together in Adam, but divided in his children. The spiritual part went into Seth, the material into Cain, and the animal into Abel. They taught further that the spiritual seed should be immortal, notwithstanding whatever crimes they committed; that the material one should be totally annihilated, let them do ever so much good; and the animal, who are the followers of Abel, shall, if they do good, be in a place of safety; but if they do evil they shall be annihilated.

This was such a refined system, that none but philosophers could understand, and yet vast numbers of people followed it. His disciples did not strictly confine themselves to the whole of his system, for they made many alterations without disturbing the peace of their own societies. We have a most horrid picture of them drawn by Clemens Alexandrinus, who tells us, that they paid no regard to moral duties, as they were all children of Seth, and therefore they thought it no sin to commit any crime whatever. They asserted, that there was no necessity for people submitting to martyrdoms, as God did not require it of them, and therefore they might at any time deny Christ before the Roman governors.

Some of them rejected all external ceremonies, and others baptized their children in the name of the unknown Father, his only Son, and the Mother of the world, by which they meant Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. In a word, the Valentinian heresy was utterly inconsistent with the attributes of the Divine Being; for allowing that they did not totally destroy the unity of God, yet they made him a monstrous composition of different beings. Jesus Christ according to them, was but a man, in whom the heavenly Christ descended; and they considered the Holy Ghost as no more than a simple divine virtue. The resurrection of the body was to them an idle dream; and they did not pay much regard to one of the greatest points in natural and revealed religion, namely, a future state of rewards and punishments.

The Marcionites, were a branch of the Valentinian heresy, and they were so called from one Marcion,



who, in his younger years, had lived as a monk in the wilderness. Being convicted of lewdness, he was excommunicated out of the church by his father, who was a bishop; after which he went to Rome, where being denied communion with the church, he embraced the heresy of the Valentinians, adding many things of his own invention. Among other things, he taught, that when Christ descended into hell, he discharged from thence Cain with the Sodomites, but left the patriarchs and prophets to continue. This sect of heretics continued many years; for in 326, they were so numerous that the emperor Constantine the Great made an order, that they should all conform to the orthodox opinions, or be punished in the severest manner; yet notwithstanding all this severity, they continued above an hundred years after.

The Aetians, were a sect of heretics who flourished in Egypt and other parts, in the beginning of the fourth century, and were so called from one Aetius, a Syrian. This man having by his extravagance, been reduced to poverty, set up the trade of a goldsmith, but quitting that, he applied himself to study, and became a most subtle disputant. Being driven out of Antioch, where he had settled, he hired himself as a menial servant to a certain philosopher at Anazarus, a city in Cilicia, where he learned grammar and logic; but quarrelling with his master about his opinions, he went to Tarsus, and there studied divinity. From Tarsus he returned to Antioch, but was soon after driven out of that city for the impiety of his opinions, which induced him to study physic. At length Leontius being promoted to the see of Antioch, he made him his deacon in that church; where continuing for some time, he went to Alexandria, and opposed Athanasius, by taking part with the Arians. To the opinions of the Arians, he added some of his own, such as, that good works were not necessary to salvation, that no sin, let it be ever so enormous, would exclude those who believed in his opinions, from the divine favour, and that God had revealed to him, what he had kept hid from the apostles. This sect continued till about the latter end of the fifth century, when the church in general began to be corrupted.

About the latter end of the second century, the church was infested with a remarkable sect of heretics, called Basilidians. They were so called from their founder, Basilides, a man of some learning, but much addicted to the study of magic; for he had been brought up among some of the followers of the first heretic, Simon Magus. The particulars of the Basilidian heresy consisted in the following points: He taught, that God created three hundred and seventy-five heavens between this world and his seat of glory; that each of these heavens had an angel to govern it; and that the first angel created the

angel who governed the world below him, and so on in procession to the last. Basilides taught further, that Christ did not really suffer on the cross; but that Simon, the Cyrenean, was substituted in his room; and that men and women might live in communion together.

Another of his opinions was, that his followers might renounce their belief in order to escape martyrdom; and that the soul alone is to be saved, nor is the body ever to be raised from the grave.

His followers were much addicted to the use of amulets, which they used as charms, and these amulets were made in the form of medals, with the word Abraxas engraven upon them, which signifies, three hundred and seventy-five; and on the reverse, were often to be met with the figures of the twelve signs of the Zodiac; on others, a variety of figures; from all which representations we learn, that this heresy consisted of a strange jumble and mixture of heathenish rites and ceremonies, under the name of Christianity. As such sentiments as these were consistent with men's corrupt notions, so we find they were greedily embraced, and the heresy spread itself throughout many of the provinces of the Roman empire, as appears from the testimony of St. Jerome, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, and he writes, that they had many disciples and congregations, in Egypt, Asia, and Spain.

Manichees, or Manicheans, were one of the most numerous sects among the ancient heretics in the church, and took their name from one Manes, who lived under the emperor Probus, towards the latter end of the third century. The history of this Manes is very romantic, and is as follows:

Terebinthus, a disciple of Scythianus, a magician, having retired out of Palestine into Persia, and finding his opinions opposed by the priests and learned men of that country, he was obliged to take shelter in the house of a widow woman, where he was murdered. This woman being heiress to the books and money of Terebinthus, bought a slave named Cubrius, whom she adopted, and had him instructed in all the sciences taught in Persia. This man, after the death of the widow, changed his name, to blot out the memory of his former condition, and took that of Manes, which, in the Persian language, signifies a vessel.

Having perused the books left by Terebinthus, Manes began to teach a new doctrine, namely, that he was the Holy Ghost, or comforter, who had been promised by our Lord to his disciples, which drew after him many followers, and he became the head of a numerous sect. Like some of the heathens, he taught his disciples that there were two universal principles, the one the author of all good, and the other the author of all evil. He taught his disciples all manner of vices, represented impurities as

virtues, and forbade them not to give alms to any but their own sect. He gave out that the souls of his followers passed from their bodies to the moon, and from thence to the sun in order to be purified, and from thence to God, with whose essence they were united for ever; but as for the souls of other men, they either went into hell to be tormented, or were united to other bodies. He taught that Christ had his residence in the sun; the Holy Ghost in the air; wisdom in the moon; and the father in the abyss of light. He denied the resurrection of the body; condemned marriage; and taught that Christ was the serpent who tempted Eve. He forbade the use of eggs, cheese, milk, and wine, as creatures proceeding from the bad principle. He used a different form of baptism from that prescribed by the church; and taught that magistrates were not to be obeyed; and that even what we call just wars, were unlawful.

It would be endless to rehearse all the impious tenets of this heretic and his followers, of whom Leo, bishop of Rome, used to say, that the devil who reigned in all heresies, had built a fortress and raised a throne in that of the Manichees, who embraced all the errors and impieties that the heart of man is capable of. The death of this wicked man was as dreadful as his life had been impious; for the son of the king of Persia having fallen sick, Manes undertook to cure him; upon which the father dismissed the physicians, and the patient died. Manes was shut up in prison as an imposter, from whence he made his escape, but being overtaken by the king's servants, he was brought back and fled alive, and his carcase given to the wild beasts.

The Manichees were divided into two classes, namely, the elect, and the hearers. The elect consisted of twelve, in imitation of the twelve apostles, and they had a thirteenth, who presided over them as a sort of pope. The hearers were the followers at large, who attended to all their impious instructions. In the fourth century, the emperors made several laws or edicts against this sect of heretics, but notwithstanding that, as well as the decrees of several councils, yet they continued many years afterwards. They forged several apocraphical writings which they ascribed to the apostles, but they are filled with such horrid blasphemies, that they carry confutation along with them. It may be proper to add, that the great St. Austin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, was in his youth a follower of this sect, but he renounced all their tenets, and joined himself to the Catholic church.

Another sect of heretics were called Origenists, from their founder, the famous Origen, many years a presbyter of the church of Alexandria. This great and learned man had long flourished as an ornament to the church; but in his latter years he embraced

some notions inconsistent with the Catholic faith, and these being improved upon by those who professed themselves to be his followers, they created much disturbance in the primitive times of Christianity.

About the latter end of the fourth century, one Rufinus, a presbyter of Alexandria, having studied the works of Origen, he adopted that famous writer's notions, concerning the Platonic philosophy, and applied the whole to the Christian theology. Full of these notions, he went to Jerusalem, where Origen had a great many partizans, and there he ingratiated himself into the favour of Menalia, a Roman lady of great repute for her piety and sanctity; with this lady he came to Rome, where her relations lived, and where he was, upon her warmest recommendations, treated with all the respect due to the most exalted characters, as if he had been one sent from heaven to reform the world.

Rufinus having been thus caressed by some persons of the greatest eminence at Rome, he set out with an outward shew of simplicity, and after the example of Origen, pretended to hold in contempt every thing in this world. This made the people consider him as one who had arrived at the highest degree of perfection in Christianity, and Rufinus took the advantage of this prejudice to propagate his opinions, in which he was greatly assisted by the influence Menalia had over many of the people.

It was at Rome that a house was built, where he preached publicly to the people, and the number of his converts continuing to increase daily, the bishop of that city was so much offended, that he complained against him to the civil power, and he was banished. From Rome he went to Aquilla, where he taught publicly, and Menalia, who had been duped by him, returned to Jerusalem. The principles taught by this man cannot wholly be ascribed to the learned Origen, but some of them were certainly taught by him in his old age. The whole are generally reduced to the following heads:

I. The souls of men are holy intellects, formed by rays of glory, issuing from the Divine Being.

II. The soul of Christ was united to the logos, or divine word, long before the conception of his body.

III. The soul of Christ left the divine nature, to which it had been united long before, and joined the body in the womb of the Virgin.

IV. The divine logos, or word, passed through all the orders of angels, before it went into the womb of the Virgin.

V. After the general resurrection, the bodies of men will be changed from their original form, and be round or spherical.

VI. The sun, moon, and stars have souls.

VII. In some future ages, Christ will die to make

an atonement for the sins of the fallen angels, through which they will be restored to the divine favour.

VIII. The power of God is not infinite, but in some things bounds may be set to it.

IX. After a certain period of time, all the damned will be forgiven, and translated from hell into everlasting happiness.

When a person, acquainted with reading theological writers, considers these tenets, it will naturally appear to him, that some of them have been embraced by learned men, who lived since the Reformation; but still that is no proof of their authenticity. We could mention the names of those authors, but it could answer no good purpose, because it might lead well meaning persons into an inquiry relating to things of no moment towards promoting their eternal happiness. It would be to lay a stumbling block before the weak, and in the end might endanger their eternal salvation. It will appear that all the principles themselves arise from carnal notions, and a desire of prying into the things which God has thought proper to conceal from the children of men.

Another numerous sect of heretics who made a great figure in the world, particularly in Africa, where they flourished many years, were called Donatists, and took their first rise about the beginning of the fourth century, a few years before Constantine the Great ascended the throne.

Donatus, their founder, was a Numidian bishop, but being a man of a turbulent disposition, he was hated by his people, which induced him to seek an opportunity of leaving them, and settling in some other place. Just about that time, the bishop of Carthage died, and as there was to be a fresh election, he went and offered himself a candidate. But the people having had an account of his character transmitted them, he was unanimously rejected; and his own people having chosen another bishop, his passions were so much irritated, that he resolved to separate himself from the Catholic church, and set up a Schismatical one, under his own name, which he did soon after, to the scandal of religion, and injury of the church.

In the whole of his conduct there was something more artful, than had been practised by any of those heretics who went before him. All the other heretics had embraced tenets of such a nature, as totally excluded them from any connexion with the orthodox; but he resolved to make his new scheme so much resemble the old one, that the unthinking were easily led into the snare. He knew how to address his discourses to the passions of men, and the conduct of some of the orthodox, and indeed too many of them having given great offence, Donatus laid hold of this opportunity, to teach his hearers that the church was not infallible.

That the church is not infallible, cannot be denied, if by the word church, is meant the whole body of people, who in this world make a public profession of Christianity; but this is such a vague, uncertain, and unmeaning term, that no sense can be made of it. The grand mistake lies in not distinguishing between the word church, and the promise made to the disciples by our Divine Redeemer. Christ told his disciples, that the gates of hell should never prevail against his church, and certainly his words are truth; for even in the darkest ages, there have been men found, who were not ashamed to make mention of his name, and worship him in sincerity, as will appear afterwards.

Infallibility was not confined to the laity, many of whom embraced the most damnable errors, and such as every man ought to be ashamed of.—Infallibility was not confined to the clergy, for many of them not only set up new doctrines, in opposition to the orthodox religion, but were guilty of the most scandalous crimes, such as heathens would have blushed at. But infallibility consisted in the divine promise, that there should be always some found, conducted by unerring providence, to unerring wisdom; and although a more than Egyptian darkness should at sometimes overspread the Christian church, yet God, in his infinite mercy, would exert his power to support all that had been done for sinners by his only begotten Son; and that he did so, we have many testimonies in history.

As this heretic, like all others of the same character, had separated himself from the orthodox church, so he taught that baptism administered by any but those of his own party, was invalid. In this he was much countenanced by some disputes, which had taken place in the church about fifty years before he made his appearance. It had been agitated in several councils or synods, that the person baptized by a heretic must be re-baptised; but the orthodox party always opposed this notion. And there being at that time, many persons in Africa, who were not well grounded in the principles of religion, they greedily embraced this doctrine, and in consequence thereof the Donatists became extremely powerful.

Another of his tenets was, that as Christ had not made his church infallible, he (Donatus) had authority to remove all errors and corruptions; and this notion being of a bewitching nature among the vulgar, he was enabled to establish churches, and even to ordain bishops and deacons. Upon this principle, the religion of the Donatists became so powerful in Africa, that in vain did the emperor Constantine the Great attempt to suppress them. They had not only their bishops and churches, but they even called councils and synods to regulate their discipline, without any authority from the civil power.



They excommunicated all the orthodox as heretics who had denied the faith; and taking the advantage of the troubles which then reigned in Africa, they were so audacious as to put those to death who differed from them in sentiments. Nay, so numerous were they, and such was there power, that in Africa it was difficult to say who was of the orthodox or heretical party. In this manner they continued to flourish longer than any sect we have hitherto mentioned; for we have some instances of their existence, so late as the seventh century. In their public forms of worship, they imitated the orthodox, but they made no use of any such parts of scripture as did not serve to establish their own opinions, by a wrong and erroneous construction being put upon them. At last they were swallowed up in that flood of errors which overspread the Romish church; and even to this day, some of the members of that church believe the sentiments of the Donatists, though they will not acknowledge them.

Agnostes, another set of heretics, arose in the church towards the middle of the fourth century. Their notions, which were of a particular nature, were first taught by one Theopronius, a native of Cappadocia, a man of no learning, but bold and daring in all his undertakings. He taught his followers to deny the omniscience of God, alledging that he only knew things past by memory, and things future by an uncertain precarious prescience. These people had the most unworthy notions of God, as the Maker of the world; and of Christ as the Redeemer of sinners. They founded their error on that passage in Mark xii. 32, where it is said, "of that day and hour knoweth no man; no not the angels who are in heaven; nor the Son, but the Father only." Their name signifies ignorance, and they despised all sorts of learning. One would be led to imagine, that a system founded on ignorance would soon dwindle into oblivion; and yet we find some remains of those heretics so late as the middle of the sixth century, but they are never mentioned afterwards.

Soon after the death of John the evangelist, a sect of heretics sprung up in the church, under the name of Alogians; so called because they denied the divine Logos, the word, or Son of God. They rejected the gospel of St. John, as a spurious work; and for no other reason, as would seem, besides that of its opposing their tenets. Their founder was one Theodore of Byzantium, by trade a currier; who having apostatized from the Catholic faith, during the heat of persecution, offered to return again to the church; but because his request was rejected, he broached the above-mentioned opinions, which were afterwards improved upon by Arius.

Angelites, were a sect of heretics, whose founder

was Severus, and they took their rise towards the latter end of the fourth century. They believed that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the same; that none of them exists of himself, and of his own nature; but that there is a common God, or Deity, existing in them all; and that each is a God by relation to and participation of that Deity. It is certain, that such notions as these could never be understood by the lower class of people, who look only for plain, simple truth; and thus we find, that they soon dwindled away.

The Apelleans, were a sect of heretics, who made their appearance about the middle of the second century, and were so called from one Apelles, who had been a disciple of Marcion. They affirmed, that when Christ came down from heaven, he received a body, not from the substance of his mother, but from the four elements; which at his death he rendered back to the world, and then ascended into heaven without a body. Like many other heretics, they believed in two principles, one good and the other bad; they rejected all the prophetic writings, and denied the resurrection of the body. Some of this sect continued till Arius broached his notions, and then they seem to have joined themselves to his followers, for after his time, we never find them mentioned by any of the ecclesiastical historians.

The Apollinarians were a sect of heretics, who took their rise about the middle of the fourth century, and had for their founder and leader Apollonarius, bishop of Laodicea. They maintained that there was not an intelligent soul in Jesus Christ, but that the divinity, joined to humanity, supplied the place of a soul. They went still farther, and affirmed not only that there was but one nature in Jesus Christ, but even that his flesh was of the same nature with his divinity. They added, that this flesh did not partake of the womb of the Virgin Mary, but only passed through it, as through a reed or a pipe. Some of them asserted, that Jesus Christ brought his body from heaven, whence it followed that his body was immortal, so that his birth and passion were only seen in appearance, but not in reality. These heretics were not numerous, and the last time we find them mentioned is by Socrates, who tells us, that towards the beginning of the fourth century, Theodosius, bishop of Antioch, by his persuasions, got them reconciled to the church.

About the middle of the third century, there was a remarkable sect of people in Africa, professing most of the principles of the Christian religion, nor do we know whether to rank them among the number of heretics or orthodox. They were called Aquarians, because they mingled water with the wine in the eucharist, and some of them used only water without any wine at all. The mixing of

wine and water, was sometimes practised by the orthodox; for we read in one of St. Cyprian's epistles, that it was the practice at Carthage in his time, and that it was used to represent blood and water issuing from our Saviour's side. An ancient author gives another reason for their mixing wine and water together, namely, that the wine pointed out our redemption by the blood of Christ, and the water, our being cleansed from all impurities. Thus the people, whom we have mentioned, could not be properly called heretics, although Socrates, in his ecclesiastical history, ranks them among the number.

When our Saviour instituted the sacrament of the eucharist, he took the cup and drank of it, and there is no doubt but the liquor was wine. But we are nowhere told that he commanded his disciples to use wine alone in the celebration of this divine institution. The institution was intended as a memorial of the death of Christ, by eating bread, and drinking such liquor as undoubtedly could be procured, without confining it to wine, or excluding of water. Had this been the case, then many of the primitive Christians could not have communicated together; for the gospel made its progress into countries where wine was never known, nor any sorts of liquor used, besides milk and water. The case is this, probably those who can procure wine, generally do so for this sacrament; but it is equally certain, that water alone may be used, otherwise we must unchristianise many of our brethren in different parts of the world.

The Archontics were a sect of heretics, who sprang up about the latter end of the second century, but who was their founder is not certainly known. They taught that the world was created by archangels, from whence their name was derived. They denied the resurrection of the body, and placed perfect redemption in a certain chimerical knowledge. This knowledge, they said, could be only exercised by the Lord God of Sabaoth, who reigns in the highest heavens. They had many other notions of a most horrid nature, one of which was, to ascribe some sort of almighty power to the devil, whom they imagined to have a large share in the government of this world. This sect continued till about the latter end of the reign of Constantine the Great, but we never find them mentioned afterwards.

In the early ages of the church, there was a remarkable sect of heretics, called Artotyrites, who celebrated the eucharist with bread and cheese, saying, that the first oblations made by men, were of the fruits of the earth and of sheep.

Itygius, in his account of the martyrdom of Perpetues, a woman of some eminence, relates the following vision, which she said she saw, and it is in her own words:—"I went up and saw a very wide garden, and in the middle, an old man, sitting in the habit of a shepherd, and minding the flock. And

he lift up his head, and saw me, and said, thou art welcome, my daughter; and he called me, and gave me a morsel of cheese, which I received with joined hands, and eat, and all they that stood around me, Amen." Perpetues imagined from this vision, that she should suffer martyrdom; and the reason is assigned by Possinus, an ancient author, who tells us, that the eucharist was pointed out in the vision, that sacrament being always administered to the faithful previous to their sufferings. These people admitted women to preach in their assemblies, and they were always dressed in white, with lighted torches in their hands.

Another sect of heretics were called Audeans, from one Audean, a Syrian, who had lived many years in Mesopotamia, and was in great repute about the beginning of the fourth century. This Audean was one who pretended to great austerities, but the liberty he took in rebuking the clergy for their vices, brought upon him the whole load of their indignation, so that he resolved to separate himself from the church. He was ordained bishop by another schismatic bishop, and he afterwards established bishops and deacons of his own party. St. Epiphanius does not charge the Audeans with any error in point of faith; he only says, they asserted the resemblance between God and man consisted in the body of man, which gave reason to believe, that they looked upon God as corporeal. It is true, there are several authors who charge them with other errors, such as that God was not the creator of all things, and that usury was unlawful. For these notions he was condemned by the council of Nice, and the emperor ordered him and all his followers to be banished, which only made things worse than they were before; for Audean joined himself to the Goths, who built him several churches in the exterior parts of the empire. This heresy continued till about the beginning of the fifth century, when the Goths began to make daily inroads into the empire, and from that time we hear nothing at all concerning it.

The Carpocratians were a remarkable sect of heretics in the second century, having for their founder one Carpocrates, a native of Alexandria. He was a man of the most abandoned life, and taught his followers, that a community of wives was not only lawful, but even meritorious. He even asserted, that a man could never be happy till he had passed through all sorts of debauchery; laying it down as a maxim, that nothing is evil in its own nature, but only so in the opinion of men.

His followers believed, that the world was made by angels; that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, in the same manner as other men, and that his soul only ascended into heaven, his body continuing in the grave, so that they denied the resurrection.

When a person was admitted into their societies, they marked him under the right ear with a hot iron, that they might know him ever afterwards. They had images of Christ, both in painting and sculpture, which they said were the workmanship of Pilate, and they kept them locked up in a chest, in the place where they assembled together. They had likewise the images of several of the most celebrated philosophers, to whom they offered sacrifices, as the heathens did to their idols. A woman of this sect named Marcellina, came to Rome about the end of the second century, and made a great many proselytes; which is not much to be wondered at, when we consider that they were as abandoned as any of the heathens. St. Epiphanius relates, that in his youth he became acquainted with some women of this sect, who revealed to him the most horrid mysteries of the Carpocratians, and sought to make him a proselyte. He adds, they were beautiful women, and the temptation was strong, but God was pleased by his grace to preserve him from the snare.

Another of these sects, who were not very numerous, were called Cerdonians, from one Cerdon, who had been educated a philosopher, but afterwards became a disciple of Marcion, the father of the Marcionites. Like several of the other heretics, they believed there were two universal beings, a good one and an evil, and by these all men were created and governed. They rejected the law and the prophets, they taught that Christ had not a real, but only an imaginary body, and they denied the resurrection. It was in opposition to this heresy, that the article, "the resurrection of the body," was first inserted in the creed. And likewise the article, "he suffered under Pontius Pilate," for unless he had a real body, it would have been impossible for him to suffer.

A numerous sect of heretics, who sprung up in the apostolic age, were called Cerinthians, from one Cerinthus, who according to Epiphanius, lived on or about the time of the emperor Domitian. He had been, and probably was, either a Jew or a Samaritan. He had travelled into Egypt, where he learned the sciences, and upon his return to Asia, formed the sect to which he gave his own name. We are told further, that he travelled from place to place, stirring up the Jews against such orthodox Christians as refused to embrace his opinions.

The particulars in which the heresy of the Cerinthians consisted, were these. They did not allow that God made the world, but asserted that it was created by an inferior power. To this inferior power, they attributed an only son, but denied that he was the divine word. They admitted several angels, and inferior powers, as silence, depths, fulness, and in this they were afterwards followed by the

Valentinians. They maintained that the God of the Jews was no more than an angel, and they rejected the law and the prophets. As for their notions concerning our Saviour, they were somewhat extraordinary. They distinguished between Jesus and Christ: they said that Jesus was a man, - the son of Joseph and Mary; but that he excelled all others in justice, wisdom, and prudence; that Jesus being baptized, the Christ of the supreme God, that is, the Holy Ghost, descended upon him; and that by the assistance of this holy spirit, Christ wrought miracles. They allowed that Christ suffered and rose again; but they held, that before his sufferings, the holy spirit had left him and returned to heaven. They admitted no gospel besides that of St. Matthew; and they likewise rejected the acts of the apostles, and all the epistles. It was partly to refute this heresy, that St. John wrote his gospel; and we have a passage in St. Jerome, concerning that great evangelist and Cerinthus, which we shall relate in the author's own words, as translated from the original.

In his latter years, St. John resided mostly at, or near Ephesus; and one day as he and some Christians were going into a bath, the apostle saw Cerinthus bathing himself. Upon that St. John turned to his friends, and said, let us make haste out of the bath, lest it fall upon us. This they complied with, and immediately the bath fell. Whatever truth is in this, we shall not take upon us to say, but certainly some respect should be paid to such a great man as St. Jerome.

We have already taken notice of the heresy of the Donatists, which was far from being so gross as most of the others; but here we find a new heresy arising out of it: for one error generally leads to many others.

Soon after the Donatists had established churches, and ordained bishops in Africa, a new sect sprung up among those heretics, called Circumcellians, and they were the most horrid of any we have yet mentioned. They had no fixed abode, but rambled up and down the provinces begging, or rather exacting a support from the people in the country. They exercised all sorts of cruelty, and treated every one they met with in the most brutal manner. They ran about like madmen, carrying several sorts of arms, by which they became a terror to all those who desired to live peaceably. The terror of their name spread itself throughout most parts of Africa, for not content with injuring their fellow-creatures, they proceeded so far as to lay violent hands on themselves, in hopes of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. This they did several ways, but the most common was, by throwing themselves down from precipices, drowning themselves in rivers, or burning themselves to death in fires. They never



hanged themselves, because Judas, after he had betrayed Christ, took that method of destroying himself. Theodoret relates, that those who intended to become martyrs, gave notice of it to their companions some time before, and then great care was taken of them. They were fed with the most costly food that could be procured, and when the time came, they voluntarily destroyed themselves. Sometimes they gave money to people to kill them, or forced those whom they met in the highways to run them through with swords. At other times, they offered violence to the judges whom they met in the streets, and obliged them to command their officers, who followed them, to dispatch them.

Theodoret, the ecclesiastical historian, relates a pleasing story concerning those infatuated wretched creatures. A company of Circumcellians met a young man of wit and courage, and presenting him with a sword, ordered him to plunge it into their hearts, otherwise they would put him to immediate death. He did not refuse, but told them, that perhaps when he had killed a few of them, the others would repent and fall upon and dispatch him; so begged they would first suffer him to bind their hands and feet, and then he would do as they desired. They consented to this, and suffered themselves to be bound, which was no sooner done, than the young man lashed them all with a whip, left them, and went away. They frequently demolished the Pagan temples, not so much from a hatred of idolatry, as with a view of provoking the priests to kill them; and yet in the midst of all these extravagancies, they sung praises to God. The Donatist bishops, not being able to convince these madmen of their errors, applied to Taurinus, general of the forces in Africa, who sent some soldiers against them. Great numbers of them were killed, but they were not totally suppressed till about the latter end of the fifth century.

From what has been said concerning these heretics, or rather madmen, we may infer, that the civil government of Africa, was in those ages much neglected; for although reason, as well as religion, forbids persecution on account of religious sentiments, yet these men, having committed the grossest crimes, ought to have been put to death.

Dulcinists were another order of heretics, but they sprang up at a period of time, rather later than any of those we have yet mentioned; but the peculiarity of their notions entitles them to a place in this part of the work. Dulcinea was a layman, and under the strongest pretensions to sanctity, he concealed the most abominable vices. He kept a concubine, whom he called the saint, and he taught that the law of Moses was a law of rigour and cruel injustice; that the law of Christ was a law of equity and mercy, but the law superior to all, was that of the Holy

Ghost, which had been revealed to himself alone. He taught further, that it was an act of charity in a woman, to consent to the desires of a man, whether she was married or single; and his followers who were many in number, he called the true church. At last he became so obnoxious to the civil power, that all his followers were dispersed, and himself with his concubine burned alive.

An ancient sect of Christian heretics were called Ebionites, and took their name from Ebion, who had been a disciple of Cerinthus. He taught his followers that the law of Moses was not abolished by the death of Christ, but that both it and the Christian law should be observed together, both being binding to the end of the world. His followers called their place of meeting a synagogue, in opposition to the word church; and they made use of baths, in conformity with the ceremonies of the Jews. In celebrating the eucharist, they made use of unleavened bread, but no wine; and they added to it many superstitious ceremonies peculiar to some of the heathen nations. They adored Jerusalem as the place God had made choice of; and like the Samaritans, they would not suffer any person to touch them. They refused to eat either flesh or milk, and when they were bitten by serpents, they plunged themselves into the water, and invoked every thing to give them assistance.

They disagreed among themselves concerning Christ; some of them allowing, that he was the son of Joseph and Mary, born like other men, and his holiness was acquired by his good works. Others allowed, that he was born of a virgin, but denied his being the word, or that he had any pre-existence before his human generation. They said he was indeed a great prophet, but yet a mere man; who by virtue had arrived at the dignity of being called Christ, the Son of God. They supposed that Christ and the devil were two principles which God had opposed the one to the other. In their lives they were the most abandoned libertines, denying that there was any necessity for chastity, and that men and women should live promiscuously together. This was very agreeable to the notions of the heathens, many of whom became converts to this new religion; but as soon as a persecution arose, they were dispersed; we find some remains of them in the fifth century, but they are seldom mentioned afterwards.

The sect of heretics most resembling those just now mentioned, were the Ecclesaites, who took their rise under the emperor Trajan, about the beginning of the second century. They joined together some of the Jewish ceremonies and those of the Christian church, but they kept a mean between both. They worshipped one God and observed with great strictness the Jewish sabbath, circumcision, and some other ceremonies of the law of Moses; but they re-

jected all sorts of sacrifices, nor would they suffer an animal to be killed for that purpose. They rejected as spurious, the greatest part of the sacred scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and they acknowledged a Messiah, whom they called the Great King, but who this impostor was, does not appear. They pretended that the Holy Ghost was a woman, and that it is lawful to renounce the faith with the lips, so as it is retained in the heart. In their lives they were extremely vicious, living like beasts together, in the most promiscuous manner, and yet we find, that they remained in the world till the fifth century.

The Eutychians, were a sect of heretics, who rose up late in the church, at a time when the pure doctrines of the gospel had been much corrupted. They maintained, that there was but one nature in Jesus Christ, because he was but one person. They believed that the divine nature had so swallowed up the human, that there was no humanity in Jesus Christ but that of appearance. In 450, a council was held at Constantinople, in which this heresy was condemned, but still it had many partizans, who spread their tenets through several parts of Asia, till at last it was swallowed up in Mahometanism.

About the middle of the third century, a sort of heretics arose in the church, called Hærcleonites. Hærcleon, the author of this heresy, was a man of some learning, and being desirous to become the founder of a new sect, he refined on all the heresies that had taken place before his time. He expounded several parts of the New Testament in a way peculiar to himself; but he rejected the Old Testament, affirming, that there never had been a prophet before Christ, except John the Baptist. His followers consisted chiefly of apostate Christians, and students from the heathen schools; but this sect must have soon dwindled away, for no mention is made of them after the time of Constantine the Great.

In the third century, or at least in the beginning of the fourth, there was a sect of heretics, called Hieraxites, from the name of the founder, Hierax, a very subtle philosopher at Alexandria; who taught that Melchizedec was the Holy Ghost, condemned marriages, and denied the resurrection of the body. He likewise asserted, that no man could be saved who had not arrived at years of maturity, and that all infants were to be damned; for he considered knowledge, as the procuring cause of eternal happiness.

Rufinus tells us a remarkable story of an Hieraxite, who was confounded by a miracle, wrought by St. Macarius, in Egypt. The Hieraxite walking into the desert where the saint resided, had the boldness to enter into a dispute with Macarius and his companions. The saint perceiving that his disciples began to stagger with what the Hieraxite advanced, proposed that they should both go into the

sepulchres of the dead, and he whose doctrine God approved of, would receive power to raise up a person from the grave.

The Hieraxite accepted of the proposal, and both being come into the sepulchre, the saint pressed him to raise up one from the dead, in the name of the Lord. But the Hieraxite alledging that the saint should begin first, as having made the proposal, Macarius prostrated himself on the ground, and having addressed himself to God, called a certain hermit by name, who had been buried some time before. The dead man answered him from the bottom of the tomb, upon which he was taken out alive; and the Hieraxite, terrified at the miracle, took to his heels, and fled out of the desert.

Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, towards the middle of the fourth century, was the founder of a sect of heretics, called Luciferans. This Lucifer was a man of extraordinary abilities, which induced the bishop of Rome to send him to the emperor Constantine, desiring him to call a council at Milan. This council met in the year 336; and as the majority of the members were Arians, Lucifer who was then orthodox, was, with all his party, sent into banishment. He continued in banishment several years, but being at last recalled, he quarrelled with the other bishops, and separated himself totally from the church. He was, properly speaking, partly an Arian, and partly a Semi-Arian; for the church was at that time so much torn in pieces by heresies and schisms, that instead of preaching the pure truths of the gospel, nothing was to be met with besides wranglings, strife, hatred and contentions.

About the middle of the fourth century, and during the reign of the emperor Constantius, a sect of heretics arose in or near Mesopotamia, called Mas-salians, from a Hebrew word, which signifies prayer, and a Greek word of the same import.

It took its rise from the conduct and notions of some monks, who, instead of working to support themselves, as was the practice in that age, gave themselves up wholly to prayer. They taught that the whole of religion consisted in prayer; and that there was no necessity for good works. They pretended to prophecy, and blasphemously asserted, that they could see the Trinity with their naked eyes. They believed that the Holy Ghost descended upon them at their ordinations, when they trod the devil under foot, and danced upon him. They forbade giving of alms to any but those of their own sect; pretended that they could dissolve marriages; and persuaded children to leave their parents and follow them. They wore long hair like women, and dressed themselves in magnificent robes. They became at last so obnoxious to the people, that the emperor Theodosius published an edict against them, when, to avoid persecution, many of

them returned to the church, but as often relapsed into their former errors. Wherefore, in a council of bishops, held 427, it was ordained, that no more of the Massalians should be re-admitted into the church, let their repentance be ever so apparently sincere.

Theodore, bishop of Pharan in Arabia, was the founder of a new sect, called Monothelites, who maintained, that although there were two natures in Christ, yet there was but one will; and that the manhood in Christ was so united to the word, that though it had its faculties, it did not act by itself; but the whole act was to be ascribed to the word which gave it the motion. They maintained further, that it was the manhood of Christ that suffered hunger, thirst, and all sorts of pain; but all these were to be ascribed unto the word as the cause. Many of the clergy embraced these notions, and the heresy remained till it was condemned in a council held at Constantinople, 680.

Nazarincs. This was a name given at first to all the followers of Jesus Christ; but after the destruction of Jerusalem, a new sect arose, who assumed this name to themselves. Their religion consisted of a strange jumble of Jewish ceremonies mixed with Christian ones. They were all Jews by birth, were circumcised, kept the sabbath, and, at the same time, received the New Testament, acknowledged Jesus Christ to be the true Messiah, and were all baptized. These heretics, pretending to observe a medium between the Jews and Christians, were abhorred and detested by the former, and by the latter they were declared to be professed enemies to the gospel.

The Nicolaites, or Nicolaitans, are a very ancient sect of heretics; for we read Rev. ii. 6. "This thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." Some are of opinion, that the founder of this sect was Nicolas the deacon; but whoever he was, his followers have been charged with the grossest impieties, and with all manner of abominations. Men and women lived together promiscuously, without the least regard to decency, and this was considered as a virtue, instead of being condemned as a vice. They held the most blasphemous opinions concerning Jesus Christ; and, in a word, were among the worst heretics that had risen in the church, although they took their rise in the apostolic age.

The Novatians were a numerous sect of heretics, who sprung up about the middle of the third century, and were so called from one Novatian, a presbyter at Rome. Cornelius having been elected bishop, Novatian was so enraged that himself had not been preferred, that he endeavoured to blacken the character of Cornelius, by charging him with shewing

too much lenity to those who had apostatized during the persecution.

He taught that apostates should indeed be exhorted to repentance, but that it was God, not man who could pardon them. Nay he went so far as to assert, that an apostate could never be forgiven throughout all eternity; which so terrified those who had lapsed, that they returned again to paganism. He was equally severe to those who married a second time, declaring them guilty of the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. His followers pretended to great purity in their lives, and re-baptized all such of the orthodox as joined their party. This heresy was not confined to Rome, for it spread itself throughout every part of the Roman empire, and its followers were extremely numerous. Constantine the Great granted them toleration, on condition they did not make converts of any of the orthodox; but they are not mentioned after the middle of the fifth century.

There was another sect of heretics who sprung up about the middle of the second century, called Ophites, from the veneration they had for the serpent that tempted Eve, and the worship they paid to a real one. They pretended that the serpent was Jesus Christ, and that he taught men the knowledge of good and evil. Jesus, they said, was conceived by the Virgin Mary, and Christ came down from heaven to join him. Jesus was crucified, but Christ, had first left him to return to heaven. They said that the God of the Jews was no more than a subordinate Deity, who created the bodies of men, but their souls were created by the supreme God. They had a living serpent tamed, which they kept in a cage, and at certain times, they would open the door and let it out, when it twisted itself round some bread on a table. This bread they brake and distributed among the company, and having kissed the serpent, the ceremony concluded, by declaring this to be the real eucharist.

Pelagians, a sect of heretics well known in church history, took their rise about the middle of the fourth century. Their first founder was one Pelagius, a native of Britain, and his original name was Morgan. Some have told us that he was originally a monk of Bangor in Wales, and probably he was; but these monks were very different from such as are called by that name at present.

Having left his native country, he travelled to Rome, where he associated himself with persons of the greatest learning and piety, being himself a man of considerable abilities. He undertook the education of some young men, and for their instruction wrote a commentary on St. Paul's epistles.

Pelagius having been charged with heresy, left Rome and went into Africa, where he was present



at the famous conference held at Carthage, betwixt the Catholics and the Donatists. From Carthage he travelled into Egypt, and at last went and settled at Jerusalem; for according to all the accounts we have of him, he died somewhere in the east.

His principal tenets were the following:

I. Adam was by nature mortal, and whether he had sinned or not, would have died.

II. The consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his person, and the rest of mankind received no disadvantage thereby.

III. The law qualified men for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded upon equal promises with the gospel.

IV. Before the coming of our Saviour some men lived without sin.

V. New born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his fall.

VI. The general resurrection of the dead does not follow, in consequence of our Saviour's resurrection.

VII. A man may keep the commands of God without difficulty, and preserve himself in a state of innocence.

VIII. Rich men cannot enter into heaven, unless they part with all their estates.

IX. The grace of God is not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will and information in point of duty, being sufficient for that purpose.

X. The grace of God is given in proportion to our merits.

XI. None can be called the sons of God, but those who are perfectly free from sin.

XII. Our victory over temptation is not gained by God's assistance, but by the liberty of the will.

Such were the sentiments embraced by Pelagius, and taught by his followers; and we find, that they spread far over the world; for although they were condemned in several synods and councils, yet they made their way into Britain, where their author was born, being conveyed thither by one Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop in Gaul.

The orthodox party were very diligent in opposing its progress, and for that purpose requested the Gallican bishops to send over some person of eminence to manage the contest. Their request was complied with, and the Gallican bishops sent over to Britain, Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troye, who held a famous conference with the Pelagians, at St. Albans, by which the latter were put to silence, and the people gave sentence by loud acclamations for Germanus and Lupus. Upon this occasion the following story is related: a person of quality and his lady brought their daughter to the holy bishops, begging of them to restore her sight, she having been some years blind. The bishops advised them to carry her to the Pelagians, who

declined undertaking the cure. Germanus then invoked the Trinity, and the young woman was restored to sight, which had such an effect on many of the people, that they left Pelagianism, and returned again to the orthodox.

The Montanists were a numerous sect of heretics, who arose in the church about the latter end of the second century. Their founder was one Montanus, a Phrygian by birth, who is said to have embraced Christianity, with a view of promoting his temporal interest. He pretended to inspiration, and gave out that the Holy Ghost had made known to him many things which had been concealed from the apostles. His first followers were two enthusiastic women, whose names were Priscilla and Maximilla, and in a short time after he had many disciples. Several councils condemned his doctrine, and he, with all his followers, were excommunicated.

Finding they were cast out of the church, they formed themselves into a distinct society, under the direction of those whom they called their prophets, namely, Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla. These sectaries made no alteration in the creed, only they asserted, that the Holy Ghost spake to Montanus, who was his organ to deliver his will.

They refused communion for ever to those who committed notorious crimes, and asserted, that the bishops had no authority to absolve them. They condemned second marriages, and observed three lentis in the year. These heretics began to dwindle away towards the latter end of the fourth century.

About the year 429, Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, broached a new heresy, and his followers were called Nestorians. He taught that there were two natures in Christ, and two persons, the divine and the human. It was never disputed by the orthodox, but there were two nature in Christ, nay, the belief of it makes an article of their faith, but as for two persons that has been constantly denied, for we trust upon that as great matter of comfort, that our Redeemer has joined our nature to his own, and will remain so to eternity. The council of Ephesus condemned this heresy, and the emperor Theodosius confirmed the sentence, 431, Nestorius being deposed and banished.

His followers, however, multiplied in a prodigious manner after his death, and spread themselves throughout many of the eastern nations. One Sergius, a Nestorian monk, assisted Mahomet in writing the alcoran, and another got himself declared king in the province of Indostan, and grew famous by the name of Prester-John.

Priscillianists, were a sect of heretics who arose in the church in the fourth century, and are so called from one Priscillian, a Spaniard by birth, and bishop of Avila. This bishop pretended to work miracles by the power of magic, and yet he lived seemingly

such a pious life, that he drew over to his party a great number of the clergy. He maintained the principal notions of the Manichees, but his chief tenet was, that it was lawful to make false oaths to support one's cause and interest. The emperor Maximian caused this heretic, with all his followers, to be beheaded, 382.

Sabellius, an Egyptian philosopher, having embraced Christianity, attempted to study the doctrine of the Trinity, and as it was incomprehensible, he resolved to broach out a new religion of his own, and his followers were called Sabellians. He taught that there was but one person in the Trinity, and in confirmation of this doctrine, he made use of a comparison. He said, that as man, though composed of soul and body, is but one person; so God, though he is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is but one person. His disciples carried his notions still higher: but we hear little of them after the time of Constantine the Great.

Sethians were a sect of heretics who arose first in Egypt about the middle of the second century. We are told that they worshipped Seth, the son of Adam, whom they believed to be Jesus Christ: the son of God, but who was made by a third divinity, and substituted in the room of the two families of Cain and Abel, which had been destroyed at the deluge. As they countenanced and encouraged all manner of debauchery, so they had many followers, for we find that they continued in Egypt upwards of five hundred years.

Simonians, the most ancient sect of heretics, were the followers of Simon Magus, a native of Samaria, who offered Peter money if he would sell him the power of working miracles. Although disappointed in his scheme to impose on the apostle, yet he went about from place to place and made many proselytes to his blasphemies. The greatest number of heresies took their rise from this impostor, and his disciples indulged themselves in all sorts of lawlessness. They worshipped him as the great God, and likewise one Helen, a common prostitute, who travelled along with him. There is no doubt that the apostles, Peter and John, had this monster in view, when they cautioned their hearers to beware of false prophets.

In the second century, a new sect of heretics sprung up, known by the name of Tatianites, from one Tatian, a disciple of St. Justin, who had for many years taught theology at Rome. This Tatian was of a rambling disposition, and after the death of his master, he left Rome and travelled into the East, where he spread his new doctrines. His heresy was a compound of many others that had been before him, particularly the Valentines and the Marcionites, to which he added, that Adam and Eve could not be saved.

He condemned marriage as inconsistent with the gospel; forbade the drinking of wine, nor would he suffer any of his followers to eat flesh. They were so averse to the use of wine, that they used water in the sacrament of the eucharist. Severus, one of his disciples, improved on the tenets of Tatian. Like most of the other heretics, he taught that there were two principles, a good and an evil one, and by them all things in heaven and earth were governed. He denied the resurrection of the body, and forged a great number of books, which were justly rejected by the orthodox.

This heresy was sometime in repute, but it dwindled into contempt about the time of the emperor Constantine the Great.

The Zacheans were another sect of heretics, who arose about the middle of the fourth century; and they were so called from one Zacheus, who lived somewhere near Jerusalem. This enthusiast retired to a mountain, where he spent most of his time in devotion, being of opinion, that prayer was all God required of men. He took upon him the office of a priest, without being ordained to that sacred office, and he soon procured a great number of followers. These, however, consisted only of the off-scourings of the people, so that men of sober lives detested them. He was generally considered as an impostor, who had nothing in view, besides that of procuring a name; and so far as we learn, his sect was extinct long before the end of the fourth century.

Another wild sect of heretics were called Zanzalians, from one Zanzales, a native of Syria, and according to some, bishop of Antioch: but of that we have no certain proof. He taught, that baptism with water was contrary to the gospel, and that they ought to baptize with fire; which he grounded upon the words of John the Baptist, who foretold that the Messiah would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. For this reason he ordered that all his disciples should be branded with a red-hot iron three times, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This heresy gave great offence to the church, but it soon sunk into contempt, and its followers were despised by all those of the orthodox party.

About the latter end of the fourth century, one Jovinian, a monk of Milan, invented a new heresy; and his followers were from himself, called Jovinians. He taught, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, did not continue a virgin after her lying-in; and that when a man has received grace in baptism, he can never lose it, which makes him equal to the perfect in heaven. Further, that a state of virginity is not more agreeable to God than marriage: and lastly, that there is no merit in eating or drinking, so as we give thanks to God.

This Jovinian had taken a dislike to the materi-

ties of the cloyster, and opposed the zeal of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who was a strenuous advocate for the monastic life. Accordingly, he, with some of his brethren, left the cloyster and retired to Rome, where they had many followers; but Theodosius the emperor, ordered them to depart out of Italy. This they complied with, but returned after his death, and gained new reputation. The clergy, however, raised a fresh storm of persecution against them, and applied to the emperor Honorius for his assistance. Honorius complied with their request, and they were all banished into an unfrequented island, where they were never heard of afterwards. Probably they died of want, and as their tenets were not much different from Protestants, it gives us but a melancholy picture of the established religion at that time.

The Melecians, another sect of heretics, about the beginning of the fourth century, had for their founder, Melecius, bishop of Lycopolis, in Egypt. This bishop had been, at first, a most zealous advocate for the faith: and the warmth with which he defended it, so irritated the emperor Maximilian, that he caused him to be imprisoned along with Peter, bishop of Alexandria. About the year 306, and during his captivity, Melecius declared with great warmth against those Christians, who having apostatized, desired to be reconciled to the church; insisting that they should not be permitted to pardon, till such time as the persecution was over, and the church's peace restored. He carried his zeal in this matter so far, that he broke off all his communion with Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, who opposed the rigour of his doctrines; and thus, even while he was detained in prison, he not only defended the faith, but likewise broached opinions contrary to it.

Soon after this, a synod was held at Alexandria, in which the opinions of Melecius were condemned, and this sentence was confirmed by all the neighbouring bishops. The Melecians hung little bells to the bottom of their garments, and sung their prayers, dancing all the time: and this they considered as the only means to appease the wrath of God. They persisted in rejecting all such Christians as had apostatized; and they are said to have been notorious hypocrites under the mask of piety.

Another sect of heretics were called Sabbathians, from their leader Sabbathus, a Jew, who was baptized at Constantinople, towards the latter end of the fourth century, and ordained a priest by the Novatians; but finding himself as little esteemed by the heretics whom he had joined, as by the Jews whom he had deserted, he forsook their assemblies, and resolved to become the head of a party.

As he had still some remains of Judaism in him, he affirmed, that Easter should be kept on the same day with the Jewish passover: and the better to con-

firm his disciples in that opinion, he made use of the following stratagem: In reading Luke xxi, when he came to the words, "the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the passover," he raised his voice on a sudden, and cried, "Woe unto him that keeps the passover, but on the day of unleavened bread." He joined these words so artfully to the text, that his ignorant hearers imagined them to be the words of Jesus Christ himself.

Sissinius, a Novatian bishop, set himself up to oppose Sabbathus, and one day, while the latter was in a certain church, a report was spread, that Sissinius was coming with a band of armed men, to destroy him and his followers. The Sabbathians, seized with terror, endeavoured to make their escape, but as they pressed to get out of the church, they fell one upon another, and the number of those who were trampled to death was so great, that the rest abandoned their leader, out of fear of Sissinius, and thus the whole sect was entirely dispersed.

Saturinians, the last sect of these ancient heretics whom we shall mention, took their rise about the beginning of the second century, and had for their founder, one Saturninius, a philosopher of Antioch. This man having embraced Christianity, became a member of the church of Antioch: but not relishing the simplicity of the gospel, he resolved to set up a new religion of his own. He had a particular system of his own, concerning the creation of the world; for he taught, that God created seven angels, and these seven angels created the world, with two kinds of men, the one good and the other bad: the good, he said, were the elect chosen to glory: and the bad were the reprobate, who were to be condemned.

He taught many other ridiculous notions, such as, that man lives by the breath of God alone, but when he withdraws that breath he dies. To these he added, that the angels having long admired the beauties of God, resolved to make something to resemble him: and having laboured a great while, they made a kind of animal which could not stand upright, but crawled on the earth like a serpent: that God suffered their work to remain some time in this low condition, to convince them of the rashness of the project. At last, God being touched with compassion, bestowed some share of his own perfection on this creature, who immediately raised himself upon his feet, and lifted up his head towards heaven. Saturninius pretended, that the Jews had been long under the government of a bad angel, as a punishment for their sins: but that at last, the eternal Father, taking pity on them, sent him Saturninius) into the world, to take them out of the power of the angel of discord: that he himself was the true Mes-



siah, and that Jesus Christ was a mere apparition, and not a real man. This impostor had a great number of followers, who spread their notions throughout most of the capital towns in Syria; and to support his pretences, he forged a book, containing a great number of false oracles, all which he said had been dictated by a good angel, and were of equal authority with the word of God.

These were all the heretics of any note in the primitive church; for although, there were some of lesser note, yet they were only branches of the above, and little more has been transmitted to us concerning them, besides their names. Taking their absurdities, their errors, their impieties, and their blasphemies all into one point of view, we are presented with a most horrid picture of human nature. Here all the vices that can take place in the heart, are collected together: so truly were the words fulfilled, that the child Jesus should be sent for the rise and fall of many.

Having given an account of all that is necessary to be known, concerning the ancient heretics and schismatics, we shall conclude this article with a definition of the terms so often made use of, viz. schism, heresy, and blasphemy.

And first, of schism, which is to divide the church and disturb its peace. The pious Mr. Nelson has given us a definition of schism, in the following words: "Schism (says he) is a causeless separation from such governors in the church, as have received their authority and commission from Jesus Christ. If there be a sufficient cause, then there may be a separation, but it is not a schism. But if there be no sufficient ground for the separation, it is schism; that is a culpable separation, which was always reckoned a sin of a very heinous nature. For St. Paul charges the Ephesians to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, because there is but one God, one faith, one baptism, and one body of Christ."

The same doctrine is taught in the writings of the first fathers of the church, particularly St. Ignatius and St. Cyprian; and schism was reputed a great sin by them, even before the church and state were united, and when the meetings of the schismatics were as much tolerated as those of the orthodox. For toleration does not alter the nature of schism. Such laws only exempt the persons of schismatics from persecution. Donatism and Novatianism were counted as damnable schisms, under the reigns of those emperors who granted toleration to them; as under the reigns of those who made laws against them. So according to these authors, it is not separation from a church that creates schism, but it is a causeless separation; but then it must be added, that there may appear sufficient cause to one, when another does not see any; so that in judging of

those who separate, we should be cautious and circumspect.

Secondly, heresy, which is very different from schism; the latter being only a separation for groundless causes from the established church of the country where we live; whereas heresy is a total deviation from the principles of the Christian faith, and the setting up something in opposition thereto, which has no foundation in the sacred scriptures. People sound in the faith may differ in their sentiments, concerning the exterior non-essentials of religion, without injuring the peace of the church, although in the heat of unnecessary controversy; the violence of unguarded passions may induce them to abuse each other; but while they agree in the essentials of religion, and live as become the disciples of Christ, all such opprobrious names should cease.

It is every way different with heretics, who not content with disturbing the peace of the church in the non-essentials of religion, boldly proceed to attack one or all of those fundamentals upon which our salvation depends. Thus one will deny the divinity of Christ; another the necessity of his merits to procure our acceptance with God; a third the use of the outward means; and a fourth, the resurrection of the body, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Such errors as these justly deserve the name of heresy, because the teaching of them strikes at the root of our holy religion, by representing the sufferings of Christ as both useless and unnecessary.

Thirdly, blasphemy, which consists in ascribing any thing to the Deity, unbecoming the perfections of his godhead, or by derogating from the nature of his attributes, by saying that he is neither holy, just, nor good. This by the law of Moses was a capital offence, and the criminal was to be led without the camp and stoned to death by the whole congregation, but the witnesses, upon whose evidence he had been convicted, were first to lay their hands upon his head, and throw the first stones at him, in testimony that they had not perjured themselves.

Our Saviour takes notice of the sin and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which was never to be forgiven, either in this world, or in that which is to come; and this passage of sacred scripture has been a stumbling-block in the way of many pious well-meaning Christians. If we consider the passage aright, nothing can be plainer than that it is to be imputed to the Pharisees, who declared that the miracles Christ wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, were performed by the assistance of the devil. Our Lord had just healed one possessed of a devil; and the Pharisees gave this malicious turn to the miracle: "This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, the prince of devils." This led

our Saviour to discourse concerning the sin or blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and to tell his disciples, "Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto them."—See *Matth. xii. 22, 31.*

The Pharisees therefore were the persons charged with this sin, which consisted in ascribing what was done by the power of God to the agency of the devil. And the reason why our Lord pronounced it unpardonable is plain, because the Jews, and particularly their leaders the Pharisees, by withstanding the evidence of miracles, resisted the strongest means of their conviction. From all which it will naturally follow, that no person can now be guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense in which our Saviour intended it, although there may be sins which bear a near resemblance to it.

By the common law of England, blasphemy is defined to consist in a denial of the being and providence of God, and a reproaching of the name of Jesus Christ, for which the delinquent is to suffer imprisonment, the pillory, or to be fined at the discretion of the court where the offence is tried; and for this crime, one Anne Taylor paid a fine of one thousand pounds, and stood in the pillory three times, 1676.—See *Hawkins's pleas of the crown*, chap. 89.

By the statute of the ninth of William III. chap. 32, it is enacted, that if any person shall, by writing, or speaking, deny any of the persons of the holy Trinity to be God, or assert there are more Gods than one, or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority, he shall be incapable of any office or employment, and for the second offence shall be disabled to sue in any action to be executor.

A most remarkable instance of blasphemy happened in the reign of queen Elizabeth, for the truth of which we have the testimony of all the writers of that time, as well as the records of the courts of justice.—One Hacket affirmed himself to be the

anointed king of the earth by the Holy Ghost, and commanded his two disciples, Arlthington and Coppinzer, to proclaim through the streets of London, that Christ was come to judge the world, and that he might be seen at the house where Hacket lodged, and that all who refused to obey him should destroy each other, and that the queen should be dethroned. He was convicted of high treason, and at the place of execution, repeated the following prayer:

"Eternal God, thou knowest me to be the true Messiah, whom thou hast sent: shew some miracle from the clouds to convince those unbelievers, and free me from the power of my enemies. If thou refusest to do this, I will set fire to the heavens, and pulling thee from thy throne, will tear thee to pieces with my hands." And turning to the executioner, said, "Dost thou, wretch, presume to hang thy king?" Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, he cried, "Thou repayest me well for a kingdom bestowed, I come to take vengeance on thee."

Such a wretch as this should have been whipped twenty times at the cart's tail, instead of sending him into eternity, uttering the most horrid blasphemies.

By the law of Scotland, blasphemy is, and always has been, a capital offence, and it takes place before high treason. The last person that suffered for this crime at Edinburgh, was one Aikenhead, in the year 1696. He denied the being of a God, and mocked at all religion, whether natural or revealed. He belonged to a society of young men, who usually met together at a tavern, where they made it a rule, that each in his turn should burn the Bible, and blaspheme the name of God. At last the club was dispersed, and this man was burnt alive; but some of his companions still continued to disseminate their sentiments; among whom was one Hunter, a young student in divinity, who was hung in chains at Broughton, near Edinburgh, for murdering two young gentlemen, the sons of one Mr. Gordon, whose tutor he was.

## STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, FROM ITS RECEIVING A CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT UNDER CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, 314, TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, 1517.

WE come now to the third article proposed concerning the Christian religion, and it is of such an important nature, that according to the regular manner we have hitherto proceeded, we shall consider it under the following heads:

I. An abstract of the history of the church, from the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, till the Reformation.

II. The origin of the monastic life, with an

account of all the religious orders, by whom founded, and for what purposes.

III. The origin, progress, and present state of all the ceremonies made use of by the Roman Catholics.

Lastly, an account of the inquisition; and in writing on those subjects, we shall be directed by the best authors; whether Popish or Protestant, we shall be guided by a candid attention to the truth, being willing to find it in any party whatever.

To begin with the first, namely, the state of Christianity during the space of eleven hundred years. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that as we have already given an account of all the ancient heresies, and as there was no necessity for others springing up after this period, seeing the church became daily more and more corrupted, so the reader must attend to the general thread of the narrative; it being our intention, when any innovation presents itself to us, to treat of it as collaterally connected with the whole, by way of digression.

We have already considered the religion of our Divine Redeemer, as propagated among the heathens, by no other means besides the assistance of Almighty power, and although opposed by the Roman emperors, by the Pagan priests, and the superstitious Jews; yet the tender plant grew up, and was nourished, and an innumerable company of people of all ranks thought it an honour to enlist themselves as soldiers under the banner of the cross. Neither the malice of devils nor the power of men could stop its progress, for as Christ had declared that his kingdom was not of this world, so his religion was propagated by spiritual means, and the more it was opposed the more it flourished; but now we must draw the line between human and divine power.

Constantine, justly called the Great, took possession of the Roman empire partly by force, and partly by election, and it must be acknowledged, that at that time, the Christians were so numerous, it would have been consistent with true policy, to have granted them a free toleration, supposing the emperor himself had continued in heathenism. The emperor, however, embraced the Christian religion, in the year 314, although he was not baptized till within a short time before his death. He issued an order, that all the revenues, appropriated for the support of the heathen temples, should be bestowed on the Christian clergy, and being no stranger to the tricks practised by the Pagan priests, he ordered their idols to be exposed to the populace, that they might see in what manner they had been deceived by designing men, and this occasioned multitudes of people to embrace the Christian religion, although it is probable that many of them did so, without being properly instructed in its principles,

but rather that they might acquire emoluments, by complying with the orders of the emperor.

This circumstance is the more necessary to be attended to, because it will throw a considerable light on the remaining part of this narrative, and point out how great the difference must always be between human and divine power. During the three first centuries, the Christians were a distressed people, but they were in many respects pure and innocent. Whether they imagined that temporal power would interpose in their favour, cannot now be certainly known; probably they did not, for as they waited daily for the second coming of Christ, all their hopes centred in that single principle; and this consideration supported them under all their sufferings.

Previous to the reign of the emperor Constantine, the Christians had been persecuted in the most cruel manner; and, bleeding with their wounds, they were taken under the protection of that Christian hero. Happy for the Christian indulgence granted to them; and, instead of stirring up the civil power against the heathens, endeavoured like their Divine Master, to bring them over to the truth, without coercive means. The contrary however took place, and to use the words of the great and good archbishop Leighton, "The world went mad by turns." No sooner had the Christian bishops received the countenance and protection of the civil power, than they resolved to persecute the Pagan priests, from whose malice they had suffered so much, and in this they were too much countenanced by those obsequious courtiers, whose mercenary views and self-interests induced them to attend as ministers of state in the emperor's court. But to understand this in a proper manner, we must attend to the state of the Christian church, beginning with the fourth century.

#### CENTURY IV.

The Christians being now established in the peaceable possession of great riches and honours, began to compare their present state with their former suffering, which brought to their remembrance the patience and fortitude of their predecessors.

These considerations raised in them a high, and in some measure a just veneration for the martyrs: But it did not stop here, for it ran into excess, and produced the worst effects. Every rumour concerning these saints was received without examination, and represented as meritorious, insomuch that certain monks made a trade of going from place to place selling their bones and relics.

This practice was greatly encouraged by the most celebrated preachers of that age, such as Athanasius, Gregory, Nazianzen, but particularly Chrysostom, whose popular eloquence contributed greatly towards encouraging the superstitious veneration and invo-



cation of saints, the love of monkery, and the belief of miracles wrought by monks and relics; thence arose religious addresses to the martyrs, who were considered as patrons and intercessors, which tended to lessen the reliance and gratitude due to Christ, and to substitute new mediators in the room of him who alone is the mediator between God and man, the Lord our Redeemer. When we Protestants speak of the cross of Christ, we mean thereby the whole of his passive obedience, without paying any regard to the form or shape of a wooden cross; for unless we can be kept in mind of our Lord's sufferings, without such monitors, it shews that our love for him is very cold.

Some zealots, under the direction of Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, pretended to have discovered the real cross on which Christ suffered; many figures of it were made, and distributed to all round the empire: These were hung up in churches, and the relics of the saints were deposited in boxes, and placed on the altars; for it was in this age that altars were first erected in the Christian churches.

St. Chrysostom in preaching on good Friday, in the great church of Constantinople, has given us the following description of the virtues of the cross, which although the whole might be applied to the passive obedience of Christ, yet from the circumstances of the times, the sentiments of the preacher, and the nature of the address, it seems plain that he had directed the people to look at the sign of a cross. He says,

"Now, if thou would know, O Christian, the power and praises of the cross, attend to me!

"The cross is an anchor to all those who from wavering in the faith, begin to sink! a resurrection of the dead! a leader of the blind! the path of those who have gone out of the way! the avenger of those who have suffered wrong! the staff of the lame! the comfort of the poor! the curb of the rich! the overthrow of the proud! the victory over the devil! the instructor of children! the supply of council to those who want it! the pilot of those who are in a sea of troubles! the haven of those who are tossed about in a storm! the bulwark of those waging war with sin and the devil! the father of orphans! the helper of widows! the judge of those who do wrong! the pillar of the just! the repose of the afflicted! a light to those who sit in darkness! the magnificence of kings! the teacher of humanity to barbarians! the freedom of slaves! the wisdom of the unlearned! the law of the disobedient! the declaration of the apostles! the preaching of the prophets! the glorying of the martyrs! the exercise of the solitary! the foundation of the church! the safety of the world! the destruction of the heathen temples! the overthrow of their altars! the vanishing away of their incense!

"the scandal of the Jews! the ruin of the ungodly! the strength of the weak! the physician of the diseased! the cleansing of lepers! the strengthener of the paralytic! the bread of the hungry! the fountain of the thirsty! and in a word, the covering of the naked!"

Such was the popular eloquence of those times, and when we consider what influence it must have had on the minds of men just brought over in profession from the religion of Pagans, we will not be surprised to find that image worship, and a veneration for the relics of the martyrs, soon became leading principles in Christianity.

It was in this century, 325, that the famous council of Nice met, consisting of three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a vast number of presbyters, deacons, and other church officers, together with representatives from the laity, who still had a share of church power. In this council the emperor presided in person, and being a man of great moderation, he advised the bishops to drop all unnecessary disputes, and attend to their duty as ministers of the gospel, in regulating the affairs of the church, consistent with the law of Christ, and the interest of believers. The passions of the clergy were however so turbulent, and such was their hatred of each other concerning disputed points in religion, that they framed the creed which still bears their name, although it was not confirmed till the general council at Constantinople in 381.

The orthodox party were not content with the temporal emoluments arising from their livings, but they even went so far as to stir up the emperor to punish with death, all those who differed from them in sentiments. Here they acted the same part as the heathens had done to them before: when the heathens found they could not confute the Christians, they forged the grossest slanders to blacken their characters; and in the same manner did the Nicene fathers treat the heretics. Had they by charitable reasoning sought to convince those men of their errors they would have acted a Christian part; but their calling in the aid of the civil power, was in its own nature so hellish and diabolical, that even their friends cannot draw a veil over this part of their conduct.

The truth is, the clergy were now so glutted with power, that they became the vilest incendiaries of the state. They meditated nothing but revenge against those who opposed them; and had they not been restrained by the civil power, they would have persecuted the heathens, in the same manner as they had been persecuted by them. And yet during all these confusions, the bishops of Rome had not, nor did not pretend to any authority over other bishops. But we shall soon have occasion to take notice of the rise of the papal power. Before this time, every

church had its own creed, or formulary of belief; and although the words often differed from the creeds of neighbouring churches, yet the sense was the same. They all agreed in the fundamental articles of religion, but they did not impose their forms upon each other. But now the right of private judgment was destroyed; men were not to search the scriptures, in order to find out the terms of acceptance with the Deity, but in the words of creeds of human invention, a fixed sense was put upon the most abstruse parts of the word of God, and instead of confirming these points, by the word of God, the Bible itself was to be regulated by them.

About the beginning of the year 561, Julian, commonly called the apostate, was chosen emperor, and for sometime he behaved with great moderation towards the Christians. His hatred to them, however, was inveterate; for although he had been brought up amongst them, yet he had seen so much of the tricks practised by the bishops, as well as the rest of the clergy, that he resolved, if possible, to re-establish heathenism. He imposed severe taxes upon the Christians, and when any of their leaders complained, he answered in a sneering manner, "your God hath taught you patience." Indeed the Christian bishops at that time, were of such turbulent dispositions, that he was afraid of them, because they could at any time have influenced the populace against him.

He was succeeded by Jovian, a man of good natural parts, and a friend to the Christians both from principle and practice; but he had not long enjoyed the imperial dignity, when the orthodox bishops tampered with him, in order to persecute the heretics. For this purpose, he called a synod, to meet at Antioch, where the orthodox bishops became in all things obsequious to the emperor. Jovian, however, saw through their duplicity, and told them, that he hated contentions, and that it was his desire they should cultivate peace, in order to promote the interests of Christianity. For this part of his conduct, Jovian has been justly celebrated by every impartial historian, who has written an account of him; for neither the threatenings of the bishops, nor the alluring promises of the heathens, could induce him to swerve from his duty. Happy for the Christian world had he lived a few years longer, but he was taken away before he had an opportunity of doing the good he intended.

In the mean time, great disturbances happened at Rome, upon Liburnus's dying, who was bishop of that see. Ursinus and Damasus, both deacons of that church, were candidates for the bishopric, but the party of Damasus prevailed, upon which he was elected and ordained. This so far enraged Ursinus, that he collected a party together, and got himself ordained bishop, which occasioned a new

schism in the church. The consequences of this contested election proved fatal to many of the citizens of Rome; for besides vast numbers murdered in the streets, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven were murdered in the churches in one day, during divine service. This is said to have been the first controversy concerning the see of Rome, and happy for the world had it been the last; but the sequel will shew, that it was trifling to what happened afterwards.

Theodosius the emperor, who, in many respects was a very great man, became a zealous advocate for the orthodox; and he issued circular letters, commanding all his subjects to embrace the Nicene creed, and worship the three persons in the Trinity as one God. Nay, he went so far as to threaten all the bishops with expulsion, who did not obey his orders. At the same time, he made a code of laws relating to ecclesiastical discipline, which must ever stand as a disgraceful monument to his memory; for the orthodox party, being armed with power, lorded it with a high hand over all their opponents. In the mean time, the Donatists in Africa, persecuted their brethren with the most unrelenting cruelty; and Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, having been banished from that city, stirred up a violent persecution against the Arians, so that persecution seemed to know no end.

Many superstitious customs debased the purity of the church during this century; such as the making of crosses of wood, metal, and painting were brought in, in consequence of the emperor Constantine having on all his banners displayed a cross.

Pilgrimages to places supposed to be holy, began to take place in this century, but they were not carried to such an height as we have since seen them in the church of Rome. These pilgrimages were for the most part to Jerusalem or Rome, or to other places where the most celebrated martyrs suffered death. They were considered as meritorious, but this laid the foundation for much superstition. The giving of the eucharist to children, took place about the end of this century; and what is very remarkable, when the elements were consecrated in the church, they were sent home to such of the believers as could not attend. Indeed it may be justly said, that the foundation of superstition was laid in this age, and we shall see in what manner the superstructure was raised.

## CENTURY V.

Hitherto we find that the bishops of Rome had not made any stretches towards establishing the papal power; but this century furnished them with many opportunities. Infallibility was not yet pretended to by the bishops of Rome, for had they pretended to any such thing, it would have been

treated as an absurdity. But notwithstanding all this, the papal power daily gained ground, which was in a great measure owing to the removal of the seat of the empire from Rome to Constantinople; so that the bishops of Rome were left to the care both of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It was common in that age, for bishops in the provinces to send to the bishop of Rome for his advice in all difficult cases, and although that was no more than an act of friendship at first, yet in time it began to be considered as an obligation; and the bishop of Rome, who formerly acted as dictator to his own people, presumed to exercise the same authority over the whole of the Christian world.

It was during this century, that images were placed upon the altars in the Christian churches, and many of them were enriched with the most costly jewels. The clergy were likewise forbidden to marry, but this met with such violent opposition, that it was many years afterwards before it could be reduced into a regular system.

Surceries, or godfathers for children, was another ceremony which took place in this age; and the reason seems to have been, that many of the parents of the children were heathens. But here it is objected, why did heathen parents offer their children to be baptized by Christian ministers? the answer is obvious: all the heathens throughout the empire were commanded to profess Christianity; but as many of the bishops knew that they were not sincere, so they thought it necessary to get some persons, who had long made a profession of the faith, as it is in Jesus, to stand sponsors for them. The cross in baptism, which had been indifferently used by the Christian churches, before the reign of the emperor Constantine, was now made an article of the Christian faith, and no person was supposed to be properly baptized, unless he had that sign marked upon him.

The giving the eucharist to children was likewise introduced during this century, and we meet with several instances where children refusing to take it, the priests poured it down their throats. This was undoubtedly a horrid profanation of such a solemn ordinance, but it was the humour of the times; for Christianity and heathenism were then so blended together, that it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The Christian religion was now at a low ebb; civil power had been called in to give it a sanction, and the consequence was, it was soon mingled with many abominations, and at last popery prevailed, which enslaved the consciences of men for many ages.

## CENTURY VI.

During the beginning of this century, the power of the popes over the Christian world, was not so much as known or recognized. The bishops of

Rome had, indeed, endeavoured to establish their power, but they found so many obstacles in their way, that they were obliged to relinquish the pursuit, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. Nor was the infallibility of the pope acknowledged by any of the Christian nations; for the bishops of Rome were still considered as subordinate to general councils.

It was not long, however, before the bishops of Rome began to pull off the mask, and declare that they had a superiority over all other bishops, and consistent with the ignorance of the times, this notion was greedily embraced. The truth is, the whole Christian world was, at that time sunk into barbarism; the principles of our holy religion were not taught; heathenish rites and ceremonies had been artfully introduced: and the best of all knowledge had become a system of foolishness. The Goths and Vandals began at this time to over-run the Roman empire, and as there were innumerable sects of heretics, so they joined with those barbarians, and pure Christianity was beclouded with darkness. This will account for many things that are to follow with respect to the papal see, and likewise with respect to those ceremonies which have in a manner darkened the glory of the gospel dispensation, and rendered the commandments of God of none effect by their traditions; teaching for truths, what they knew to be contrary to the will of God, and inconsistent with the interests of men, either in time, or in eternity.

It was during this century, that the two following unscriptural ceremonies took place, namely, praying for the dead, and praying to the dead. Intercessions at the tombs of the martyrs had been gradually creeping into use and gaining ground, from the time of Constantine the Great; but now it was considered as an article of faith, or at least an indispensable duty binding on every Christian. In much the same manner, praying for the repose of the dead, had gradually crept into practice, and this the Christians learned from the heathens.

It was common with the heathens to pray for their departed relations, and keep festivals in memory of them; but neither the Old nor the New Testament ever gave countenance to such a practice. St. Austin, who lived above an hundred years before the time we are writing of, prayed for the soul of his mother Monica, many years after she was dead, and, as he was a man of great repute in the church, there is no doubt but many began to follow his example. It was not, however, brought into general repute, till the sixth century, and then it was considered as a duty men owed to their deceased relations.

Singing litanies was another practice that took place during this century, but the Latin language



was not as yet binding upon the churches, although it was beginning to creep into use, Purgatory was taught at Rome and in the east, but in Ireland and the northern parts of Britain, it was not then known; nor was it much regarded in Gaul and Spain. The priests were not yet prohibited from marrying, although those who lived single were most esteemed and revered by the superstitious.

The cup in the sacrament was still given to the laity, for although many superstitious ceremonies were used at their altars, yet the doctrine of transubstantiation was not taught, people being left to themselves to consider the elements in whatever light they pleased. It must, however, be acknowledged, that there were some in this age, who did believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; for Gregory the Great, as he is commonly called, whom we shall mention in our account of the next century, used all his endeavours to make the people believe it. The glorious sun-shine of the gospel was just now sinking into obscurity, little more than the shadow was left, and soon afterwards, in its stead, there was only an empty name.

### CENTURY VII.

The church being now in a great measure corrupted, the clergy continued to seek every opportunity of aggrandizing themselves. They began to inculcate the notion, that their persons were exempted from being cognizable by the civil power, and this laid the foundation of several of those unhappy disturbances which afterwards proved fatal to many nations in the world. It was about the beginning of this century, that Gregory, bishop of Rome, commonly called Gregory the Great, sent Austin the monk over to England, to convert the Anglo-Saxons. This Gregory is, with propriety, called by some ecclesiastical writers, "The great patron of superstition." Whatever ceremonies had been introduced into the church before his time, he took care to improve upon them, and he was continually inventing new ones.

To create a greater respect for the churches, each one was named after a peculiar saint; for it was about this time that the bishops began to exercise authority over the smaller churches, and the pope to rule over them all. Boniface III. was the first Roman pontiff who assumed the title of universal bishop, which is the more extraordinary, because his predecessor except one, namely Gregory the Great, although a bigot in religion, yet refused this title when offered to him. The clergy were enjoined to wear fine robes, to distinguish them from the laity, whom they considered as an inferior order of beings. In England bishoprics were established, and Italians placed in them, who spent much of their time in

wrangling with the Britons, concerning the proper time of keeping Easter.

There were many unhappy disputes in the church during this century, particularly concerning what God has kept concealed from men, and what indeed they cannot comprehend, namely, the doctrine of the Trinity; for disputes and superstition constituted, at that time, the greatest part of religion. Much about the same time, another dispute arose concerning the high and dignified titles that were to be given to the pope, for although some of the churches had acknowledged his supremacy, yet others disputed it.

The African bishops in a synod, having addressed Theodore, bishop of Rome, in such lofty terms, and such flattering titles, that it gave great offence to some other churches. The bishop of Constantinople wrote to the bishop of Rome, telling him, that as all the apostles were equal in rank and dignity, so all bishops ought to be the same, and consider each other as brethren. Even in Italy, during this century, it appears that there were some bishops who had spirit enough to refuse to submit to the bishop of Rome, as will be seen in the following account of Maurus, bishop of Ravenna.

Vitalianus, bishop of Rome, summoned Maurus to give an account of his faith, he being suspected of holding opinions contrary to the Catholic doctrine. Maurus, not only refused to obey the summons, but sent notice to Vitalianus, that he had no authority over him. This unexpected answer provoked Vitalianus to such a degree that he immediately thundered against Maurus the sentence of excommunication. But of this excommunication Maurus made no other account than he did of the summons. Nay, so steady was he to the rights of his bishopric, that he retorted the sentence of excommunication, which was considered as a crime of so atrocious a nature, that an attempt was made to deprive him of his bishopric, but the exarch of Ravenna supported him, and, in spite of the pope, his adherents and emissaries, he continued to exercise the duties of his office till his death, and in his last moments exhorted his people never to submit to the authority of the pope, because it was usurped, which request of his was religiously adhered to by his successor.

In 680, the famous council of Constantinople met, to consult concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; and they spent much time in searching the ancient fathers. They excommunicated and anathematized the then pope Honorius, which shews that the popes were not then considered as infallible. All the conclusions and decrees of this council being founded on the writings of the fathers, it created them so much respect, that for many centuries afterwards their works were considered as little inferior to the

scriptures. It was also at this time that the title of saint was first bestowed upon those first writers of the church, although, in the primitive times it had been denied to the apostles. It is certain, that many of those called fathers, were very superstitious; and some of them imitated the heathens in different parts of their worship.

Another innovation, which took its rise in this century, was that of honouring the bishop of Rome with the triple crown. It was required of the people, that they should honour the traditions of the church of Rome, in the same manner they did the scriptures, which is not much to be wondered at, for so ignorant were the people of that age, that few of them could read. The heathen temples were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and to the rest of the saints; and the churches were made sanctuaries, for those who had committed crimes of the most enormous nature. No man was to marry a woman to whom his father had been sponsor in baptism; and abstinence from meats and drinks on particular days, was considered as meritorious. A vast number of new festivals were instituted, and fasting on Saturdays was forbidden on pain of excommunication.

It was in this century that the church of Rome first ordered that the Lord's prayer should be read publicly in churches, and organs were first used in all places of public worship. It was further decreed, that on every altar there should be a figure of Christ on the cross; in some other parts of the churches, he was drawn in the form of a lamb, and the Holy Ghost like a dove. It was now become fashionable, or rather customary, for the priests to say private masses to those who could not attend in the churches. All over the continent of Europe, where Christianity, or rather popery was established, they read their prayers in Latin; but still the cup was not yet denied to the laity.

During this century the bishops of Rome established their authority, and established their ceremonies into all the churches among the Anglo-Saxons, which must have been attended with some difficulty, especially as the Welsh, Scotch and Irish still refused to submit to the Romish church. This will appear the more probable, as the Scots and Britons who had been converted to Christianity many centuries before, had no diocesan bishops till the middle of the eleventh century. And with respect to worship, Bede, who lived about this time, and was himself a stickler for the Romish church, tells us that divine service was celebrated in five different languages, in Britain, viz. in Latin, Saxon, British, Pictish, and Scottish, which was the same as the Irish. But all this soon wore out in England, although it does not appear that masses or prayers in Latin, were much regarded in the other parts of the island, particularly in Scotland, for many years afterwards.

## CENTURY VIII.

This century presents us with many instances of new corruptions taking place in the Christian church. The number of church officers were, indeed, in some measure fixed, and the several orders of archbishops, bishops, deans, canons, curates, &c. were almost the same as at present in the Romish church; but the popes presumed to grant the pall to archbishops, without the consent of the emperors, which had never taken place before. To understand this rightly, two things are necessary to be attended to, first, what was the pall? and secondly, what honour or power did it confer?

In answer to the first, the pall was a piece of fine white woollen cloth, made in the form of a sash, and to give it the greater sanctity, it was sprinkled with holy water, and laid on the altar of saint Peter's church one whole night, and several prayers repeated over it. This part of the ceremony being over, it was sent to the new appointed archbishop of every province, who paid a considerable sum of money for it. Being folded in two equal parts, it was put round the neck, and hung down to the bottom of the robes before. Secondly, with respect to the virtues residing in the pall, and the power conveyed by it, they were supposed to be many.

The pall gave a sanction to all the decrees of the archbishops, so far as they kept on good terms with the see of Rome, and the bishops of the province, who refused to treat it with the most submissive respect, were to be excommunicated, and their churches laid under an interdict. That is, all their people were to be deprived of the benefit of the divine service, and such as died, were denied Christian burial. It may be added further, that without the pall no archbishop could exercise the duties of his office, and so weak was the civil power at that time, that princes were obliged to comply with these arbitrary mandates of the popes. The pall brought vast sums of money into the Roman treasury, and in consequence of such an additional load of riches, the popes were enabled to assume the characters of temporal princes, as well as spiritual bishops.

In 734, Leo, emperor of the west, refused to admit images into any of the churches in his dominions, for which he was solemnly excommunicated by pope Gregory III. and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance. Pope Leo III. set the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, and so obsequious was the emperor, that he meekly submitted to kiss the pontiff's feet. This homage greatly pleased the pope, especially as the ceremony was graced by the acclamations of the people, and in consequence thereof, he insured to himself greater power, honour and influence, than any of his predecessors had hitherto attained to. At this period, the whole king-

dom of anti-christ was established ; for although many innovations crept in afterwards, yet they were only improvements on what had taken place before their introduction.

In Italy, where the monasteries were extremely rich, the abbots and priors, not chusing to remain subject to the bishops of the dioceses, applied for relief to the popes, begging of them to exempt them from the jurisdictions of the prelates. This was extremely agreeable to the popes, who found that it would conduce much to their own interest to have the religious houses solely dependant on themselves, leaving the bishops to exercise their authority over the parochial clergy.

To promote and establish this scheme on the most permanent foundation, episcopal ordination was conferred upon many of the abbots, who exercised the same clerical power and authority over their dependants, as bishops had formerly done over them. Hence the origin of our mitred abbeyes, of which there were no less than twenty-six in England at the time of the Reformation, and in France, and in all other countries where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, there are many of them to this day. These innovations met with some opposition, but the ignorance that prevailed among all ranks of people, contributed towards affording the popes an opportunity of establishing their power.

Another ceremony which took place in this century, was that of kissing the pope's toe, and the emperor Justinian was the first who submitted to it in 711. A solemn ordinance was made, that images should be worshipped, but this was greatly opposed by many of the German bishops, who in a council at Frankfort, 794, made a decree against it. In the eastern churches, during this century, we met with nothing but disputes concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; which may serve to shew, that whenever the practice of religious duties are forgotten, or neglected, men have recourse to idle wranglings, and unnecessary arguments, concerning things which God never desired them to look into.

### CENTURY IX.

In this century, the papal power received many additions ; for although the bishops of Rome were opposed by the Greek bishops in the east, particularly by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, yet the superstitious regard that was paid to the chair of St. Peter at Rome, overcame every opposition. But there were other causes, amongst which a principal one was that of the many divisions that took place among the bishops in the different provinces. In all these disputes they made it a rule to appeal to the popes, and their decisions being final, the bishops of Rome were looked upon as far superior to all others in the world. Another cause which

raised the authority of the church of Rome, was that of the conduct of their missionaries, whom they sent to convert the people in the heathen nations. These missionaries were strictly commanded to teach their new converts that the essential parts of religion consisted in being obedient to the pope, in making the sign of the cross, and in counting their beads, when they repeated their prayers, which they did not understand ; so that to use the words of a celebrated author, "It was not uncommon in that age, to make a thousand converts in a day."

The doctrine of infallibility was not as yet defined, for it could not be supposed to be vested in the popes, many of whom were a scandal to human nature ; nor in councils, who as often as they met, anathematized each other. Some churches continued still to assert their independency, particularly in Africa, in the east, and in Scotland, and even in England, where superstition was firmly established ; yet the sovereigns did not suffer the clergy to make any acts, until they had first granted their concurrence. However, in this century the popes procured great revenues, and rich landed estates in Italy, which set them on the same footing with many of the inferior temporal princes, and the high regard that was paid to them by the ignorant laity, made them formidable rivals to the emperors.

In the year 884, the posterity of Charlemagne having been driven out of Italy, and great part of that country left to the care of the popes, pope Hadrian III. bishop of Rome, ordered, that for the future, his successors in the see of Rome should be consecrated, without applying to the emperors, which had been customary.

At this time there was nothing more common, than for one emperor to be dethroned, and another set up, through the influence which the popes had over the people ; and it was equally common for one pope to cancel the decrees of his predecessor. It was in this century that the custom of keeping Lent was first introduced into the English church, and all those who died, in what was by them called the faith of the church, were to be buried in church yards, which brought considerable emoluments to the clergy ; for those who refused to pay the common fees for the burying their relations, were excommunicated, and considered as no better than heathens.

### CENTURY X.

During great part of this century, the election of popes or bishops of Rome was still continued to the clergy, the people at large, the magistracy, and even the military ; but the freedom of election was corrupted by bribery, by violence, and by perjury. Thus we find that one Theodora, a Roman lady, and noted courtizan in 913, got her paramour John



X. elected pope, although he had no right to that title, having never entered into holy orders. His reign was short, for he was taken away by a violent death; the same debauched courtizan who set him up, having pulled him down. He was succeeded by John XI. not then twenty years of age; and as he knew nothing of the clerical office, he was soon afterwards murdered. Rome was at that time a perfect sink of wickedness; the form of religion, differing but little from heathenism, was attended to in its external parts, but as for the interiors they were not so much as known. Indeed the Roman Catholics are ready to grant this. Fleury says, that with respect to the conduct of the popes, this was the most corrupt of all the Christian centuries. When these circumstances were mentioned by Dr. Burnet, to queen Christina of Sweden, at Rome, her answer was, "That the ignorance and wickedness of the popes in that age were, all put together, a striking proof of God's superintending the affairs of his church in this lower world; otherwise his divine providence would never have suffered such wretches to enjoy such dignified titles."

The bishops of Rome were now become so formidable, that the Christian princes thought it an honour to be allied with them, and they did all in their power to cultivate their friendship; for such was the ignorance of the people, that they paid more regard to the papal decrees, than to the laws of the country where they lived, and where they owed special obedience. It was during this century that the popes first began to change their names after their elections, and this served much towards aggrandizing their power.

In this century during the year 962, Odo, prince of Saxony, invaded Italy, and by the superiority of his forces, subdued great part of that country; and in order to settle some form of government, he assembled a council of bishops at Padua, wherein John XII. who had been advanced to papal see at the age of eighteen, was deposed, because he had dishonoured his character, by giving encouragement and countenance to adulterers, whoremongers, and debauchees. The prince of Saxony obliged the people of Rome to enter into an engagement not to elect a pope, without the consent of the emperors, but this rule was not long attended to. It is almost impossible to express in words, the confusions that took place in the Christian church during this century; and yet there were some persons found, who had boldness enough to stand up in defence of their injured fellow-creatures, who looked upon the papal usurpation as inconsistent with civil liberty; and did every thing they could to oppose it.

In the midst of these confusions, the archbishop of Rheims took upon him the care of the French church. Much to the honour of the clergy of that

country, they have not, even to this day, suffered the papal decrees to take place among them, any further than as they were supported by the civil power. In England, the great Alfred made several alterations with respect to religion, but these were such as extended to, or were connected with externals: Alfred himself, although in many respects a very great man, yet was a slave to papal power. Indeed he had received great part of his education at Rome, and therefore it is not much to be wondered at, if he brought the same sentiments along with him to England. This will appear more evident, when we consider, that even during the reign of this pious king, Peter-pence was enjoined to be paid by all the people of England. By Peter-pence is meant one penny out of ten from every one of the church-livings; and this the popes appropriated to themselves as a legal perquisite.

In this century, marriages were forbidden to be celebrated on Sundays or in Lent, which seems to have been a high stretch of the papal power, and bells in churches were first consecrated. It was likewise ordered, that the canonization of the saints should be solemnized in the most sacred manner; and the memory of departed saints was to be commemorated under pain of excommunication; and by keeping such a number of holy days, many persons who had better thoughts concerning religion, were deprived of bread.

In this century, the abbots, with their assistants the regular clergy, did all that lay in their power to encourage the monastic life; but this did not answer the end, for it is not an easy matter to oppose natural principles. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the greatest sticklers for the monks in this age, and to know his sentiments, we should attend to the character of the man: he was a mean time-serving wretch, who had nothing further in view, but that of advancing the papal power. He was at first abbot of Glastonbury, and then bishop of Worcester. At last, he was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and in that elevated station, he sought to aggrandize the papal power, by denying the clergy the privilege of marriage. The methods made use of by Dunstan, were horrid and abominable, but they were consistent with the barbarity of the times, and such as humanity itself should throw a veil over. Indeed, the remaining part of this century was so much clogged with superstition and idolatry, that it may justly be said, the knowledge of the true God was lost, men were left to their own wild imaginations, and the religion of Jesus the Redeemer of mankind, was foolishness to the Christians, as it had been of old a stumbling block to the Jews. but this leads us to things of more importance.

## CENTURY XI.

In the beginning and throughout the greatest part of this century, the bishops of Rome did not content themselves with domineering over the clergy in ecclesiastical matters, and over the laity in things, wherein the sacred rights of conscience were concerned. They went farther, they became simoniacal brokers, by putting up to sale to the best bidder, such bishoprics as were vacant. This was what the princes themselves had never done; but so far as we can learn, the bishops of Rome grasped at universal monarchy, both civil and ecclesiastical.

In 1030, the appellation of pope, from the word *papa*, which signifies a father, was first given to the bishops of Rome; and Gregory VII. a man of unbounded ambition, was the first on whom it was conferred. The cardinals, who were originally parish priests in Rome, had now the red hat given them as an ensign of their dignity; and as these cardinals are the most remarkable body of ecclesiastical politicians in the world, so we hope the following account of them will afford some entertainment to the reader.

Although their station was at first low and humble, yet they are now styled princes, and compose the pope's council. They are appointed by the pope, at the request of those princes whose subjects they are; but the greatest part of them are Italians. When the pope intends to create a new cardinal, he calls a private consistory, and makes known to all the cardinals present his design. In this consistory, he mentions the name of the person whom he intends to honour with the red hat, and gives them ten days to consider of it. At the end of the ten days he calls another consistory, in which he takes the opinion of each cardinal, who have all the liberty to give their votes which ever way they please; and in general he is guided by the majority.

The cardinals are divided into three classes; the first, consisting of six, are called cardinal bishops; the second, being fifty in number, are recalled cardinal priests; and the third, being only fourteen, are called cardinal deacons; making in the whole seventy; and these constitute what is called the sacred college. The number of cardinal bishops has been always the same, but that of the priests and deacons was never properly fixed. In 1125, the sacred college consisted of only fifty-three members, and the council of Constance reduced them to thirty-four; but they have gradually risen up to their present number.

The cardinals have great power and many privileges; they have an absolute power in the church during the vacancy of the holy see. They only can elect the new pope, and the choice must fall upon one of themselves. Almost all the great offices in

the court of Rome, are filled with cardinals; nay, some of them are prime ministers of state to the Roman Catholic princes; and, in general, they enjoy the most valuable church livings. The dress of a cardinal is a red sabbane, a rochet, a short purple mantle, and a red hat. But to return to our narrative.

Pope Gregory VII. obliged all the bishops to swear allegiance to him; and he issued a decree, that the civil power should not proceed against any one who appealed to the pope.

Having openly avowed, that he had an inherent right of absolute power over all sovereigns in the Christian world, he proceeded so far as to summon the emperor Henry, to appear before him at Rome, to answer for his conduct. Henry despised the summons, and the pope excommunicated him and threatened to do the same to the French king, because he took part with the emperor. Nor did he stop here; for he sent to all the Christian princes in Europe, exciting them to take up arms against the emperor, and prevailed on his eldest son to raise a rebellion in the empire.

Toward the latter end of this century, the practice of penitents whipping themselves became very fashionable in the church, and was considered as an heroic Christian virtue. The custom of one doing penance for another, likewise took place; and abstinence was enjoined on Fridays and Saturdays; mass for the living was to be celebrated only once a day, but two masses were permitted for the dead. All the faithful were obliged to communicate at Easter, on pain of being excommunicated, and denied Christian burial; but hitherto the communion was received in both kinds. If a priest let fall the host, he was to do penance before he said mass again; and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, made a law in England, forbidding the priests to marry, which created many disturbances. It was likewise at the end of this century, that crusades begun, but we shall treat of them all in our account of the next century.

## CENTURY XII.

In the beginning of this century, the pope claimed the power to himself, of nominating to all the vacant bishoprics in England, where the kings had hitherto conferred the bishoprics on whom they pleased.—Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to consecrate any but such as were presented by the pope: this contest held many years, the king, Henry I. still maintaining his right, and the archbishops, supported by the pope, opposing it. The king, in hopes of bringing the pope to reason, sent ambassadors to Rome, who, provoked at the rude manner in which they were treated by the pope, declared that the king, their master, would never yield up his au-

thority; that he would lose his kingdom in its defence, to which the pope replied, that he would sooner lose his life, than suffer the king to nominate to the vacant benefices.

When the ambassadors returned to England, the king exerted himself to support his authority, and Anselm was obliged to depart the kingdom, nor would the king permit him to return. This gallant prince opposed the popish encroachments to the last; but after his death, amidst the confusion of the civil wars, king Stephen was obliged to seek assistance from the clergy, who embraced that opportunity of aggrandizing themselves and extending their power.

Another circumstance not much attended to, which increased the popes power was, their claiming the first fruits and tenths of all benefices; and this brought them in a most enormous sum. It was in this century, that popes introduced the practice of indulging bishops and other rich clergymen, to reside at Rome, for which they paid great sums; and there they often betrayed the civil rights of their country. The canonization of the saints was performed by the popes, and communion in both kinds still continued.

But of all the schemes used by the popes, none equalled the crusades, commonly called the holy wars. Future ages will read with astonishment, that all the Christian princes in Europe, could be so weak as to drain their kingdoms of all the young men able to bear arms, and lead them into Asia, because the pope told them, it would be a most meritorious action, to rescue the holy sepulchre out of the hands of the infidels.

The first of these croisades or crusades, was undertaken in the year 1096; and although the European princes went along with their respective armies, yet they put themselves wholly under the direction of one Peter, a hermit, who had travelled from place to place, urging the people to take up arms against the infidels. This army marched through Hungary into Greece, spreading famine wherever they came, and at last they met in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where it was found that vast numbers of them had perished during their journey. In this expedition, which was commanded, after they arrived at Constantinople, by Godfrey of Bologne, several cities were taken, particularly Jerusalem, where Godfrey was crowned king. The sultan of Egypt was defeated at the battle of Ascalon: and this is generally called the first crusade.

The second crusade was undertaken in the year 1114, and was headed by the emperor Conrad III. and Lewis VII. king of France. The people in Greece and Constantinople had been reduced to such want, by these armies eating up their provisions, that they laid so many snares to destroy them, that all

those belonging to the emperor, either perished with want, or were some way or other cut off.

Nor was it much better with the French army, for they having besieged Damascus, were attacked by the Saracens, and the greatest part of them cut off.

The third crusade was undertaken 1188, soon after Saladin had retaken the city of Jerusalem, and driven the Christians out of Palestine. Almost all the princes of Europe went on this expedition, among whom was Richard I. of England; but although they took several towns from the infidels, yet still their success was not much better than in the former ones. The princes quarrelled among themselves, and separated their forces from each other; so that they became an easy prey to the Saracens. A party of near twenty thousand Christians, in attempting to return to Europe, had their retreat cut off, and were surrounded by the Saracens; who enraged to find, that these men should travel so many miles to molest those who never offended them, cut every one of the unfortunate wretches in pieces.

The fourth crusade was in 1195, by the emperor Henry VI. and in this expedition, the Christians took a great number of towns; but the emperor dying, his forces were dispersed, and the remains of them were obliged to return to Europe.

The fifth crusade was undertaken in 1198, at the instigation of pope Innocent III, but although they had some success at first, yet the plague breaking out amongst them, the greatest part perished through the violence of that disorder, so that very few returned to Europe.

Although the remainder of the crusades we have to mention, do not come within the bounds of the twelfth century, yet for the ease of the reader, that he may have them all in one point of view, we shall here take notice of them.

The sixth crusade began 1228, and in this expedition, the Christians took several towns; but not being able to keep them, they were glad to make peace with the Saracens, and return home to Europe.

The seventh crusade was commanded by Lewis, commonly called St. Lewis, in 1249. This army had scarce time to do any thing, when a sickness broke out among them, and the Saracens, taking an opportunity of their affliction, came suddenly upon them and butchered most of them in the most barbarous manner. St. Lewis, with his nobles, were taken prisoners; but on condition of agreeing to a truce for ten years, they were set at liberty.

The eighth and last crusade was in 1270, commanded by the same St. Lewis, assisted by prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward I. The Christian army took several towns, but it was not



in their power to keep them; so that from 1096, to 1270, about two millions of men were lost in attempting to take what could never have been of any service to them. But by the absence of the princes from their dominions, the popes raised their power; and the vast sums they procured for indulgencies, rendered them formidable to the greatest powers in Europe. Many of the sovereigns having been killed in those expeditions, their successors were left minors; and it generally happened, that the pope appointed some of his own creatures to be their guardians; and thus, before they had arrived at years of maturity, they found the papal authority dangerous to be opposed.

### CENTURY XIII.

The power of the popes in this century, was stretched to such an enormous length, that had not universal darkness in religion and all sorts of learning overspread Europe, a man of a small share of knowledge would have perceived, that it must soon have had a fall. Boniface VIII. during this century, arrogated to himself the power of deposing princes, as by divine right: and he published an ordinance or bull, in which he forbade all princes to take any thing out of the ecclesiastical revenues. He likewise instituted a jubilee, wherein he granted indulgencies to all who should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome; and ordained, that the same should be observed once every century.

The opening of this Jubilee brought vast numbers of people to Rome, and the pope to shew his authority, in temporals as well as in spirituals, dressed himself one day in his pontifical robes, and the next in the purple, like that worn by the emperors. In England, where many of the benefices were extremely rich, the pope had the address to thrust into them many of the Italian clergy, which so exasperated the English nobility, that they entered into an association in 1232, to drive these foreign adventurers out of the kingdom.

The pope commanded the king, under pain of excommunication, to chastise the barons, and the bishops to excommunicate them, but the confederacy was too strong either for the civil or ecclesiastical power.

Pope Innocent IV. sorry to see his favourites driven out of England, sent one Martin, a kinsman of his own, to renew the pretensions of the church of Rome. The English complained to the king, that the Italians had got all the valuable benefices into their own hands, upon which Martin was driven out of the kingdom. The king appointed commissioners to enquire what sums had been paid to these Italians, and it was found that they exceeded by far the royal revenue, being no less than sixty thousand marks, a most enormous sum in that age. Henry

III. of England, in whose reign this happened, sent ambassadors to complain to the pope concerning these things, the pontiff being then at Lyons; but all the answer he received was, that he must state his grievances with more humility, in another manner, and contribute towards furnishing out a fresh crusade against the infidels. The king did not pay any regard to this, and such was the arrogance of the pope, that he excommunicated the bishop of Lincoln, for refusing to admit an Italian priest to a living in his diocese, but the good bishop died soon after.

In the same manner, in the year 1258, pope Alexander IV. excommunicated the archbishop of York, who withstood the prosecution with great dignity and fortitude; and drawing towards his end, wrote a very pious letter to the pope, exhorting him to suppress those innovations, so very injurious to the church, and so dangerous to the safety of his own soul.

### CENTURY XIV.

During this century, Boniface IX. published a bull or decree, wherein he commanded that one year's revenue of every bishopric and abbey, should be paid to Rome, as soon as the incumbent was installed; and at the same time declared himself to be sovereign lord, both in temporals and spirituals. Philip, king of France, burnt this bull, by the hands of the common hangman, and sent the following laconic letter to the pope, "Philip, by the grace of God, king of France, to Boniface, who sets up for sovereign pontiff, little or no health. Be it known to your extravagance, that we are not subject to any persons whatever, as to what regards temporals; that the collating to churches and prebendaries belongs to us of royal right; and that we have a right to appropriate the fruits of them to ourselves."

Edward III. king of England, sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him to refrain from making any further innovations in the church; but that prince died before he received an answer. Soon after this two popes were chosen, which created a great schism in the church; but each made their pretensions to infallibility, and they excommunicated each other, in their turn. The only thing that deserves our approbation of this century, was the encouragement given to the study of the civil law; a science that will always tend towards enlarging the powers of the human mind, by leading the student into the knowledge of history and jurisprudence.

### CENTURY XV.

This century presents us with many important transactions; for the schism that appeared at the beginning of it, had for many years engaged the care and attention of the princes and prelates in Europe,

Besides this, the difference between pope Eugenius IV. and the council of Basil; and the project of uniting the Greek and Latin churches, became the subject-matter of conversation throughout most parts of the Christian world. But the differences between the pope and the council had not those mischievous consequences that were feared; nor was the reunion of the churches attended with the expected or desired success.

Among many other remarkable events, the opposition made in several parts of Germany, to the errors and enormities of the church of Rome had this tendency, that it put men upon searching the scriptures and traditions; and it obliged the prelates to put on the appearance of stimulating their clergy towards the reformation of abuses, so generally, and so justly complained of; as also to make many regulations in the discipline of the church; and none of the European churches were more forward in promoting this undertaking than those of France. The king of France published a declaration, wherein he prohibited his subjects from paying any obedience to the popes in temporal matters, and seized for his own use, all the first-fruits and tenths, which was a fatal blow at the root of the papal power. At this time three popes had been elected, who all pretended a right to infallibility; and each thundered out their anathemas against the others; but the French clergy, with the assistance of their king, stood their ground; for although they acknowledged one of the popes, yet to their everlasting honour, they refused to pay any regard to his dictates in things of a temporal nature.

It was in the beginning of this century, that the famous council of Constance was held in the city of that name; and the reason for its being called was, to put an end to the schism which had broke out in the church, by the election of three popes at one time. John XXIII. one of these popes, fled from the vengeance of the council, but being brought back and placed at the bar, he calmly submitted to resign all his pretensions to the tripple crown.

The two others who were competitors with him, viz. Gregory XII. and Benedict XI. were deposed, and Martin V. was elected by the general council, who in this single instance, had the courage to act in the room of the cardinals.

The people in general entertained great hopes that the council would have reformed many of the abuses that had crept into the church; but in this they were much deceived, for instead of restoring discipline to its original purity, they spent much of their time in condemning those whom they called heretics. John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were both condemned and executed, and the sentiments of the great Wickliffe were likewise condemned

many years after he was dead. Nay, to the eternal disgrace of this council, it was ordered, that the bones of Wickliffe should be dug out of the grave, where they had been deposited thirty years before, and reduced to ashes. Upon this act of clerical power, the judicious Rapin makes the following reflection: "His ashes were thrown into the brook which runs through the town of Lutterworth; the brook conveyed the ashes to the Severn, and the Severn to the sea." In the same manner his doctrines spread so far, that the papal power in England was easily abolished.

It seems to have been in this century, that the popes thought their power fully established, and probably it might have been so, had it not been for the noble stand made against their encroachments by the kings and clergy of France. In a council held at Basil, 1445, there were upwards of forty constitutions made with respect to ecclesiastical discipline, one of which prohibited the people from giving new names to the virgin Mary; such as our Lady of Consolation; our Lady of Grace; and our Lady of Pity. There were several other ordinances, such as a prohibition against carrying through the streets the relics of saints, in order to get money; and clandestine marriages were likewise prohibited.

In France, Charles VI. a weak, though well-meaning prince, not willing to do any thing without the consent of his people, called an assembly of the clergy, to consider of the papal decrees. The determination of the council was, that the popes were not infallible, but that they were subject to general councils, to whom they were obliged to give an account of their conduct. But this strenuous attempt to support liberty in matters of an ecclesiastical nature, served only to stimulate the court of Rome towards making new innovations. It was at this time, that bishops were first permitted to sell their livings and retire to other parts of the world, which they found much more to their advantage. The popes received a gratuity for the resignation, and nominal Christianity now became a trade.

## CENTURY XVI.

In our account of this century, we are as it were stopped short just at the entrance; for the popes, having considered the whole Christian world as in a state of profound ignorance, thought that a fair opportunity presented itself for them to domineer over the consciences of men. For this purpose the pope issued indulgencies, which were to be sold at an extravagant price to all those who would purchase them, and this was done under pretence of rebuilding the church of St. Peter's at Rome. Learning, however, was now beginning to lift up her head, popish ignorance began to vanish before the glori-

ous light of the truth ; and Luther, that bright star of the Reformation, burst forth amidst the night of

popish darkness : but with respect to him we must speak more largely hereafter.

## RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

WE come now, in the second place, to consider the different orders in the church of Rome, and as this is, in all respects consistent with the plan we have laid down, so we shall attend to historical matter of fact with the strictest fidelity. It is impossible to describe the different rules and ceremonies of religion, without making the reader acquainted with those sects to whom they belong ; for should we do otherwise, we should, to use the words of the ingenious Dr. Watts, present our readers only with skeletons. All these ceremonies will naturally come before us, and be presented to our readers ; and therefore before we go any further, we shall present them with an account of the rise and progress of the monastic life.

The word monk, signifies the same as a solitary, or one who lives sequestered from the company and conversation of the rest of the world ; and is usually applied to those Christian men who dedicate themselves wholly to the service of religion, in some monastery. Those of the female sex, who devote themselves in like manner to a religious life, are called nuns, and of these are many different orders. There is some difference in the sentiments of learned men concerning the original and rise of the monastic life ; but the most probable account of this matter seems to be as follows :

In the Decian persecution, which was about the middle of the third century, many persons in Egypt, to avoid the fury of the storm, fled to the neighbouring deserts and mountains, where they not only found a safe retreat, but also more time and liberty to exercise themselves in acts of piety and divine contemplations ; which sort of life became so agreeable to them, that, when the persecution was over, they refused to return to their habitations again, chusing rather to continue in those cottages and cells, which they had made for themselves in the wilderness.

The first and most noted of these solitaries were, Paul and Anthony, two famous Egyptians, whom therefore St. Jerome calls the fathers of the Christian hermits ; for as yet, there was no bodies or communities of men, embracing this life, nor any monasteries built ; but only a few single persons scattered here and there in the deserts of Egypt ; till Pachomius, in the peaceable reign of Constantine, procured some monasteries to be built in Thebais in

Egypt ; from whence the custom of living in societies was followed by degrees, in other parts of the world, in succeeding ages.

Till the year 250, there were no monks in the church : and from that time to the reign of Constantine, monachism was confined to the hermits, or anchorites, living in private cells in the wilderness. But when Pachomius had erected monasteries in Egypt, other countries presently followed the example, and so the monastic life came to its full maturity in the church. Hilarion, a disciple of Anthony, was the first monk in Palestine or Syria ; and not long after, Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, brought monachism into Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus. Athanasius, about the year 340, taught the anchorites of Italy and Rome to live in societies ; but it was some time after this, that Martin, bishop of Tours, fixed his cell in France, and gave birth to the monastic life in that kingdom ; from whence, some learned men think, it was brought by Pelagius into Britain, at the beginning of the fifth century.

The ancient monks were not, like the modern, distinguished into orders, and denominated from the founders of them ; but they had their names from the places they inhabited.

All monks were, originally, no more than laymen ; nor could they well be otherwise, being confined by their own rules to some desert or wilderness, where there could be no room for the exercise of the clerical functions, and accordingly, St. Jerome tells us, the office of a monk is, not to teach, but to mourn. The council of Chalcedon expressly distinguishes the monks from the clergy, and reckons them with the laymen. Gratian himself, who is most concerned for the moderns, owes it to be plain, from ecclesiastical history, that, to the time of pope Siricius and Zosimus, the monks were only simple laymen and not of the clergy.

In some cases, however, the clerical and monastic life were capable of being conjoined : as, first when a monastery happened to be at so great a distance from its proper church, that the monks could not ordinarily resort thither for divine service ; which was the case with the monasteries in Egypt, and other parts of the East. In this case, some one or more of the monks were ordained for the performance of divine offices among them. Another case



in which the clerical and monastic lives were united, was when monks were taken out of the monasteries by the bishops, and ordained for the service of the church. This was allowed and encouraged, when once monasteries were become schools of learning and pious education. Thirdly, it happened sometimes, that a bishop and all his clergy embraced the monastic life, by a voluntary renunciation of property, and enjoying all things in common. Eusebius Vercellensis was the first, who brought this way of living into the western church. St. Augustin set up the same way of living among the clergy of Hippo. And so far as this was an imitation of cœnobitic life, and having all things in common, it might be called a monastic as well as a clerical life.

The Cœnobites, or such monks as lived in communities, were chiefly regarded by the church, and were therefore under the direction of certain laws and rules of government; of which we shall here give a short account. And,

First, All men were not allowed to turn monks at pleasure, because such an indiscriminate permission would have been detrimental both to the church and state. Upon this account the civil law forbids any of those officers called curiales to become monks, unless they parted with their estates to others, who might serve their country in their stead. For the same reason servants were not to be admitted into any monastery without their master's leave. Indeed Justinian afterwards abrogated this law by an edict of his own, which first set servants at liberty from their masters, under pretence of betaking themselves to a monastic life. The same precautions were observed in regard to married persons and children. The former were not to embrace the monastic life, unless with the mutual consent of both parties. This precaution was afterwards broke through by Justinian; but the church never approved of this innovation. As to children, the council of Gangra decreed, that if any such, under pretence of religion, forsook their parents, they should be anathematised: But Justinian enervated the force of this law likewise, forbidding parents to hinder their children from becoming monks or clerks; and as children were not to turn monks without consent of their parents, so neither could parents oblige their children to embrace a religious life against their own consent. But the fourth council of Toledo, 633, set aside this precaution, and decreed, that whether the devotion of their parents, or their own profession, made them monks, both should be equally binding, and there should be no permission to return to a secular life again, as was before allowable when a parent offered a child, before he was capable of giving his own consent.

The manner of admission to the monastic life was usually by some change of habit or dress, not to signify any religious mystery, but only to express their gravity and contempt of the world. But we read of no solemn vow or profession required at their admission; only they underwent a triennial probation, during which time they were inured to the exercises of a monastic life. If, after that time was expired, they chose to continue the same exercises, they were then admitted without any farther ceremony into the community. Nor was there as yet any solemn vow of poverty required; though it was customary for men voluntarily to resign the world, by disposing of their estates to charitable uses, before they entered into a community, where they were to enjoy all things in common as brothers.

As the monasteries had no standing revenues, all the monks were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily labour, to maintain themselves, without being burdensome to others. They had no idle mendicants among them: they looked upon a monk that did not work, as no better than a covetous defrauder, and Sozomen tells us, that Serapion presided over a monastery of ten thousand monks, near Arsinoe in Egypt, who all laboured with their own hands, by which means they not only maintained themselves, but had enough to relieve the poor: To their bodily exercises they joined others that were spiritual. The first of these was a perpetual repentance; upon which account the life of a monk is often stiled the life of a mourner. And in allusion to this, the isle of Canobus, near Alexandria, formerly a place of great lewdness, was, upon the translation and settlement of the monks of Tabennus there, called the isle of repentance. The next spiritual exercise was, extraordinary fasting. The Egyptian monks kept every day a fast till three in the afternoon, excepting Saturdays, Sundays, and the fifty days of Pentecost. Some exercised themselves with great austerities, fasting two, three, four, or five days together; but this practice was not generally approved. They did not think such excessive abstinence of any use, but rather a disservice to religion; for Pachomius's rule, which was supposed to be given him by an angel, permitted every man to eat, drink, and labour according to his bodily strength. So that fasting was a discretionary thing, and matter of choice, not compulsion. In some places, they had the scriptures read during their meals at table. This custom was first brought into the monasteries of Cappadocia, to prevent idle discourse and idle contentions. But in Egypt they had no occasion for this remedy; for they were taught to eat their meat in silence. Paladius mentions one instance more of their devotion,

which was only occasional; namely their psalmody at the reception of any brethren, or conducting them with singing of psalms to their habitation.

The laws did not allow monks to interest themselves in any affairs, either ecclesiastical or civil; and those who were called to any employment in the church, were obliged to quit their monastery thereupon. Nor were they permitted to encroach upon the duties, or rights and privileges of the secular clergy.

By the laws of their first institution, in all parts of the east, their habitation was not to be in cities or places of public concourse, but in deserts and private retirements, as their very name implied. The famous monk Anthony used to say, that the wilderness was as natural to a monk as water to a fish; and therefore a monk in a city was quite out of his element, like a fish upon dry land.

As the monks of the ancient church were under no solemn vow or profession, they were at liberty to betake themselves to a secular life again. Julian himself was once in the monastic habit; and the same is observed of Constans, the son of Constantine, who usurped the empire in Britain. The rule of Pachomius, by which the Egyptian monks were governed, has nothing of any vow at their entrance, nor any punishment for such as deserted their station afterwards.

In process of time, it was thought proper to inflict some punishment; which was, that if they were possessed of any substance, it should be all forfeited to the monastery which they had deserted.

The monastic life soon made a very great progress all over the Christian world; for Rufinus, who travelled through the east in 373, assures us, there were almost as many monks in the deserts, as inhabitants in the cities. From the wilderness it made its way into the towns and cities, where it multiplied greatly: for the same author informs us, that in the single city of Ovirina, there were more monasteries than houses, and above thirty thousand religious inhabitants.

Having said thus much concerning the institution of the monastic orders, we shall now begin to present the reader with an accurate account of them, both as they have been in former times, and as they are at present.

The most ancient, so far as we can judge of the religious orders in the Roman church, are the Augustine monks, who have made a great figure in the world, and are still held in high repute.

Austin, or as he is sometimes called, St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, about the latter end of the fourth century, had been brought up by Christian parents; his father being a centurion in one of the Roman legions, and his mother a very pious woman. But notwithstanding all the care

which had been taken of his education, yet he had scarce left the schools, when he joined himself to those worst of all heretics, the Manicheans. As he had great natural parts, improved by a fine education, he was much followed as a public teacher of oratory, but it pleased God to convince him of his errors, and in the thirty-sixth year of his age he became a sincere Christian. Soon after this remarkable event, he went over to Africa, and was ordained bishop of Hippo, where, in many respects, he became an eminent instance of the power of divine grace; only that in some things he was too superstitious.

At that time, the monastic life was much in vogue, and Austin having many presbyters under him, they agreed to build a sort of convent or cloyster, near the church, where they spent much of their leisure hours in devotion, in explaining the sacred scriptures, and in making each other acquainted with the different principles contained in the body of divinity; for at that time disputed points were much regarded and much taught.

These presbyters, however, were not bound down by any oaths or vows; they loved their situation, because they thought it was acceptable to God, while they were endeavouring to mortify their worldly lusts, and prepare themselves for heaven! But as things took a very different turn afterwards, and those societies of men which had been formed, as it were, originally from motives of necessity and utility, were greedily laid hold of by the Roman pontiffs, to establish fixed and standing orders upon them, making use of their names, and sheltering their pretensions to piety, under the mask of real and genuine religion. For this reason we find, that in the thirteenth century, many religious orders sprung up in the church; and pope Alexander the IV. in the year 1256, availing himself of that circumstance, in order to aggrandize the papal power, reduced three or four of these orders into one, and called them by the general name of Augustine hermits.

At present, these monks are divided into several different classes, but their rules and orders are much the same. They have all things in common, and the rich who enter into the order, are to sell their possessions, and give the money to the poor; that is, they are to give it to the monks their brethren. They are not to receive any alms, without delivering the whole up to their superiors; and if it should happen that a persecution arise, then they are to betake themselves immediately to the place where their superior has withdrawn himself. They are to employ the first part of the morning in labouring with their hands, and the rest of the day in reading and devotion. They have Saturdays allowed to provide themselves in necessities, and on Sundays



they are permitted to drink wine; and when they go abroad, they must always go two in a company, nor are they ever to eat, but in their monastery, let the calls of nature be ever so urgent.

They are forbidden to harbour the least thoughts of women, nor are they permitted to receive any letters or presents without communicating them to their superiors. These orders are read over to them in the consistory once every week, and each of the young ones has a copy of them delivered to them. Their habit is black, and the nuns of the same order are bound down to rules of a similar nature.

Benedictine monks are another very ancient order in the church of Rome, and they took their rise during the reign of the emperor Justinian, about the year 530. Their founder was one Benedict, a famous Italian monk, who established twelve monasteries in the diocese of Tibur; and these acquired so much repute, that they were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. From this place he removed to Mount Cassino, where he established another monastery, and sent out his disciples into every part of the Christian world. During the space of six hundred years they became so famous, that they had almost all the religious houses to themselves, till the Dominicans and Franciscans started up to share with them a little of their fame. These monks wear a loose black gown with large wide sleeves, and a capuchin on their heads, with a peak at the end. Like most of the other orders in the Romish church, they are divided into many classes; but in general their rules are the following:

They are obliged to perform their devotions seven times in twenty-four hours. First, at two o'clock in the morning, because our Saviour is said to have risen from the dead at that time. Secondly, at six o'clock in the morning, because our Saviour is said to have appeared to the women at that time. Thirdly, at nine in the morning, at which time it is supposed Pilate ordered our Saviour to be scourged. Fourthly, at noon, at which time it is generally allowed our Saviour was crucified. Fifthly, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when our Saviour expired on the cross. Sixthly, at six in the afternoon, when they supposed our Lord to be taken down from the cross. Lastly, at seven in the evening, the time when they supposed our Saviour's agony began. Thus all their seven hours of devotion, taking in the subsequent first, and afterwards the antecedent, have a relation to our Saviour's sufferings.

These monks are obliged to go always two and two together, and in lent they must fast still six in the evening; but they are not to subject themselves to any wilful austerities, or rigorous penances, without leave from their superiors. They never converse together at meals, but attend to the reading of the scripture, they lie all in one chamber, though

only one in a bed, and even in bed they keep their clothes on. For small faults they are shut out from meals, and for greater ones they are denied admittance to the chapel. Incorrigible offenders are excluded from the monastery, nor can they ever be again re-admitted, but upon giving proofs of the most sincere repentance. The furniture of each of their beds is a mat, a rug, a blanket, and a pillow, and each monk is obliged to have two coats, two bowls, a table book, a knife, a needle, and a handkerchief. It must be acknowledged, however, that the monks of this order have been a great ornament to the literary world.

At St. Maur, in France, where they have a famous monastery, they have published the best editions of the works of the fathers, with judicious remarks, and critical observations. Many of them are not friends to superstition, but long earnestly to unite Christians together in brotherly love and charity. This is much to their honour, and if they go on in the same line of moderation, much good may be expected from them.

The Franciscans or Grey Friars, are another order in the church of Rome, and extremely numerous. St. Francis, the founder of this order, was born of noble parents at Assisium, in the province of Umbria in Italy; in or near the year 1182. He renounced a considerable estate, which had been many years in the possession of his ancestors, forsook all the pleasures of this life, to embrace a voluntary poverty, and live in the practice of the greatest austerities. He went daily barefooted; and besides travelling from place to place, to visit the sick and relieve the poor, he preached on Sundays and festivals, in the parish churches, to very large and crowded congregations.

In the year 1208, designing to establish a religious order, he presented to pope Innocent III. a copy of the rules he had drawn up, praying that they might be confirmed by the holy see. The pope, considering his despicable appearance, and the extreme severity of his rules, bid him go to find out swine, and deliver them the rules he had composed; as being fitter for such animals, than for men. Francis being withdrawn, went out and rolled himself in the mire, along with some swine; and in that filthy condition, again presented himself before the pope, beseeching him to grant his request; upon which, the pope complied, and confirmed the order. From this time, Francis became famous throughout all Italy; and many persons of considerable rank forsook the world, and put themselves under his direction.

Thus the order of Franciscans spread itself over all Europe, and the fathers belonging to it were, for many years, esteemed the most celebrated preachers; for they went from one village to another instructing



the rude uncivilized people. They were so zealous, that many of them went among the Pagans to endeavour to convert them, and some were most cruelly put to death. The Roman Catholic legends concerning this extraordinary person, relate, that a little before his death, there appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like those of our Saviour's, and they kept continually bleeding, but after his death there was no such thing as either wounds, or blood. He was buried in a small oratory he had built at Rome, and his name was inserted in the calendar of saints.

After the death of St. Francis, the pope prescribed certain rules for the better regulation of the Grey friars, for they were held in great repute. They were allowed to preach in cities, towns, and villages; but they were to instruct rather by the gravity of their behaviour and meanness of their habit, than by the severity of sharp reproof. All their reproofs were to be general, without addressing themselves to particular persons; nor were they permitted, under the severest penalties, to reveal the confessions of penitents. They were not to seek after preferment, nor were they to preach in any church or chapel, unless invited thereto. At present, their orders and rules may be reduced to the following particulars:

They are to live in common, to observe chastity, and pay obedience to the pope and to their superiors. Those who are admitted into the order, are first to sell all they have, and give the money to the poor. They are obliged to perform one year's novitiate, and when admitted, never to quit the order upon any account.

The priests are to perform divine service four times every day, according to the ritual of the church of Rome, and they are to fast from All-Saints till Christmas; that is, they are not, during that time, to eat any flesh. They are never to ride on horseback, unless it should become absolutely necessary, such as the visiting a sick person, or to promote their own health. They are not to keep any money, but to live upon alms, which they may confidently beg. They are never to be seen in profane company, and they are to avoid all familiarity with women. Their habit consists of a loose coat of coarse cloth, a hood of the same, a cord for a girdle, and a pair of drawers; and when there is a necessity for mending them, it must be performed by sewing a piece of hair-cloth to the place torn.

The first monastery of this order, was at Monte Soubazo in Italy, and monasteries were confirmed by the council of Lateran, 1215. In a short time; they multiplied so fast, that in 1219, five thousand friars met at the convent of Assisium, as deputies from other convents.

The Franciscans came first into England, in the year 1256, and they had a convent built for them at Canterbury. They zealously opposed the divorce

between Henry VIII. and queen Catherine, for which reason, when the monasteries were suppressed, they were expelled before all others, and above two hundred of them, thrown into jails. Thirty-two of them were coupled in chains together like dogs, and sent into dungeons; many were banished, and some of them publicly executed. Whilst this order flourished in England, they were divided into seven parts, called Custodies; because each of them was governed by a provincial, called a Custos, or guardian of the district. These were London, York, Cambridge, Bristol, Oxford, Newcastle, and Worcester; making in the whole sixty monasteries.

The first establishment of these friars in London, was begun by four brothers, who hired a house in Cornhill, from John Travers, at that time sheriff of London. This building they converted into cells, where they lived till the summer following, when they were removed by John Jwyn, citizen and mayor of London, to the parish of St. Nicholas in the shambles, now called St. Nicholas in St. Nicholas-lane, where he built them a monastery, and entered himself a member of their order. There were lately above seven thousand convents of this order in Europe, and in them a hundred and fifteen thousand friars; and besides these, there were nine hundred convents of nuns, who lived by the same rules. —This order produced six popes, forty-six cardinals, besides a vast number of archbishops and bishops. The late pope Clement XIV. whose real name was Ganganelli, was of this order.

The Dominicans are the next order to that of the Franciscans, and they are generally known by the name of Black Friars, only that in France they are called Jacobins. St. Dominic, their founder, was born in the year 1170, at Calaruega, a small town in the kingdom of old Castile, now a part of Spain; while his mother was with child of him, she dreamed that she was delivered of a little dog, with a flambeau in his mouth, which was to give light to the world. At six years of age he was sent to learn Latin, under the direction of his uncle, who had a rich parish-living in Castile. His leisure time was spent in adorning the altars, and assisting the choiristers in all the divine offices. At thirteen years of age, he was sent to the university of Placentia, in the kingdom of Leon, where he spent six years in the study of philosophy and divinity. From that time he devoted himself to all manner of religious austerities; and he employed most of his time in the conversion of heathens and heretics. This raised his reputation so high, that the bishop of Osma, resolving to reform the canons of his church, pitched upon Dominic for that purpose, and invited him to take upon him the office of a canon in his cathedral.

In this new station, Dominic behaved with so

much prudence, and subjected himself to so many austerities, that the cautious, ashamed of their former conduct, resolved to imitate his example; so that a new reformation took place in the cathedral, and Dominic was made sub-prior of the chapter.

The bishop, however, thinking it in all respects inconsistent with the duty he owed to the church, that such a bright luminary as Dominic should be confined to a particular spot, sent him out to exercise the office of an evangelical preacher, in several of the provinces of Spain, where he converted many heretics; till in the year 1204, the bishop, being sent ambassador to Rome, took Dominic along with him.

During their journey through Languedoc, they found all the churches falling to decay, occasioned by the great regard the people had for the Albigenses; and, instead of going forward to Rome, they obtained letters from the pope to stay some time in that country, and labour to convert the heretics.—Here it was that Dominic resolved to put in execution the design he had formed of instituting a religious order, whose principal employ should be preaching the gospel, converting heretics, defending the faith, and propagating Christianity. He soon collected a great number of persons together, equally as zealous as himself, who all resolved to convert the heretics; which pleased the pope so much, that he granted a bull, approving of the institution.

The first monastery of this order was established at Toulouse, by the liberality of the bishops of that diocese; and from thence Dominic sent out missionaries to procure converts to his rules in every part of Europe. In the year 1218, he founded a convent in St. James's-street, in Paris, from which circumstance, they have ever since been called in France by the name of Jacobins. Within four years afterwards, there were upwards of forty convents of Dominicans in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. At Rome he obtained of pope Honorius III. the church of St. Sabina, where he and his companions took the habit which they pretended the blessed Virgin shewed to the holy Renaud of Orleans; being a white garment and scapular, to which they added a black mantle and hood, ending in a point. St. Dominic died at Bologna, 1221, and his order increased so fast, that they had many convents in every European nation.

The year that St. Dominic died, twelve of his followers came over to England, and founded a convent at Oxford, and soon after, another at London. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of London gave them two streets near the Thames, where they had a most magnificent monastery, but now there is no more left of it besides the name; the place where it stood being now called Black-

friars. Having received authority from the popes, they acted in the most haughty and insolent manner, insisting on preaching in every church, without leave either from the bishop or the incumbent.—This innovation in church discipline, brought on an universal dissoluteness of manners; for the people considering themselves as under no obligation to confess their sins to their parish priests, had recourse to the Dominicans, who knowing nothing of the penitents, consequently could not say whether they performed penance or not.

There were nuns of this order, who whilst he was labouring to convert the Albigenses, was much concerned to find, that several men of considerable rank, being unable to support their daughters, gave them to the heretics. To remedy this, which gave much offence to the clergy, Dominic erected a convent at Prowelle, where these poor maidens were to be instructed in the Christian faith. The habit of these nuns was a white robe, a tawny mantle, and a black veil. They were obliged to work several hours in the day, and to make all the clothes they wore; they lay on straw beds, and were subjected to many other austerities.

There have been of the order of Dominicans, four popes, sixty-three cardinals, one hundred and fifty archbishops, eight hundred bishops, besides the lords of the inquisition, of which we shall give an account afterwards.

Before we dismiss this article, it will be necessary to take notice, that the Dominicans assert, that the virgin Mary, like all other women, was born in original sin; and the Franciscans, on the other hand assert, that she was born in a state of innocence. This has been long contested between the two orders, and to what length they have carried their resentment against each other, will appear from the following extract from bishop Burnet's travels. That learned divine, in his account of the city of Bern in Switzerland, writes as follows:

"The second church is the Dominicans' chapel, where I saw the famous hole that led to an image in the church, from one of the cells of the Dominicans, which leads me to set down that story at some length: for as it was one of the most signal cheats that the world has known, so it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received at Bern, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people for that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the original process in the Latin record, signed by the notaries of the court of delegates, that the pope sent to try the matter. The record is about one hundred and thirty sheets writ close, and of all sides; it being indeed a

large volume, and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give a true abstract.

The two famous orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The Dominicans were the most learned—they were the most eminent preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the courts of inquisition, and the other chief officers in the church in their hands. But on the other hand, the Franciscans had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty; all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to balance the other honours of the Dominican order. In short the two orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the Franciscans upon this had great advantages. The Dominicans, that are all engaged in the defence of Thomas Aquinas's opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in original sin; this was proposed to the people by the Franciscans, as no less than blasphemy, and by this the Dominicans began to lose ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the immaculate conception.

About the beginning of the 15th century, a Franciscan happened to preach in Francfort, and one Wigand, a Dominican, coming into the church, the Cordelier seeing him, broke out into exclamations, praising God, that he was not of an order that profaned the Virgin, or that poisoned princes in the sacrament, (for a Dominican had poisoned the emperor Henry VII. with the sacrament) Wigand, being extremely provoked with this bloody reproach, gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the Dominican his life, yet he got away. The whole order resolved to take their revenge, and in a chapter held at Vimpsen, in the year 1504, they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the Franciscans. Four of the junto undertook to manage the design; for they said, since the people were so much disposed to believe dreams and fables, they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make Bern the scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of Bern at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe enquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their design, a fit tool presented itself, for one Jetzer came to take their habit as a lay brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project:

for he was extremely simple, and was much inclined to austurities; so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the habit, which was on Lady-day, 1607. One of the friars conveyed himself secretly into his cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in purgatory, in a strange figure, and he had a box near his mouth, upon which as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some dogs about him, that appeared as his tormentors; in this posture he came near the friar, while he was a-bed, and took up a celebrated story that they used to tell all their friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the order, who was superior of their house at Soloturn, had gone to Paris, but laying aside his habit, was killed in his lay habit. The friar in the vizor said he was that person, and was condemned to purgatory for that crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his means; and he seconded this with the most horrible cries, expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor friar (Jetzer) was excessively frightened, the other advanced and required a promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The friar promised all that he asked of him; then the other said, he knew he was a great saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinary. The whole monastery must for a week together discipline themselves with a whip, and he must lie prostrate, in the form of one on a cross in one of their chapels, while mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects of the love that the blessed Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things: and said he would appear again accompanied with two other spirits, and assured him, that all he did suffer for his deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come, than the friar gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who seemed extremely surprised at it; they all pressed him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined to him, and every one undertook to bear his share; so the deluded friar performed it all exactly, in one of the chapels of their church: this drew a vast number of spectators together, who all considered the friar as a saint, and in the mean while the four friars that managed the imposture magnified the miracle of the apparition to the skies, in their sermons. The friar's confessor was upon the secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor friar's life, even to his thoughts: which helped them not a little in the conduct of the matter. The confessor gave him a host, with a piece of wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the cross, and by these



he was to fortify himself, if any other apparitions should come to him, since evil spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The night after that, the former apparition was renewed; and the masked friar brought two others with him, in such vizors, that the friar thought they were devils indeed. The friar presented the host to them, which gave them such a check, that he was fully satisfied of the virtue of this preservative.

The friar, that pretended he was suffering in purgatory, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his life, and thoughts, which he had from the confessor; that the poor friar was fully possessed in the opinion of the reality of the apparition. In two of these apparitions that were both managed in the same manner, the friar in the mask talked much of the Dominican order, which he said was extremely dear to the blessed Virgin, who knew herself to be conceived in original sin; and that the doctors who taught the contrary, were in purgatory: That the story of St. Bernard's appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the conception, was a forgery: but that it was true that some hideous flies had appeared on St. Bonaventure's tomb who taught the contrary, that the blessed Virgin abhorred the Cordeliers for making her equal to her Son; that Scotus was damned, whose canonization the Cordeliers were then soliciting hard at Rome; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed, for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the spirit appeared again, and said he was now delivered out of purgatory, but before he could be admitted to heaven he must receive the sacrament, having died without it; and after that, he would say mass for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The friar fancied the voice resembled the prior's a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this, the same friar appeared as a nun all in glory, and told the poor friar that she was St. Barbara, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added that the blessed Virgin was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: he immediately called the convent together, and gave the rest of the friars an account of this apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy, and the friar languished in desires for the accomplishment of the promise that St. Barbara had made to him. After some days, the longed-for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the Virgin used to be on the great feasts, and indeed in the same habits; there were about her some angels which he afterwards found, were the little statues of angels, which they set on the altars, on the great holy days. There was also a pulley fastened in the room over his head, and a cord tied

to the angels, that made them rise up in the air, and fly about the Virgin, which increased the delusion. The Virgin after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him that she was conceived in original sin, and that pope Julius II. that then reigned, was to put an end to the dispute and was to abolish the feast of her conception, which Sixtus IV. had instituted, and that the friar was to be the instrument of persuading the pope of the truth in that matter: she gave him three drops of her Son's blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over Jerusalem, and this signified that she was three hours in original sin, after which she was by his mercy, delivered out of that state: For it seems the Dominicans were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her conception in sin, yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the Virgin, with which the world was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that state. She gave him also five drops of blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented a host to him, that appeared as an ordinary host, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused friar, at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Son's love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five wounds of St. Catherine were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bade him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much: but she forced his hand and struck a nail through it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the candle clearly through it, this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an ointment with which she anointed it, though his confessor persuaded him that that was only imagination, so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the apparition returned, and brought some linen clothes, which had some real or imaginary virtue to allay his torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the linen in which Christ was wrapped; and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the friars betook themselves to charms, and the sub-prior shewed the rest a book full of them, but he said that before they could be effectual they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing, signed with his own blood, he dedicated himself to the devil; it is true, he did not oblige the

rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the draught was a mixture of some fountain water and chrisin, the hairs of the eyebrows of a child, some quicksilver, some grains of incense, somewhat of an Easter wax candle, some consecrated salt, and the blood of an unbaptized child. This composition was a secret, which the sub-prior did not communicate to the other friars. By this the poor friar Jetzer was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's passion: he was exposed to the people on the great altar, to the amazement of the whole town, and to the no small mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts that threw him into convulsions, and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the cells, along a great part of the wall of the church: for a friar spoke through a pipe, and at the end of the hole there was an image of the Virgin's, with a little Jesus in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come; the image also seemed to shed tears, and a painter had drawn those on her face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little Jesus asked why she wept, and she said it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin; in conclusion the friars did so over-act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded friar himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude him with more apparitions, for he well nigh killed a friar that came to him personating the Virgin in another shape, with a crown on her head; he also overheard the friars once talking among themselves of the contrivance and success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole matter: and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horrors with which such a discovery could inspire him.

The friars fearing that an imposture which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief person of the order, and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the imposture: but at last, they fearing least he should discover all, resolved to poison him; of which he was so apprehensive, that once a loaf being brought him, that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time, and it then growing green, he threw it to some young wolves' whelps that were in

the monastery, who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous, that though they gave him poison five several times he was not destroyed by it; they also pressed him earnestly to renounce God, which they judged necessary, that so their charms might have their effect on him; but he would never consent to that; at last they forced him to take a poisoned host, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down; that failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an iron chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further torment, he swore to them, in a most imprecating style, that he would never discover the secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he discovered all.

The four friars were seized on, and put in prison, and an account of the whole matter was sent, first to the bishop of Lausanne, and then to Rome; and it may be easily imagined, that the Franciscans took all possible care to have it well examined: the bishops of Lausanne, and of Syon, with the provincial of the Dominicans, were appointed to form the process. The four friars first excepted to Jetzer's credit; but that was rejected, then being threatened with the question, they put in a long plea against it; but though the provincial would not consent to that, yet they were put to the question: some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the whole progress of the imposture. The provincial appeared concerned; for though Jetzer had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no credit to it; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the friars said plainly, that he was in the whole secret, and so he withdrew; but he died some time after at Constance, having poisoned himself, as was believed. The matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that, a Spanish bishop came, authorized with full powers from Rome, and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and eight days after it being the last of May 1509, they were burnt in a meadow on the other side of the river, over against the great church: the place of their execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall, through which the voice was conveyed unto the image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on cheat that has been ever known, and no doubt had the poor friar died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity, as one of the greatest miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion that many of the other miracles of that church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished."

The Recollects were so called, from being a reformed branch of the Franciscans, and supposed to be endowed with a spirit of recollection, by which they were enabled to restore the order of St. Francis to its original state of purity. This order is not of great antiquity, for it was not introduced into France till the year 1592, when Lewis duke of Nevers, built a convent for them, and obtained a bull from the pope, to make the society a free body of monks, without being any way dependant on the original order from whence they sprung. Soon after this, they spread themselves throughout several parts of Europe, and became so numerous, that they split into different parties, till at last, in 1612, the pope interfered, and rejoined them again by the name of St. Dennis.

Henry IV. of France, greatly favoured this order, and permitted them to settle in any part of his dominions they thought proper. His successors were no less favourable to them, and always granted them their protection. Lewis XIV. built them a convent at Versailles, and furnished them with sacred vessels, and all things necessary for the ornamenting their church. This religious order was in such high reputation in France, that when Lewis XIV. invaded Holland 1674, he sent for twenty of these monks, and ordered them to administer the sacrament to his officers and soldiers; and ever since that time, the chaplains to the French regiments, were chosen from among them. These Recollects were so zealous in propagating the popish religion, that in 1615, they sent missionaries to Canada, who had very good success; and soon after, they sent a new mission to the island of Madagascar, but they were very unfortunate, for having been attacked by an Algerine corsair, their ship was blown up, and all on board perished.

At present this order is not so numerous as it was formerly, but it is as respectable as any in the church of Rome; for the monks never meddle with politics, or any thing of a civil nature, but confine themselves wholly to the duties of their office.

The order of St. Saviour, was first instituted by St. Bridget in the year 1344, and it was so called, because Bridget pretended that Christ conversed with her, and in the most familiar manner, prescribed the rules to be observed by her nuns. This St. Bridget was a Spaniard by birth, and in her youth married a nobleman in that kingdom, but he dying young, she forsook the world, and betook herself to a religious life. Having spent some years in a convent, without taking the vows, she resolved to found an order in honour of the blessed Virgin, principally for pious women who chose to retire from the world, nor was the other sex excluded, there being some monks allowed among them.

They are at present very numerous in France,

Spain, and Italy, and in each convent of nuns, there are sixty sisters besides the abbess; and in the monasteries for the monks, there are twelve brothers and the prior. These thirteen in number, represent the twelve apostles, together with St. Paul, whom they call the thirteenth. They have likewise in each of their convents four deacons, in memory of the four great doctors of the church, viz St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome. The nuns are not to be admitted till they are eighteen years of age, nor the monks till they are twenty-five, and both are obliged to perform a noviciate of one year.

When a nun is to be admitted into this order, she is led into the church, preceded by a red banner, on one side of which is painted a crucifix, and on the other, the image of the blessed Virgin.

The bishop of the diocese, who is always present on these occasions, consecrates a ring, which he puts upon the finger of the noviciate, and then proceeds to the celebration of mass. She then approaches the altar barefooted, and putting off her upper garment, receives from the hands of the bishop, the habit of the order; at which time a crown is put upon her head. Mass being ended, four nuns carry her on a bier into the monastery, and the bishop follows, who delivers her to the abbess; and during the next eight days she is not obliged to attend to any rule whatever, being left wholly to her own discretion. After these eight days are expired, she must enter upon the rules of the order, and then she takes her place among the rest of the sisters. The monks are admitted into the order, by the bishop's laying his hand on their heads, and marking them with the sign of the cross.

The monks and nuns have one church in common between them, in which are thirteen altars, in memory of the twelve apostles and St. Paul. The choir for the nuns is above, and that for the monks below; and they are obliged to fast three days in a week. The nuns are allowed two coarse woollen shifts, a grey woollen robe, a cowl of the same, and a mantle made fast with a wooden button. They wear a veil of black cloth, on the top of which is a crown of fine linen, with five red marks upon it, resembling so many drops of blood. The friars have two coarse woollen shirts, a grey woollen robe, a cowl and mantle of the same; and on the left side of the mantle, they wear a red cross, in the memory of our Saviour's passion. The deacons wear a white circle, to represent the wisdom of the fathers of the church; and the lay brothers a white cross, to betoken innocence. Every Thursday, the abbess holds a chapter, to enquire into the conduct of the nuns, and to punish such as have shewed any signs of disobedience; and in this particular, she acts under the direction of the bishop, who is considered as the spiritual father of the convent.



There is one thing remarkable in this order, that a grave is kept continually open, to which the abbess and nuns go in procession every day, and after repeating some prayers, each throws a little earth into it. In England, there was only one house of this order, on the banks of the Thames, known by the name of Zion. At the dissolution of the monasteries, it was given to the duke of Somerset; but now, in consequence of a variety of intermarriages, it is the property of his grace the duke of Northumberland.

The Templars, or Knights Templars, were once of great esteem in Europe, and by their rules, they were partly religious, and partly military. The following is the historical account of their institution:—In the year 1113, some religious gentlemen put themselves under the government of the patriarch of Jerusalem, renounced all connection with landed property, and lived in the same manner as regular canons. At first, they were very few in number, and having no church nor place to reside in, king Baldwyn gave them an apartment adjoining to his palace, with the use of a church dedicated to our Saviour. At the same time they received several other emoluments, and they bound themselves by oath, to spend the greatest part of their time in guarding the roads leading to Jerusalem, and protecting innocent travellers. Their number soon increased, and they were erected into a corporate body or order, by pope Honorius II. in the year 1127. In the year 1147, a new reform took place in the order, and pope Eugenius III. ordered them to wear red crosses upon their cloaks, as a mark of distinction; and in a short time, their numbers and revenues increased so fast, that in many respects, they were much richer than some of the sovereign princes of Europe, which circumstance proved fatal to them.

This order of knights after having done many fine actions against the infidels, and having acquired great riches all over Europe, gave themselves up to all manner of extravagancies, and committed crimes too shocking to be mentioned. For these crimes two of them were apprehended, and being put to the rack, accused the whole order as being equally guilty with themselves. This happened in France in 1307, and Philip, king of that country, having written to the pope, it was agreed, that the order should be suppressed; accordingly all their estates in France were seized on, and the whole order banished out of the kingdom.

In the most candid manner we would chuse to draw a veil over all those actions with which we find our fellow-creatures have been accused, and therefore, trusting that these men were not so guilty as they have been represented, we shall relate the evidence presented against them, and when we con-

sider the circumstances of the times, the force of arbitrary power, joined to the character of the witnesses, with the passions of princes, who longed to enjoy their estates, there will remain some reason to believe that they have been grossly injured.

The witnesses, who were some of their own order, swore that they were guilty of the following crimes. First, that when the knights entered into this order, they renounced Christ, and spit upon the cross by way of contempt. Secondly, that instead of kissing the mouths of those who were received into their order, they kissed their backsides. Thirdly, that sodomy was a common practice among them.—Lastly, they worshipped a wooden head, and committed several other crimes, which in a work of this nature, we do not chuse to mention.

Many of the knights who had been apprehended upon these informations were put to the torture, and during the agony of that dreadful punishment, confessed all the crimes alledged against them, upon which they were banished, and all their estates, without exception, confiscated. To extort confessions by torture, is most abominable, for through the agony of pain, a man may be led to declare himself guilty of crimes he never committed, so that little regard should be paid to any confessions obtained in such a manner.

The pope and the French king having agreed to wreak all their vengeance upon the order, commissioners were appointed to meet at Paris, 1309, to hear the further depositions of witnesses, with the defences set up by those who had been accused. A vast number of these Templars were brought before this tribunal, of whom seventy-nine persisted in maintaining the innocence of their order. At the same time, fifty-nine, who had been put to the torture, retracted their former confessions, for which they were delivered over to the secular power, and burnt alive without the gate of St. Anthony, in the month of March, 1310. Such was the end of this celebrated order, and when we consider all the circumstances, we are naturally led to believe, that had the Templars not been possessed of considerable estates, they would never have become obnoxious to the civil power. It is not reasonable to suppose, that a whole body of men scattered up and down through the world, should all at once engage in the commission of crimes which are a disgrace to human nature. Disorders, indeed, may have happened among them, but it is invidious to charge the crimes of a few individuals upon the whole body of a people whose only fault was their riches.

Another order in the church of Rome, consisting wholly of nuns, is called the order of nuns of the word *ingarnate*. They are of a very late date, for they were not founded till the year 1625, when Joanna Maria, a devout lady, residing somewhere

near Lyons, in France, secluded herself from the world, and founded a convent, which at first consisted of no more than six young women. The design of this order was to celebrate the glories of the divine word, and in 1633, pope Urban granted his bull to establish it. The nuns of this order wear a white gown, with a red mantle, and on their breasts a crown of thorns, wrought in blue silk, with the name of Jesus upon it. Some time ago, they were accused of many irregularities, which brought the order under some censure, but they vindicated themselves from all the imputations alledged against them. They have lately had many flourishing convents in France, and some of the daughters of the nobility have been brought up amongst them.

Another order of nuns is called *Urbanists*, because they followed the rule of St. Clare, which was reformed by pope Urban IV. Their foundress was Saint Isabel of France, who built and endowed the convent of Long Champs, near Paris. This lady was daughter of Lewis VIII. of France, and was born in the year 1225. She passed her whole life in acts of austerity and mortification, having refused advantageous offers of marriage from the emperor Frederick II. Her brother, St. Lewis, having been taken prisoner by the Saracens, and her mother dying soon afterwards, she determined to quit the world, and devote herself to a religious life. Having sold her whole estate, she resolved to build a convent, and while the edifice was erecting, she employed some doctors to draw up rules for her order. At first, twenty young women were admitted into the convent, but these finding the rules too austere for them to comply with, petitioned the pope to grant them some indulgence, which was complied with.— Their habit was plain and simple, consisting of a white cloth gown, a cap of the same, with a hood, on which was marked the form of a crucifix.

The *Theatines* were another order in the Romish church. They are but of a latter date, for the foundation did not take place till the year 1524. They were extremely numerous, and during the 16th century, they sent many missionaries to convert the heathens, but little success attended their ministrations. Their forward zeal, without the least pretension to knowledge, led them into many excesses, and the consequence was, that they were but little regarded. They soon dwindled into nothing, being despised by Protestants, and discarded by Roman Catholics.

*Trinitarians*, or the order of the redemption of captives, were a religious order in France, Italy, Spain, and other countries.

This order began in the year 1198, under the pontificate of Innocent III. Its founders were, John de Matho, and Felix de Valois. John de Matho was

born of noble parents in Provence, and took his degree of doctor in the university of Paris. Felix de Valois, so called from the country of Valois, lived as a hermit in a wood, in the diocese of Meaux.— John de Matho, having had a vision of an angel presenting two captives to him, and thereupon resolving to devote himself to a religious life, joined himself with Felix de Valois; and these two saints lived together in the practice of virtue and all manner of austerities. One day, the story says, they observed a large white stag, who brought into the middle of the wood a red and blue cross. This wonderful sight, added to John de Matho's vision, made them conclude, that God required something in particular of them; and soon after an angel, in a dream, ordered them to go to Rome, where the pope would inform them what they must do. Innocent III. received them with great humanity, and, being convinced of their sanctity, gave them permission to establish a new order, whose principal end should be to labour for the deliverance of captives, who groaned under the tyranny of the infidels. The same pope gave them a habit, which was a white gown ornamented with a red and blue cross, in memory of the apparition of the stag; and gave this new order the title of the Holy Trinity.

John de Matho and Felix de Valois being returned into France, king Phillip Augustus consented to the establishment of their order in that kingdom. Accordingly a convent was built in the place where they had the vision of the stag, and was from thence called *Cerfroy*. This monastery was endowed by Margaret countess of Burgundy, for the maintenance of twenty religious persons. John de Matho, seeing his order established, sent John Anglicus and William Scot, two Englishmen, to Morocco in Africa, to treat with Miramolin for the redemption of poor Christian captives. This negotiation succeeded so well, that in the year 1200, they redeemed one hundred and eighty-six slaves. The same year they had a convent given them in the territory of Houscott in Flanders, and another at Arles in Provence. Afterward John de Matho took a journey into Spain, where he prevailed upon the kings and princes of that country to make several settlements for the redemption of Christian captives. In the mean time, Felix de Valois gained an establishment at Paris, in a place where was a chapel dedicated to St. Mathurin; from whence this order had the name of *Mathurins*.

After the death of the two holy founders, pope Honorius III. confirmed the order, and their rule was approved by his successor Clement IV. in 1267. At first they were not permitted to eat any flesh meat, and when they travelled, they were to ride only upon asses. But this rule was corrected and

mitigated by the bishop of Paris and the abbots of St. Victor and St. Genevieve: and they were allowed to eat meat, and to use horses.

This order possessed about two hundred and fifty convents, divided into thirteen provinces: six of these were in France; namely, Paris, Normandy, Picardy, Campagne, Languedoc, and Provence: three were in Spain; namely New Castile, Old Castile, and Arragon: one was in Italy and one in Portugal. There was formerly the province of England, where this order had forty-three houses; that of Scotland, where it had nine: and that of Ireland, where it had fifty-two; besides a great number of monasteries in Saxony, Hungary, Bohemia, and other countries. The convent of Cerfroy, in France, was head of the order.

In 1573, a reform of this order was begun by Julian de Nantonville and Claud Aleph, two hermits of St. Michael, who obtained leave of the pope to take the habit of the Trinity; whereupon their hermitage was converted into a house of the order. The principal articles of the reform were, that they should observe the primitive rule approved by Clement IV. should abstain from flesh, use woollen shirts, and have matins at night. This reform was not embraced by the whole order, till 1635, when cardinal Rochefoucault, by order of pope Urban VIII. introduced it into all the houses of the Trinitarians. Those of Spain, in 1594, added to the reform the going barefooted: for which reason, in that country, they began to be called barefooted Trinitarians. There were also barefooted Trinitarians in France, established by F. Jerom Hallies.

There are nuns of the Trinitarian order in Spain, established by John de Matho himself, who built them a convent in 1201, under the direction of the infanta Constantia, daughter of Peter II. king of Arragon; who was the first religious, and the first superior of the order. And in 1612, Frances de Romero, daughter of Julian de Romero, lieutenant-general of the Spanish army, founded a convent of barefooted Trinitarian nuns at Madrid.

In the year 1647, Madam Polailon, a French lady, established an order of nuns, called the Nuns of Providence. They were a society of young women, whose parents died in their infancy, and left them exposed to all the hardships that could be imagined. To preserve them, therefore, from misery, and to instruct them in the way to everlasting happiness, this pious lady formed the plan of the institution, but was much opposed in her design by some self-interested persons, who represented to her, that her fortune was not sufficient to carry on her scheme. To these she replied, that Providence should be her fund; and accordingly having succeeded in her undertaking, she gave them the name of the Nuns of Providence.

In 1651, Anne of Austria, mother of Lewis XIV. gave them a large house in one of the suburbs of Paris, after which they increased extremely fast, many worthy persons having sent considerable sums of money to assist the pious foundress to carry her benevolent scheme into execution. The archbishop of Paris established another society, on the same plan; and such was the good sense of the French nation at that time, that not only the bishops in the provinces, but also the nobility, gentry, and citizens, followed the pious example of Madam Polailon.

Young women were admitted into this order at the age of twenty, and made two vows, one of chastity, and the other of obedience; young women who did not chuse to enter into this community, were entertained as boarders, and educated in the same manner as our daughters are at boarding-schools in England. They likewise educated, gratis, all the young girls belonging to the poor in the neighbourhood, if their age did not exceed ten years.

The archbishop of Paris appointed a lady to preside over the whole order; but the sisters were permitted to elect a deputy from among themselves, and she was changed once in three years. They had likewise two ladies of piety, virtue, and benevolence, whom the archbishop presented to them, and these acted as stewards to the hospital; the same care being taken of the other houses of the same order, throughout the kingdom. They wore a black habit, and their rules were mild, rational, and pious: not incumbered with those severities and absurdities that were to be met with in many of the orders of the church of Rome. It would be no small honour to Protestants, were they to adopt a plan of a similar nature; so as not to bind the young women down to continual celibacy, but to suffer them to marry at what age they thought proper. It would save many young women from destruction; it would promote piety and virtue, and the afflicted parent would, on his death-bed, have the pleasure to reflect, that although he had not been able to make any provision for his daughter, yet she would not be left destitute, nor exposed to hardships, misery, and vice.

Premonstratenses, a very celebrated order in the church of Rome, were founded in the year 1119, by one St. Norbert, the son of a French nobleman, and who had lived some years in the court of the emperor: About thirty years of age he entered into deacon's orders, and having a large estate, he sold the whole, and gave one half to the poor, reserving the other half to build a convent for monks of a new order. Accordingly he fixed upon a place called Premonstratum, in Picardy, where he built a church with cloisters, and received a charter of privileges from the king of France.

At first, the brethren of this order were so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, ex-



cept an ass, which served them to carry wood for fuel; and some of the wood they were obliged to sell in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that within thirty years after the order was first founded, they had not less than one hundred abbeys in France and Germany. The popes and kings of France granted them many privileges, and besides a great number of saints which this order has produced, many princes, noblemen, and archbishops have been educated among them. In latter times, they continued to increase so fast, that they had upwards of five thousand convents in Europe, but at present, in consequence of the Reformation, they are greatly diminished. These monks, who were vulgarly called white canons, came over to England in 1146, and had a house founded for their reception in Lincolnshire. At the Reformation they had increased so fast, that they had twenty-seven houses in England, besides several in Scotland and Ireland.

In the beginning of the 16th century there was an order of nuns established at Rome, called Philip-pines, because they put themselves under the protection of St. Philip de Neri. They consisted of one hundred poor girls, who were taken in their infancy into the convent, and educated till they were upwards of twenty, when they had their choice either to enter into the marriage state, or become nuns on the foundation. If they married they were allowed a sum of money, with several religious books, and once every year they attended divine service in the convent.

Those who took the habit of nuns, were under the direction of several religious women, who lived with them rather as mothers than superiors. This establishment rose from a very small beginning, but was attended with many beneficial consequences.

One Rutillo Bandi, a very pious man, was the first in Rome who took it into his thoughts to protect poor girls, who were in danger of being ruined, through the poverty and misery of their parents. For this purpose, he made choice at first of a few helpless orphans, whom he placed under the direction of some pious women, and pope Urban VIII. approving of the institution, granted a bull in their favour, in which it was ordered, that the Augustine nuns should, at all times, take care that they observed the rules laid down for their conduct. They lived in a decent frugal manner, not subjected to any of those austerities, which too much disgrace some of the Romish orders. Their dress was black, with a white linen veil, and on their breasts they wore a cross.

Low and mean as this order may appear, in comparison with many others, yet every person of good sense will readily acknowledge that it must be of great service in a city like Rome, where young women are exposed to many dangers from the continual

resort of foreigners from all parts of Europe. Every thing done to serve the afflicted, is at all times praiseworthy; but the preventing youth from becoming pests to society, is far superior to any thing that can be mentioned. To cure the diseased is charitable; but to prevent diseases from taking place, is god-like. And happy would it be for all those who shake off the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, if they would, at the same time, retain what is commendable and laudable, whether among Papists, Turks, Jews, or Heathens.

But of all the orders in the church of Rome, none ever equalled the Jesuits. Their founder was Inigo or Ignatius Loyola, who was born in 1491, in the province of Guipuscoa in Spain, and bred up in the court of Ferdinand, king of Spain. In his youth, he discovered a martial disposition, and signalized himself in the siege of Pampelona, where he was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. During his confinement and illness, he read some books of piety, which occasioned his first resolution of devoting himself wholly to God, and as soon as he was cured, he undertook a pilgrimage to our lady of Montserrat in Catalonia, where he dedicated himself to the virgin, and took a resolution to travel to Jerusalem. He arrived at Jerusalem, September 4, 1523, where he visited the holy places, and performed all the pious exercises of a pilgrim, and returning to Spain, he began to study grammar at Barcelona, and afterwards went through his courses of philosophy and divinity at Alcalá. Ignatius had then four companions, who were all clothed like himself in a brown woollen habit, and applied themselves to the same exercises. His fame increasing, the number of those who came to hear his instructions, increased likewise. This giving umbrage to the inquisitors of the city of Alcalá, he was taken up and imprisoned, by order of the grand vicar; but was soon released, with an injunction to go clothed like the other scholars, and to abstain from talking to the people concerning religion, till he had studied four years in divinity. Upon this he retired to Salamanca, where he continued to discourse both in public and private, upon moral subjects. Here he was again imprisoned, upon an information of the Dominicans against him, but being released, he resolved to quit Spain, and go to Paris, with a firm resolution to apply himself closely to study in that city.

Ignatius Loyola came to Paris in February 1528; but his extreme poverty forced him to have recourse to the charity of the French, and of foreigners; by which means he was enabled to prosecute his studies. His zeal drew troubles upon him at Paris likewise, for he was accused to the inquisitor, of attempting to preach, and overturning the discipline of St. Barbara's college, where he studied. But he got over this difficulty; and having gone through his courses of

philosophy and divinity, he formed a little society of ten men, who engaged in a vow along with him. They professed to renounce the good things of this world, to live in poverty and to preach the gospel to infidels. In 1535, Ignatius falling sick, was advised by his physician to breathe his native air; and having staid some time in Spain, he embarked for Venice, which was the appointed rendezvous of his companions. Here they met in the habit of pilgrims, intending to travel to Jerusalem; but a war breaking out between the Turks and Venetians, they could not find an opportunity of going into the Levant. Here Ignatius, and two more, were deputed to go to Rome, to offer their service to the pope. Upon the road, Ignatius, they say, had a vision, in which he saw Jesus bearing his cross, who said to him, "I will be favourable to thee at Rome." His other companions quickly joined him in that city, where they continued their usual exercises of instructing and preaching; and there it was Ignatius formed the design of founding a new order. After many deliberations, it was agreed, to add to the three ordinary vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; a fourth, which was to go into all countries, christian or infidel, whither the pope should please to send them; and in consequence of this last vow, Xavier, one of Ignatius's companions, was sent into the Indies to preach the gospel. In 1540, pope Paul III. gave them a bull by which he approved this new order, which he desired to be called, the society of Jesus; giving them a power to make statutes, as they should judge convenient; and Ignatius was created general of the order; which in a short time spread over all the countries of the world, whither Ignatius sent his companions, whilst he staid at Rome, from whence he governed the whole society. He kept his post of general to his death, which happened July 31, 1555.

The Jésuits assume neither the name, quality, nor way of living of monks. They call themselves an order of priests, and differ in nothing from other churchmen, in their habit or manner of life. The end of their institution is the salvation of souls: they preach, instruct youth, read lectures, and dispute and write against heretics. They recite no regular office in the choir, and the entire society is composed of four sorts of members; novices, scholars, spiritual and temporal coadjutors, and professed members. The novices continue so two years; after which they are admitted to make three simple vows in the presence of their superiors; and the scholars add some spiritual exercises to their studies. The spiritual coadjutors assist the professed members, and perform the same functions. The temporal coadjutors make the simple vows, and take care of the temporal affairs of the society. The professed members make four solemn vows. They have con-

vents for the professed members and their coadjutors, colleges for scholars, and houses of probation for novices. They are governed by a general, who has four assistants, and appoints rectors, superiors of houses, provincials, visitors, and commissaries.

It is surprizing how much this order increased in a short time. In 1543, the Jésuits were in all but eighty: in 1545, they had ten houses: in 1549, they had two provinces, one in Spain, and the other in Portugal. In 1555, when Ignatius died, they had twelve provinces: in 1608, they had twenty-nine provinces, two vice-provinces, twenty-one professed houses, two hundred and ninety-three colleges, thirty-three houses of probation, and ten thousand five hundred and eighty-one Jésuits. In the catalogue printed at Rome in 1709, they reckon thirty-five provinces, thirty-three professed houses, five hundred and seventy-eight colleges, forty-eight houses of probation, eighty-eight seminaries, one hundred and six missions, and in all, seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-five Jésuits.

But notwithstanding this vast increase of the order, the Jésuits met with considerable opposition at their first establishment, in several places. At Saragosa in Spain, the populace rising upon them, they were obliged to quit the town; to which, however, they returned soon after. But the greatest opposition met with was in France. St. Ignatius having recommended the Jésuits of France to the cardinal of Lorraine, that cardinal procured them letters patent from king Henry II. in 1550, approving their establishment in France. But this was opposed by the parliament of Paris, which refused to register the king's letter. At the same time the faculty of divinity of Paris made a famous declaration against the Jésuits, in which they set forth, that, "this society, which arrogated to itself the appellation of Jesus, was a great prejudice to the regular clergy and ordinaries, and the privileges of the university; that they seemed to them to violate the honour of the monastic life, and to enervate the pious practice of abstinences, ceremonies, and austerities; that they disturbed both the ecclesiastical and temporal polity, and occasioned dissensions and complaints among the people." After this declaration, the Jésuits desisted from all further attempts towards an establishment, during the reign of Henry II. In 1560, under Francis II. the parliament and bishops consented to their establishment in France, under these restrictions: "That they should not exercise episcopal jurisdiction, nor preach without consent of the bishop, nor administer any of the sacraments without express leave of the parish priest; that they should not read or interpret the holy scriptures, in public or private, without the approbation of the faculties of divinity, and the universities; that they should not receive



into their society any professed religious of other orders; that they should make no new constitutions, nor alter those already made; and that they should assume another name than that of Jesus or Jesuits." The society, being received in France upon these conditions, opened their college at Clermont, and began publicly to teach and read lectures; but this was vigorously opposed by the university of Paris, and the Jesuits were silenced by order of the court. Afterwards both parties were ordered to lay the merits of their cause before the king's council, who upon hearing the matter, permitted the Jesuits to continue their lectures.

In 1594, when Henry IV. made his entrance into Paris, the university thought this a favourable opportunity, and presented a petition to the parliament, desiring that the Jesuits might be banished. This, together with John Chastel's attempt upon the king's person, procured a decree of banishment against them, and they were accordingly expelled the kingdom in 1594. But in 1603, that prince, at their earnest solicitation, gave them letters of re-establishment in certain cities in France, and no others. But they soon obtained leave to make other settlements, and at last got into Paris again, and were re-settled in their college by letters patent in the year 1606.

The order of Jesuits has rendered itself very considerable by its missions into the Indies, and by its other employments relating to the sciences and the education of youth. With respect to the latter, it is commonly thought, that the sagacity of these fathers, in discovering the talent of a young student, has not a little contributed to the figure their order has made in the world. The story of Clavius is very well known; he was entered in a college of Jesuits, and after having been tried at several parts of learning, he was upon the point of being dismissed as a hopeless blockhead, when one of the fathers took it into his head, to make an essay of his parts in geometry, which hit his genius so luckily, that he afterwards became one of the greatest mathematicians of the age.

Many authors have written of the intrigues and politics of the Jesuits; but nothing so fully discovers them, as a little book, called, "The secret instructions of the Jesuits." It consists of private admonitions or instructions, for promoting the private interests of the order; which are lodged in the hands of the superiors, and by them communicated only to a few of the professors, under the strictest ties of secrecy. It is a master-piece of religious policy, consisting of seventeen chapters, of which we shall give a brief account:

The title of the first chapter is, "How the society behave themselves, when they begin any new foundation." Upon this occasion, they are to dis-

tinguish themselves by the excess of their charity and humility, in discharging the meanest offices in the hospitals, and in visiting the poor, the sick, and the prisoners. They are to excite the liberality of well-disposed persons, by receiving the most inconsiderable alms, and bestowing them on other objects. They are all to breathe the same spirit, and to observe the same exterior behaviour; and at their first settlement, they are to be cautious of purchasing lands, and if they do buy any, it is to be done in the name of some faithful and trusty friend. And to give a more colourable gloss to their appearance of poverty, the purchases, adjacent to the places where colleges are founded, must be assigned to colleges at a distance; by which means princes and magistrates will never attain to a certain knowledge of what the revenues of the society amount to. Colleges are to be founded only in opulent cities, because our Saviour made his principal residence in the metropolis of Judea. In every province, none but the principal is to be apprized of the real value of the society's revenues; and what is contained in the treasury at Rome must always be kept as an inviolable secret. They are publicly to profess their disinterestedness, and that they undertake the instruction of youth, without respect of persons, or view of reward.

The second chapter instructs them, "How they must deport themselves, so as to gain and preserve a familiarity with princes, noblemen, and persons of the greatest distinction." For this purpose, they are to wink at their vices; if a prince is inclined to contract a marriage with one of his near relations or kindred, they are to encourage him in it, by giving him hopes of obtaining for him a dispensation from the pope: if he engages in any enterprize, which is not equally approved by all his nobility, the Jesuits are to excite him to proceed, and dissuade his courtiers from opposing him. They are to ingratiate themselves, by the interest of others, into honourable embassies to foreign courts; which may give them an opportunity of recommending themselves and their society. They are to curry favour, by small presents and many offices of piety, with the minions and domestics of princes and noblemen, in order to get intelligence of the bent of their masters' humours and inclinations. The same address and artifices are to be used with the bed-chamber women of princesses and ladies of quality. In directing the consciences of great men, they are to follow the opinion of those, who allow the greatest latitude, in opposition to that of other religious orders. They are to instil into the people, a notion that this society has a far greater power of absolving, dispensing, and the like, than other orders; and they are to invite persons to hear their sermons, theses, and declamations. They are to use proper methods to get at the knowledge of



the animosities that arise among great men, that they may have a figure in reconciling their differences.

In the third chapter, they are taught "how to behave towards those who are at the helm of affairs, and such as are in a capacity of being serviceable to the society." The authority, wisdom, and advice of such persons, are to be courted, and their favour solicited against all who oppose the society. Bishops, prelates, and other superior ecclesiastics, are to be importuned only for such things as shall appear necessary. In places where the clergy are most predominant, as in Germany, Poland, &c. they must be addressed with the profoundest respect, that, by their influence and the prince's authority, monasteries, priories, and other religious places, may be drawn into the clutches of the society. When bishops or princes found colleges or parochial churches, the Jesuits are to endeavour by all means to obtain the government of them. They are upon all occasions highly to caress and court the bishops, and to entertain them when they pass by their colleges.

The fourth chapter contains, "The chief things to be recommended to preachers and confessors of noblemen." In directing princes and great men, they must seem to have nothing else in view but the promotion of God's glory. They must often inculcate into them, that honours and preferments should always be conferred according to the rules of justice: they must solemnly protest, that public affairs are, what they with reluctance interfere in, and that the duty of their office often obliges them to speak such truths as they would otherwise omit: they must recommend to their favor, for public employments, such persons as are sincere friends to the order. They are to soothe princes, and never to give them the least offence in their sermons, or private conversations. They are seldom or never to accept of small presents for their own use, but rather to recommend the necessities of the province or college. At home, they are to be content with chambers plainly furnished, and to appear abroad in a modest and decent garb.

The fifth chapter teaches them, "What kind of conduct is to be observed towards such religious persons as are employed in the same ecclesiastical functions with themselves." They are to take proper opportunities to convince princes, and others in authority, that their order contains the perfection of all others, excepting only their cant and outward austerity of life and dress. They are to descant upon, and point out, the defects of other religious orders, but always with a seeming reluctance and concern. They must use their utmost efforts against those, who attempt setting up schools for the education of youth, by representing to persons in authority, that no society but that of the Jesuits is qualified for the discharge of so important an office.

The sixth chapter treats of "The methods of inducing rich widows to be liberal to the society." For the managing this affair, such members only are to be chosen, as are advanced in age, of a lively complexion, and an agreeable conversation: these are frequently to visit such widows, to lay before them the good works and merits of the society, and to recommend confessors to them, who must admonish them to persevere in the state of widowhood. Care must be taken likewise, to remove such servants from them, as are not well-wishers to the society. The confessor must manage matters so, that the widow may have such faith in him, as to do nothing without his advice. He is now and then artfully to propose to her some match, which he knows she has an aversion to, as this will help to confirm her in a state of widowhood. When he has gained this point, he is to recommend to her a spiritual life, and a vow of chastity, and to excite her to the performance of good works, especially acts of charity: this, by the management of her ghostly father, may turn to the benefit and emolument of the society.

The seventh chapter lets us know, "How such widows are to be secured, and how their effects are to be disposed of." They are to be exhorted to lay somewhat apart, out of their abundance, for the honour of Christ and the blessed Virgin, or their patron saint, and to renew their vow of chastity twice every year. They are to be frequently visited and entertained with spiritual discourses: they must not be treated with too much severity in confession: they must be kept from visiting the churches of other religious orders. To prevail on such widows to dispose of what they have in favour of the society, they must be often put in mind of the several instances of widows, who, thus, in a short time became saints; and they must be apprised that the society will not fail to use its interest at the court of Rome for the obtaining their canonization. They must be instructed not to bestow any alms without the knowledge and approbation of their confessor. He must prevent ecclesiastics of other orders from visiting or entering into familiarity with them, by crying up the society as infinitely superior to all other orders. He is to persuade them to pay small pensions and contributions towards the yearly support of colleges and professed houses. When any such widow is seized with sickness, if she has not already made over her estate to the society, her confessor must represent to her the poverty of most of the colleges, and persuade her that a liberality to the order, will lay a certain foundation for her eternal happiness. But as less is to be expected from such widows as educate their children for the business of the world, therefore

The eighth chapter shows, "How the children of

widows are to be treated, that they may be brought to embrace a religious life." The mothers must be instructed to use them with harshness and severity, even from their cradles. The daughters must be denied the common dress and ornaments of their sex, and kept close to mortification and prayer; that they may be glad to take refuge in a monastery, from the severe treatment of their mothers. The sons must be occasionally introduced into the colleges, and every thing be shewn them with the best face, to invite them to enter into the order. Tutors must be provided for them who are attached to the interests of the society, or they may be sent to some distant colleges, under the notion of keeping them closer to their studies, where the members may artfully work upon their dispositions.

In the ninth chapter are prescribed, "The methods of increasing the revenues of the colleges." To this end, none are to be admitted, if it can be well prevented, to their last degree, as long as they have any expectation of an estate falling to them. The poverty of the professors is frequently, and in all places, to be published. Confessors must sift out of their penitents, what family, relations friends and effects belong them, and discover if possible, what disposition they have made, or intend to make of their estates, which they must endeavour to turn in favour of the society. 'The better to convince the world of the society's poverty, the superiors are directed to borrow money on bond, of some rich persons who are their friends, and when it is due, defer the payment thereof. The society likewise may traffick under the borrowed names of some rich merchants, their friends, but never without a prospect of certain and abundant gain. In whatever places the members reside, they must provide a physician, who is firm to the interest of the society, by whom they may be recommended and called in to the sick, especially such as are past hopes of recovery. Lastly, women who complain of the vices and ill-humours of their husbands, must be instructed secretly to withdraw a sum of money, that by making an offering thereof to God, they may expiate the crimes of their sinful help-mates.

The tenth chapter treats of "The private rigour of discipline in the society." Such persons as alienate the female devotees, or other persons, from the churches of the Jesuits, or withdraw alms to other churches or orders, or in the disposition of their effects, shew a greater affection to their near relations than to the society, are to be discarded as the enemies of the order; but some other pretence must be alledged for their expulsion.

In the eleventh chapter are laid down, "Rules for the behaviour of the members towards those who are expelled the society." They must be prevailed upon, if possible, before they are dismissed, to give

it under their hands, and swear, that they will not, directly or indirectly, write or speak any thing to the disadvantage of the order: besides, the superiors are to keep upon record, the vices and failings which they have revealed in confession; which may be produced against them, if ever they give occasion, as a handle to prevent their promotion. The expulsion of such persons, and the pretences for it, must immediately be notified to all the colleges, and no member must correspond with them upon any account. It must be industriously propagated, that the society never lops off a sound member, nor expels any without sufficient reason. All the vices of such persons are to be magnified, and their virtues depreciated, by subtle insinuations, and doubtful expressions.

The twelfth chapter lets us know, "Who should be kept and favoured in the society." These are, in general, all such as consult the temporal interests of the order, viz. confessors of princes and noblemen, of widows, and rich female devotees; preachers, professors, and whoever are privy to these secret instructions. Those persons who are distinguished for their parts, nobility, or riches, are to be highly caressed, especially if they have given proofs of a sincere affection to the society. Particular respect is to be shewed to those who have allured any youth into the society.

The thirteenth chapter teaches the members, "How to pick out young men to be admitted into the society, and in what manner to retain them." They must make choice of such as are of a good genius, an agreeable personage, or a noble family. It must be insinuated to such youths, how acceptable an offering it is to the Almighty, when any one dedicates himself to his service, especially in the society of his Son. They must be allured by little presents, and indulgencies suitable to their age, and be entertained, at proper opportunities, in the colleges and gardens. On other occasions, they must be terrified with denunciations of eternal punishment, unless they accept of the heavenly invitation. They must be strictly cautioned not to make the least discovery of their call to their relations or friends, till they are become of the society.

The fourteenth chapter treats "Of reserved cases, and causes of dismission from the society." These are, in general, all crimes against God, and all offences against the interest and honour of the society. If two members have carnally sinned, the first who discovers it is to be retained, and the other expelled: but he that is retained, is to be mortified and plagued with such intolerable discipline, as may drive him to the commission of some fresh offence, which may afford a good handle for his expulsion. Offenders, before the time of their dismission, must be treated with the utmost severity, removed from their usual



duties, and be found fault with in whatever they do: they must be punished for the slightest offences, and be discountenanced upon all occasions.

The fifteenth chapter treats of "their conduct towards nuns and female devotees." They are to curry favour with the principal monasteries; the rich abbesses being very capable of being serviceable to the society. But the female devotees must be forbid frequenting the nunneries, lest they be taken with that kind of life, and the society be disappointed in their expectations of what they have.

The sixteenth chapter teaches them, "in what manner to feign a contempt of riches." They are, now and then, to refuse some small and trifling alms. Widows, and others, who have given to the society almost all that they possessed, are to be treated with rather more rigour than others, that the people may not think they are indulged on account of their liberality to the society.

Lastly, the seventeenth chapter instructs them in "The methods of advancing the society." The members are always to act with unanimity, even in things of trifling concern. They are earnestly to endeavour so to shine in their learning and good example, that other religious, and especially the clergy, may be eclipsed by them. They must entertain the curiosity of princes and great men, with the newest, choicest, and most genuine transcripts that can be procured. They are secretly, and with caution, to foment and heighten the animosities of princes and great men; and if there appears any likelihood of reconciliation, then as soon as possible to endeavour to be mediators. The nobility and populace must be persuaded into a belief, that the society was instituted by the particular direction of Divine Providence. The members are eagerly to aspire after bishoprics and abbeys, and even the popedom itself. The political schemes of the order must be cunningly varied, according to the different posture of the times. Finally, the society must endeavour to effect this at least, that, having got the favour and authority of princes, those who do not love them, may at least fear them.

It is probable, these instructions would have remained a secret to this day, but one of the Jesuits having apostatized, he left his convent and gave a manuscript copy of them to a bookseller in Holland, who printed them; but the Jesuits, getting notice of it, bought up the whole impression, which however did not serve to conceal such important secrets from the public.

As the Jesuits have sent many of their brethren to convert the heathens, we shall here relate what the celebrated Mr. Fleming says in his *Christology*, and which he had from a gentleman who was present when the discourse was delivered. It was in China, and the Jesuit spoke as follows: "Ye have had

many very great, wise, and excellent emperors in China, and no nation can boast of the like; but yet none of these, nor indeed all of them, can be compared to the eternal emperor Jesus Christ. That ye may know this, I will now give a short, but true and exact account of him. The world being very wicked, and men very miserable, by reason of the tyranny of those kings and princes that ruled before his coming, especially the head of all these, the emperor of Rome, who reigned over the greatest part of the world at that time, with terrible rigour and cruelty; God took pity upon mankind at last, as finding their state grew worse and worse. To rectify this, he resolves to send his own Son from heaven to subdue these tyrants, and reduce things to order again. Well! at length the heavens appear more glorious than ever before: a wonderful light, bright and glorious, that outshone the sun by ten thousand degrees, breaks forth. Great noises are heard in the air, with most wonderful and delightful music, and at length a prodigious army of more than a thousand thousand millions of angels appears in sight; before whom marches a chariot of a prodigious bigness, all of solid gold, most curiously wrought, but so thick set with precious stones, that the gold could hardly be seen for their sparkling and dazzling splendor. This chariot was drawn by ten thousand bright and nimble spirits and a hundred thousand of nobler rank guarded this chariot before and on either side, being commanded and led by Raphael the archangel, as the rest of the army that followed the chariot was by the great Michael, the first of all the archangels, and lieutenant general to Christ himself who rode in his golden chariot, and commanded all. Now," says the Jesuit, "here all languages fail me in setting forth the glory of this great General; he was of a most prodigious stature, as big as a thousand men, but most wonderfully beautiful and exactly symmetrical. His face outshone the sun so far in splendor, as is beyond all conception; he had a prodigious flaming sword in his left hand, the very sight of which was terrible: but in his right hand, he had the ensign of the cross, which had a sanative virtue in it, to remove distempers, and cheer the heart, to recover the frenzied and distracted, to raise the dead; and in a word, to work all manner of miracles, to remove mountains, dry up seas, &c. Now, says he, all tyrants and wicked men were convicted and punished by him, and the Roman empire destroyed. In the stead of which, he raised up one Peter, a most eminently holy, and excellent person, to rule the whole world for him as his vicerent. He destroyed not only the empire of Rome, but the name of emperor, and the very form of that government; and in its stead, he erected a holy constitution, over which he set this wise and holy man Peter, ordering, that when he should be called out of the



world into heaven, his chief priests should come together and pray to him, and that upon their so doing, he would send them an angel to tell them what person he had pitched upon to succeed to this sacred and universal headship over the world. And when he had done this, he took his leave of Peter and his bishops, and went to heaven with his army, in the same glorious and triumphant manner in which he came. But he assured the viceroy Peter, that as often as he desired, he should hear from him by a special messenger, who should assist him in all dark cases, and affairs of consequence. And he never failed to do so to Peter, and all his successors the popes. So that, says the priest, the pope that now is, has had frequent messengers from Christ in heaven, commanding him to send holy men to the great empire of China, out of the great love he has for that learned, wise, and excellent people, to invite them to leave their idolatrous priests and false worship, and own him and his vicegerent the pope. Now, I am one of these holy missionaries, continues he, and I assure you, that whosoever of you shall do as I direct, shall, when he dies, go into that glorious paradise where Christ is; and that I may know who have a mind to be thus happy, lo, I have here a book given me by the pope, by order of Christ himself, that I may mark down in it the names of all those that desire his favour; which I must from time to time send an account of to the pope, that he may send it to Christ in heaven. And I assure you, that all those who refuse to have their names thus recorded shall be destroyed at last in a most terrible manner. Come therefore, and let me have all your names; but know, that every one that expects this favour, must give me his offering in money, according to his ability, that the sincerity of his heart may be known."

In the reign of Henry I. of England, St. Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, founded an order who from him were called Gilbertines. With respect to this St. Gilbert, we are told, that while his mother was with child of him, she dreamed that the moon descended into her lap, which was considered as a favourable presage, that the infant in her womb was to spread light abroad throughout many parts of the heathen world. Being grown up and properly instructed in learning, he was presented to the living of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, where his sanctity and contempt of worldly honours soon rendered him conspicuous as a prodigy of piety, to all those who knew him. Observing that some young women in his parish aspired at a more than ordinary degree of sublimity in matters of religion, he chose seven of them, who he shut up from all communications with the world, that they might devote themselves wholly to the service of God; and this was the foundation of his order.

By the advice and assistance of the bishop of Lin-

coln, he built a cloyster for them, adjoining to the church of Sempringham, with only one door to it, the key of which he always kept to himself. The severity of this order, in times when true knowledge was little attended to, induced several persons possessed of ample fortunes, to found new convents upon the same plan; and the institution soon spread itself over the greatest part of Europe. The pope having given his approbation of the order, many pious priests were appointed to see the rules reduced to practice, and these priests had their habitations erected at a considerable distance from the nuns; nor did they enter the convents but to administer the sacraments, which was done in the presence of several witnesses.

So high was the reputation of this order, that many of the greatest nobility in England visited the shrine of the founder: and at the dissolution of monasteries, they had upwards of twenty convents. St. Gilbert is said to have wrought many miracles; and he was canonized by pope Innocent III. 1202.

In the year 1232, St. Lewis established a religious order in France, under the name of "Filles Dieu," or daughters of God, and their convents were called houses of God. The first institution of this order was at Paris, and a large convent having been erected, two hundred nuns were placed in it. But the archbishop of Paris, under whose immediate direction they were, finding that many of them had died of the plague, and that provisions were extremely scarce, in consequence of a famine that had happened a year before, reduced the number to sixty, without diminishing their yearly rents. Many privileges were granted to this convent, but the nuns continuing to decrease in number, and the French being afraid that the English, who invaded France under the command of the Black Prince, would take possession of it, the religious were removed to a nunnery in a different part of the city. At present they are not numerous in Paris, nor in any other cities in France; but what is much more to their honour, they spend the greatest part of their time in doing good. They visit the hospitals, dress the wounds of the patients, and administer comfort towards alleviating their afflictions, as far as lays in their power. They are not obliged to fast on the days appointed by the church, because of their vast labour in waiting on the sick; nor do they recite any sacred office in public, only that they observe the most modest decorum in their behaviour.

Towards the latter end of the eleventh century an order was established, called the order of the "Fontevraud," and the founder was one Robert de Arbisel, a doctor of the university of Paris, and vicar general to the bishop of Rennes. His bishop dying, he retired to the city of Angers, where for some time, he taught philosophy and divinity; but design-

ing to devote himself wholly to the service of God, he retired from public business, and settled in the mountains of Craon, where he subjected himself to the severest austerities. The fame of his piety soon drew vast numbers after him, and his preaching filled the desert with hermits. In 1094, he built a convent in the desert, and his disciples lived upon nothing but roots and water.

But Robert being sent by order of the pope, to preach up the crusades, he assigned his monastery to the bishop of Angers; and taking some of his disciples with him, went from place to place, encouraging the people to take up arms against the infidels. In the year 1099, he pitched upon a place called Fontervaud, on the borders of Anjou, where he built some cells to shelter his disciples from the inclemency of the weather. It was not long before vast numbers of persons from all parts of the country, joined themselves to his order, for he rejected none who consented to live according to his rules. Some of those who entered into the order, were rich: so that by the virtue of their contributions, Robert was soon enabled to build a fine church, with cloysters adjoining, for the reception of his monks. The convent was put under the protection of the blessed Virgin, and St. John the evangelist; in memory of the words spoken by our Saviour on the cross.

Having settled the affairs of this his first monastery, he travelled through many parts of France, where he established new convents, and before his death, prescribed rules for the conduct of those who chose to enter into them. The monks were never to eat flesh; and the nuns were enjoined perpetual silence, and to have their faces covered with veils. Their habit was to be of coarse woollen stuffs manufactured in the country where the convent was erected; and they were forbidden to wear gloves. They were not to go out of the convent without leave from the abbess, and when they died, they were to be buried in a hair-cloth. The monks were to live in common, and on Sundays, and holy days, they were to attend mass in the church of the convent, where the nuns assembled for divine worship.

This order increased so fast, that even before the death of the founder, they amounted to upwards of five thousand. During the reign of Henry II. some of these came over to England, and had a house given them, 1177, at Amesbury in Wiltshire; but it does not appear that they had ever any more, except one at Exeter, and another at Westcote, in Worcestershire. At the dissolution of the monasteries, their revenues were not great, so that that little notice was taken of them; but at present, they have many convents in France, Spain, Italy, and Flanders. They never meddle with civil affairs, so that we must consider them as most innocent order in the church of Rome.

Feuillants, a religious order in the Romish church, were founded in the year 1565, by John de la Brierie, a man of an illustrious family, and sometime abbot of Feuillans. He had been educated by the Cistercian order, and having seen something, or rather many things among them, which he did not approve of, he formed the design of establishing a new society of his own, bearing some faint resemblance to the Cistercians, but much severer in its rules. And here it is necessary to observe, that austerities in living whether with respect to eating, drinking, clothes, or lodging, make a considerable part of all the Romish orders.

This John de la Brierie, had scarce been promoted to the abbey of Feuillans, when he began to put his plan of reformation in execution; but the monks were so much displeased with the severity of his rules they determined to quit the monastery. However, the fame of the abbot's great sanctity drew vast numbers of people after him, who not only revived the ancient zeal and fervour of the Cistercian order, but even surpassed it. They went barefooted and barcheaded, and even lay in their clothes on the boards, and eat their victuals on the floor. Some of their never drank out of any thing but dead men's skulls, and they lived upon nothing but broth made of herbs and black bread. In 1586, this order was approved by pope Sixtus Quintus, who granted them leave to build monasteries both for men and women, particularly in France and Italy; and in the city of Rome, the same pope built them a convent. To the name of Feuillants, they added that of the reformed order of St. Bernard; their habit was a white gown without the scapulary, and a large bonnet of the same colour. They were lately much esteemed and very numerous, both in France and Italy.

In the church of Rome there is an order of nuns, called Ursalines, and they are held in very great repute. They were founded originally by St. Angela, a pious lady of Brescia, in the year 1537. At first these nuns did not live together in one community, but abode separately in their fathers' houses; and their employment was, to search for the afflicted and comfort them; for the ignorant and instruct them, and for the poor to relieve them. They were likewise to visit the hospitals, and attend the sick, and in a word, to be always ready to acts of charity, humanity, and compassion. In the year 1604, these nuns having received many privileges from the popes, and having done a great many good works, agreed to live in convents, and several were built for them, both in France and Italy. At present their employment is to instruct young women, and their convents are a sort of schools, where the daughters of the nobility receive their education. Their habit is a gown of black serge, tied about the middle with a girdle

of black leather; but in most other things, they are not burdened with many austerities.

\* Humilitati, or humbled, is an ancient order in the Romish church, but the monks belonging to it are not numerous. The original of this institution, was as follows. In the year 1117, Henry V. emperor of Germany, having subdued several towns in Lombardy, the inhabitants of which would not acknowledge him as their sovereign, after the death of the countess Matilda, whose heir he was; some gentlemen who had been taken prisoners, were sent into Germany; these gentlemen being tired of their captivity, put on the habits of penitence, and implored the emperor's pardon, which being granted them, they returned to Italy, and formed themselves into a religious order, for the exercise of prayer and mortification. They assumed the name of Humbled, because, when they threw themselves at the emperor's feet, he told them, "he found they at last humbled." Many of their convents were suppressed by pope Sixtus Quintus, but they have still some few remaining.

The founder of the order of the Grand Mountains, was Stephen de Murat, a native of France, and descended from a very honourable family. His father and mother having been long married without having children, made a vow, that they would consecrate the first child they had to God, and Stephen, who was born soon after, was brought up in exercises of piety, and at a proper age entered into holy orders. In the year 1073, he retired to a monastery near the city of Lunoges, where he built for himself a small cell in the midst of a rock, and were he lived in the practice of the greatest austerities. The fame of his sanctity, soon drew several persons after him, who put themselves under his protection; he died in 1124, and his disciples being molested by some neighbouring monks, who disputed the possession of the place where they were settled, retired to Grand Mont, carrying with them the body of their founder. This order soon increased; for within thirty years after their original institution, they had no fewer than sixty convents. Their habit consists of a black gown and scapulary, and their rules and orders are very severe.

The United brethren of St. Gregory, another religious order, was founded about the year 1530, the particulars of which are as follow. Father Dominic, a Dominican friar of Bologna, having been sent into Armenia, by pope John XXII. built a monastery on the top of a high mountain, where he resided with his companions. At that time, there was a famous Armenian doctor, named Isaac, who was superior of a monastery near Erizan; and this man being struck with the exemplary life and virtues of Dominic, resolved to renounce the errors of the Armenian church, and acknowledge the authority of

the pope. His example was followed by several superiors of other monasteries; who observing that the order of Basil, was almost universally decayed in Armenia, thought it their duty to institute a new order, for the preservation of the Catholic faith. This gave rise to the United Brethren of the order of Gregory, called the enlightener, because he is said to have been the first who preached the gospel in Armenia. And as they had been taught by Dominic, who was a Dominican, they embraced, in part, the rules of that order, joined to some of the Augustines. At present most of the monks of this order are confined to the East, where they have several schools, but in general, they are much oppressed by the Turks.

In several of the Roman Catholic countries, there is an order of monks, called Williamites, from their founder, St. William of the desert, of whom we have various account by different writers, but we shall here insert what appears to be the truth. It is generally believed that he was a native of France, who having been some time in the army, had been guilty of many debaucheries, the thoughts of which affected him so much, that he resolved to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of God. Accordingly, in the year 1153, he made choice of a solitary place in the island of Lupocavio in the duchy of Tuscany, where he lived the life of a saint, and gathered together many followers, who all agreed to put themselves under his direction. But many of these being tired of the austerities of a religious life, and forsaking him, he retired to Mount Pruno, where he built a little cell, in the middle of a thick wood. Here he procured some new disciples, who persevered no better than the former, which obliged him to return to the island of Lupocavio, where he fixed his abode in a most frightful desert, called Malaval. This happened in the year 1155, and in the year following, one Albert, became his disciple, and remained with him till his death, which happened soon after. After his death, Albert was joined by one Renaud, and it was agreed upon between them to found a convent, or rather a hermitage, near the spot where their founder St. William was buried. Here they began to lead a life of the most exemplary piety, and so great was their reputation for sanctity, that many persons renounced the world and joined them.

This small congregation increased so fast, that within one hundred years, they had convents all over France, Italy, Germany, and Flanders. At first they were very austere in their rules, but pope Gregory IX. mitigated the severity and granted them several indulgencies; such as that of wearing shoes, which had been denied them before. At present, they have only twelve religious houses, and all these are in Flanders; for by some means or other, they



have fallen to decay in Italy, France, and Germany. Their habit is very like that of the Cistercians.

The *Bons-Fleurs*, or in English, Good Sons, is an order derived from that of St. Francis, and was founded at a little town in Flanders, called Arman-tiers, upon the river Lis, in the year 1615, by five tradesmen of the town, the eldest of whom was Henry Pringnet. These men lived in one society together, and founded a little community in a house belonging to Pringnet. They wore a black habit, and at first, were not distinguished from the seculars. Three of them spent their time in weaving woollen cloth, one made lace, and the fifth instructed children to read.

In this manner they continued to live till 1626, when they embraced the order of St. Francis, and they increased so fast, that in 1670, they had two monasteries, one at Lisle, and the other at Arman-tiers, both in the diocese of Tournay. In 1679, they made a third settlement at St. Venant, in the diocese of St. Omer's; and Lewis XIV. gave them the direction of all his military hospitals in Flanders. At present, they have seven convents, or as they call them, families; all under the direction of the bishops were they reside, and they hold a chapter once in three years. In these chapters the bishops examines all their books, with respect to what donations have been left them, and directs them in what manner to augment their number. Each family, or convent, has a superior, who holds his office three years, after which the bishop appoints another to succeed him. The superior has three assistants, whom they call counsellors, and they live in great harmony together. They wear no linen, and lie in their clothes on straw beds; and they observe several other austerities.

Angelics, an order of nuns in Italy, had for their foundress Louisa Torelli, countess of Gustalia, who in the year 1534, obtained a brief from pope Paul III. for establishing a society of nuns, under the rule of St. Augustine. For this purpose the countess built a very large convent and church at Milan, and the nuns of her order took the name of Angelics; that by often hearing the title repeated, they might be excited to imitated the purity of angels. The pope confirmed this name to them, and exempted them from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Milan, putting them under the direction of the regular priests of St. Paul. They were not confined to their cloyster, but went out of their monastery, and accompanied the regular priests in their missions; the latter employing their time in the conversion of men, and the former in the conversion of women.

It is related, that the countess herself, and one Paula Antonia, induced several courtezans and lewd women, to quit their vices and take the habit of the order. These nuns still continue to assist the regu-

lar priests in their missions, and several ladies of high rank have entered into the order, that they might convert sinners; and their constitutions were drawn up by the famous St. Charles Borromeo. They wear the habit of the black Dominicans, and carry on their breasts a wooden cross. On their fingers they wear a gold ring, on which is the figure of a heart with a crucifix engraven on it.

In France there is an order called Eudists, founded by one Eudist a secular priest in the year 1643. At first he had only eight disciples, for whom he built a house at Caen in Normandy; and several bishops finding the good effects of this institution, founded seminaries of the same nature, near their cathedral churches. All the students educated in these societies, were to act as missionaries in converting protestants to the church of Rome. They make no vows, and their habit is the same with the secular priests; and it is a maxim with them to employ all their revenues, besides what procures them a subsistence, in works of charity and piety. They live together in a friendly, charitable manner, and they teach philosophy and divinity gratis. They are associated under the name of the disciples of Jesus and Mary, and are governed by a superior, who receives his authority from the bishop of the diocese where their houses are; so that the bishops are their sole protectors.

Mendicants, or Begging Friars. There are several orders of religious in popish countries, who having no settled income or revenues, are supported by charitable contributions of others; and these, from their manner of life, are called mendicants, or beggars.

This sort of friars began in the thirteenth century. The Waldenses, who made a profession of renouncing their estates, and leading a life of poverty, gave occasion to this institution. Two of that sect, Bernard and Durand of Osca, set up a congregation in the province of Tarragon, and called it "the poor Catholics," and the same year Dominic de Guzman, with nine more of his companions, founded the order of preaching friars, called from the founder, Dominicans. The other three mendicant orders are the Franciscans, Augustines, and Carmelites. These monks gave great disturbance to the secular clergy, by pretending to a right of taking confessions, and granting absolution, without asking leave of the parochial priests, or even the bishops themselves.—Pope Innocent IV. restrained this licence, and prohibited the mendicants to confess the faithful, without leave of the incumbent. Alexander IV. restored this privilege to them, and Martin IV. to accommodate the dispute, granted them a permission to receive confessions, upon condition that the penitents who applied to them, should confess once a year to their proper pastor. However, this expe-

dient falling short of full satisfaction, Boniface VIII. ordered, that the superiors of religious houses should make application to the bishops, for their permission to such friars, as should be commissioned by their respective abbots, to administer the sacrament of penance, and upon the foot of this constitution the matter now rests. A great many have embraced this severe order, out of an opinion of a particular holiness and merit, which they believed did belong to it, or rather an ecclesiastical ambition; the pride of mankind being so great and natural to some, that they did not think the commands of God sufficient, but would receive heaven rather as a reward than a gift, and were ambitious of having a preference before others, even in another life.

Buchanan tells us, the mendicants in Scotland, under an appearance of beggary, lived a very luxurious life; whence one wittily called them, not mendicant, but manducant friars.

The Priests of the Oratory, had a convent erected for them at Florence, by Philip de Neri, 1548; and at first they consisted of no more than fifteen persons, who assembled in the church of St. Saviour in Campo, every first Sunday in the month, to practice the exercises of piety prescribed by the holy founder. Afterwards their number increasing by the addition of several persons of distinction to the society, St. Philip proceeded to establish an hospital for the reception of poor pilgrims, who, coming to Rome to visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul, were obliged, for want of a lodging, to lie in the streets, or at the doors of the churches. For this charitable purpose, pope Paul IV. gave to the society the parochial church of St. Benedict, close by which was built an hospital, so large, that in the jubilee year 1600, it received four hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred men, and twenty-five thousand five hundred women, who came in pilgrimage to Rome.

St. Philip Neri, besides this charitable foundation for pilgrims, held spiritual conferences at Rome, in a large chamber, accommodated in the form of an oratory, in which he was assisted by the famous Baronius, author of the ecclesiastical annals. Here were delivered lectures on religion and morality, and the auditors were instructed in ecclesiastical history. The assembly always ended with prayers, and hymns to the glory of God; after which, the holy founder and his companions, visited the hospitals and churches, and took care of the sick.

In 1574, the Florentines, at Rome, with the permission of pope Gregory XIII. built a very spacious oratory, in which St. Philip continued his religious assemblies, and the pope likewise gave him the parochial church of Vallicella, and the same year, approved the constitutions he had drawn up for the

government of his congregation, of which St. Philip himself was the first general.

This new institution soon made a great progress, and divers other establishments were made on the same model; particularly at Naples, Milan, Fermo, and Palermo. The holy founder having resigned the office of general, he was succeeded therein by Baronius, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of a cardinal. St. Philip died the twenty-fifth of May 1595, and was canonized in 1602 by pope Gregory XV. After his death, this congregation made a farther progress in Italy, and has produced several cardinals, and eminent writers, as Baronius, Olderic, Rainaldi, and others.

The Priests of the Oratory, in France, where established upon the model of those in Italy, and owe their rise to cardinal Berulle, a native of Champagne; who resolved upon this foundation, in order to revive the splendor of the ecclesiastical state, which was greatly sunk through the miseries of the civil wars, the increase of heresies, and a general corruption of manners. To this end, he assembled a community of ecclesiastics, in 1611, in the suburb of St. James, where is at present the famous monastery of Val-de-Grace. They obtained the king's letters patent for their establishment; and in 1613, pope Paul V. approved of this congregation, under the title of the Oratory of Jesus.

This congregation consisted of two sorts of persons, the one as it were incorporated, the other only associates. The former governed the houses of this institution, the latter were only employed in forming themselves to the life and manners of ecclesiastics; and this was the true spirit of this congregation, in which they taught neither human learning, nor theology, but only the virtues of the ecclesiastical life. After the death of cardinal Berulle, which happened the second of October 1629, the priests of the oratory made a great progress in France, and other countries; and at present they have eleven houses in the Low Countries, one at Liege, two in the county of Avignon, and one in Savoy, besides fifty-eight in France. The first house, which is as it were the mother of all the rest, is that of the street St. Houore at Paris, where the general resides. The priests of this congregation are not, properly speaking, religious, being obliged to no vows, their institute being purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal.

The congregation of Mount Olivet, is an order of religious Benedictines in Italy, who acknowledged for their founder St. Bernard Tolomei, a gentleman of Sienna. This Bernard taught philosophy; and one day, as he was preparing to explain a very difficult question, he was on a sudden struck blind; but having recovered his sight, by the inter-

cession of the virgin, he made a vow to dedicate himself to her service, and renounce the world. In consequence of this vow, he retired to a solitary place named Acona, about fifteen miles from Sienna, in the year 1313. The sanctity of his life drew thither a great number of persons, who renounced the world to accompany him in his solitude, and Gui de Pietramala, bishop of Arezzo, by order of pope John XXII. gave these solitaries the rule of St. Benedict, and Acona the name of mount Olivet, either because of the olive trees which grew in that place, or to put the religious in mind of our Saviour's passion on the Mount of Olives.

The historians of this order speak of the extreme rigours observed by them, at their first establishment: their fasts, macerations, and spiritual exercises; and that they might have no opportunity to drink wine, they cut down all the vines that grew about the mountain. Their extreme abstinence was prejudicial to their health, insomuch that most of them fell sick; and upon this they relaxed a little from their sobriety, and followed St. Paul's advice, drinking a little wine for their stomach's sake; and at length, they inserted in their constitutions, that the best wines should be bought for the use of the monks. But this congregation was not confined to Acona, for it obtained several other settlements. The first was at Sienna; the second at Arezzo; the third at Florence; the fourth at Camprena, in the territory of Sienna; the fifth at Volterra; the sixth at St. Geminiano; the seventh at Eugubio; and the eighth at Foligni. Afterwards it was established at Rome, and other places; and pope John XXII. approved this order in 1324, and it was afterwards confirmed by Clement VI. and several other pontiffs.

The congregation of mount Olivet has in Italy and Sicily, about fourscore monasteries, is most of which are a great number of religious. These monasteries are divided into six provinces; but the principal convent is that of Mount Olivet. It is so large and spacious, that the emperor Charles V. lodged in it with a retinue of two hundred persons. The religious of Mount Olivet are habited in fine white serge, and they profess the rule of St. Benedict: but it is very much mitigated by their constitutions. Every Sunday they hold a conference upon some case of conscience, or difficulty in the scripture, and in some monasteries, they have lectures of humanity, philosophy, and theology. It is remarkable, that they admit no persons of noble birth into their order, contrary to the rule of St. Benedict, which makes no distinction of persons. The order is governed by a general, a vicar-general, and six visitors; and they hold a general chapter once every year, in which they chuse superiors of houses and other offices

In the year 1530, an order was founded in Calabria, by one Bernard Rogliano, and was called the Colorites. It took its name from a little mountain called Colorito, in the kingdom of Naples; on which mountain there is a church dedicated to the virgin Mary, founded many centuries ago. This Bernard was a holy priest, who being desirous to retire from all manner of conversation with the busy scenes of a tumultuous world, and live in solitude, took the habit of a hermit, and built a cell near this church, where he lived in the practice of the greatest austerities. His name soon became so famous, that many came to receive spiritual instruction from him; some of whom, touched with the piety of his discourses, renounced the world, and put themselves under his direction. Their number continued to increase so fast every day, that the duchess of Bissignano, a pious lady, gave them the mountain where the church stood, with all the lands belonging to it: and her donation was confirmed by a bull of pope Pius IV. 1562. They agreed to live according to the rule of the Augustine monks, and they first took their solemn vows in 1591. In 1600, they were put under some new regulations, and at present they have about twelve convents. Their habit consists of a tawny coloured gown, reaching to their knees, and tied round the waist with a leather girdle.

In the state of Venice, were much freedom is allowed to the religious, there is an order, called Dimassess; consisting of young maids and widows. They were founded by Dejanara Valmarana, the widow of a Venetian nobleman of high rank. This lady having taken the habit of the third order of St. Francis, retired with four poor women, to a house belonging to herself.

In the most retired manner they lived together in the practice of every Christian duty, under the direction of a Franciscan friar, who prescribed rules for them in 1584, and this gave birth to other houses of the same nature. None are admitted into this order, till after three years probation; and there are not above nine or ten of them in one house, who every year elect a superior; and she is obliged to be thirty years of age. No men are to be admitted into their houses, and their chief employment, besides acts of devotion, is to teach young women in the principles of religion, to relieve the poor, and visit the sick. As they are not under any obligation to celibacy, so they may leave the convent whenever they please, and enter into the marriage state. They have many houses in the state of Venice, and their habit is either black or brown, according to their choice.

In Spain there is a very remarkable order of religious, called Whippers, or Disciplinaryans, who make a grand procession on Good Friday, and on



such occasions, and not only all the great officers of state are present, but even the king, queen, and the royal family. The preparation to it has the most mournful appearance: for the king's guards march with their muskets covered with crape, and all the drums are muffled. In short, the whole procession shews the genius of the nation, as naturally turned to an excess of devotion, and pleased with every thing that has the appearance of exterior piety.—These pretended penitents do not undertake these exercises from motives of devotion, but only to please their mistresses who are slaves to superstition. They whip themselves with small cords, to the ends of which are fixed little balls of wax, stuck through with pieces of glass, and so artful are they, that they can at any time make the blood spring out, which is very pleasing to the ladies.

These whippers wear a long cap, covered with cambric, three feet high, in the form of a sugar-loaf, from which falls a piece of linen that covers their faces. They wear white gloves, and their sleeves are tied with ribbons.

Crosiers, or Cross-bearers, are another order in the church of Rome, and were founded in memory and honour of the finding the real cross upon which our Saviour suffered, by Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine the Great. These cross-bearers were instituted many years ago, but now they are greatly fallen into contempt, little regard being paid to them by the other religious orders. The popes, however, have given some countenance to them, and under their protection they till of late continued to exist. They wore a cross of red cloth upon their breasts. Before the Reformation they had several houses in England, particularly one in London, on the spot now called Crutched-friars, whereas the proper name of it is Crossed-friars. In the year 1183, these cross-bearers were established in Flanders by the dukes of Burgundy, who at that time were much engaged in carrying on the crusades.—Theodore de Celles, a relation of the duke of Burgundy, having been some years in Syria, happened to converse with several religious of this order; and being struck with the piety of their lives, and simplicity of their manners, he resolved to bring the order into his own country. Accordingly upon his return home, he laid aside his military habit, and became a canon in the cathedral church of Leige; but resolving to carry his design further into execution, he obtained of the bishop of Leige, the church of St. Thibaut, near the town of Huy, where with his companions, he laid the foundation of the order of the Holy Cross, which soon afterwards spread itself over many nations.

The superior of this order receives episcopal ordination, and wears a mitre, with a golden cross in the same manner as a bishop.

There is an order in the Romish church, of great antiquity, and much esteemed, called Clunia Monks, and is the very first branch of the Benedictines.—It was first founded in the year 910, by St. Bernou, of the royal family of Burgundy, who built a monastery for them in the town of Clugni, in France, near the banks of the river Grone. These monks are remarkable for their sanctity, because they sung two solemn masses every day. They spent most of their time in visiting the sick, and distributed the whole of their revenues, besides what was necessary for their own support, to relieve the wants of the poor.

In preparing the bread for the eucharist, they used the following ceremonies. They chose the wheat grain by grain, and then washed it very carefully; after this a sacrist carried it to the mill to be ground, and washed the millstones all over, spreading a curtain around the place, that no air might come near it. They washed the meal in pure water, and made it up in small loaves moulded in boxes of iron. At last this order grew into such high repute, that they had convents in every part of the known world.—They were first brought into England in the year 1077, and many convents were built for them, all which were demolished at the Reformation, and their revenues seized for the crown. At present they have many houses in France, Italy, and other Roman catholic countries; and once in every three years, they hold general chapters for every convent: but they are not so rich as they were formerly, many persons otherwise well attached to the doctrines of the church of Rome, having withdrawn their bounty from them, and given it to some others for whom they had higher esteem.

The Nuns of the Conception of our Lady, a religious order of the church of Rome, were founded by Beatrix, a pious lady in the kingdom of Portugal, about the year 1462; this lady, having been carried to the court of Castile, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward king of Portugal, whom the king of Castile had married. She was extremely beautiful, and the king falling in love with her, it so enraged the jealous queen, that she ordered her to be locked up in a chamber, where she was kept without victuals or drink three days. In this afflicted condition she implored the assistance of the blessed Virgin, who appeared to her and comforted her, promising her a speedy deliverance, which soon after took place. But Beatrix, fearing that the queen would again wreak her vengeance upon her, withdrew privately and fled to Toledo, where she took shelter in a convent of Dominican nuns, and lived there forty years in the practice of every religious duty.

It was at this convent that the blessed Virgin appeared again to her, and inspired her with the design of founding an order of nuns in honour of her own

immaculate conception. For this purpose she obtained of the queen a grant of the palace of Galliana, where was a chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Faith; and Beatrix, accompanied by twelve young women, took possession of it. Their habit was a white gown and scapulary, with the image of the blessed Virgin upon it, and their order was confirmed in the year 1486, by pope Innocent VIII. At present they have many convents throughout the different nations of Europe, where the Roman catholic religion is professed, but particularly in Portugal, Spain, Italy and Flanders.

In the year 1220, a religious order was founded by father Elias, a Franciscan friar, under the name of Cesarians. This friar obtained a bull from pope Gregory IX. to build a church in honour of St. Francis, and he erected it with such magnificence as was no way suitable to the humility of the order, nor to the poverty which St. Francis had enjoined to his order. This induced St. Anthony of Padua, to apply to the pope, desiring him to interfere in rectifying the abuses which had crept in through the means of father Elias. Accordingly, father Elias was deposed by the pope, and father John Parent appointed in his room, who made several regulations, and re-established the strict observance of the rule of St. Francis, which had been neglected during the government of his predecessor. But this Elias, by artful management and intrigues, secretly gained over many of the religious, who, in a general chapter held in 1236, loudly demanded the restoration of Elias, complaining that he had been unjustly deposed, and he was accordingly re-elected in a very tumultuous manner. The greatest part of the order, as is consistent with the nature of man, being enemies to poverty, they adhered to Elias, under whose second government all the former disorders that had been so much complained of, began to revive. The reviving few who adhered to the order of St. Francis, remonstrated to father Elias, who, instead of listening to their complaints, banished several of them from the convent, among whom was Cesarius their leader, and from him they were called Cesarians. At present the Cesarians have but few convents, for they were so much persecuted by the Franciscans, that we seldom hear their name mentioned.

The Camaladolites, a religious order in the church of Rome, was founded by St. Romuald, a native of Ravenna, and descended from the noble family, who received the titles of dukes of that city. This Romuald had been in his youth a professed debauchee, and his constitution being in a manner worn out by his vices, he was seized with remorse of conscience, and therefore resolved to devote the remains of a decayed body to the service of God. For this purpose he retired to Mount Cassin, where he met with a devout monk, whose pious conversation induced

him to take upon him the habit of the order. Being very zealous, and finding that many abuses had crept into the convent, he reproved the monks for their vices, who were so much offended, that they conspired to murder him. Having had notice of their intentions, he left the convent, and retired to the state of Venice, where he met with a hermit, with whom he lived some time, practising all the austerities of a recluse life. At that time the duke of Venice, resolving to end his days in a convent, resigned his regal dignity, and in company with Romuald, and Marino the other hermit, his companion, set sail for Barcelona in Spain. There it was that the duke took upon him the habit of a monk in the monastery of St. Michael, and Marino and Romuald returned to a hermitage. After some time Romuald returned to Italy, and settled in the monastery of St. Classe, at that time in high repute, but not under proper government with respect to moral and religious duties.

The emperor Otho being at that time in Italy, and hearing of the abuses that had crept into this monastery, resolved to reform it, and for this purpose made Rombald abbot; but Rombald finding all his attempts to reform the monks fruitless, laid down his pastoral staff, and returned to Palermo. There, and in several other places, he built convents, but the monks in these refusing to live according to his rules, he retired to a solitary place on the Appenine mountains, called Cumaldali, where he founded his order, 1012. He ordered that all his disciples should live in separate cells, and never meet together but in the time of public prayer. On Sundays and Thursdays they fed on herbs; and the rest of the week on bread and water. The austerities used by the monks of this order, contrary to the notion of mankind, occasioned it to increase so fast, that within a few years they had convents in most parts of Italy.—They have been extremely rich, but we do not find that the monks have ever distinguished themselves in branches of literature.

The Carthusians were a religious order, founded in the year 1080, by one Bruno, a very learned man, of the bishopric of Cologne, and professor of philosophy at Paris. The occasion of its institution is related as follows: A friend of Bruno's, who had been looked upon as a good liver, being dead, Bruno attended his funeral, but whilst the service was performing in the church, the dead man, who lay upon a bier, raised himself up, and said, "By the just judgment of God, I am accused." The company being astonished at this unusual accident, the burial was deferred to the next day; when, the concourse of people being much greater, the dead man again raised himself up, and said, "By the just judgment of God, I am condemned." This miracle, it is pretended, wrought such an effect on Bruno, and six

more, that they immediately retired to the desert of Chartreux, in the diocese of Grenoble, in Dauphine; where Hugh, bishop of that diocese, assigned them a spot of ground, and where Bruno built his first monastery, under the following rigid institutes.

His monks were to wear a hair-cloth next their body, a white cassock, and over it a black cloak: they were never to eat flesh; to fast every Friday on bread and water; to eat alone in their chambers, except upon certain festivals; and to observe an almost perpetual silence: none were allowed to go out of the monastery, except the prior and procurator, and they only about the business of the house.

The Carthusians, so called from the place of their first institution, are a very rigid order. They are not to go out of their cells, except to church, without leave of their superior, and they are not to speak to any person, even their own brother, without leave.—They must not keep any portion of meat or drink till the next day, except herbs or fruits. Their bed is of straw, covered with a felt or coarse cloth; their clothing, two hair-cloths, two cowls, two pair of hose and a cloak, all coarse. Every monk has two needles, some thread, scizzars, a comb, a razor, a hone, an ink-horn, pens, chalk, two pumice-stones; likewise two pots, two porringers, a bason, two spoons, a knife, a drinking-cup, a water-pot, a salt, a dish, a towel; and for fire, tinder, a flint, wood, and an ax.

In the refectory, they are to keep their eyes on the meat, their hands on the table, their attention on the reader, and their heart fixed on God. When allowed to discourse, they are to do it modestly, not to whisper, nor talk aloud, nor to be contentious. They confess to the prior every Saturday, but women are not allowed to come into their churches, that the monks may not see any thing which may provoke them to lewdness.

It is computed, there are an hundred and seventy-two houses of Carthusians, whereof five are of nuns, who practise the same austerities as the monks. They are divided into sixteen provinces, each of which has two visitors. There has been several canonized saints of this order; four cardinals, seventy-six archbishops and bishops, and a great many very learned writers.

The convents of this order are generally very beautiful and magnificent. That of Naples, though but small, surpasses all the rest in ornaments and riches. Nothing is to be seen in the church and house but marble and jasper, and the apartments of the prior are rather like those of a prince, than a poor monk. There are innumerable statues, bass-reliefs, paintings, &c. together with very fine gardens; all which, joined with the holy and exemplary life of the good religious, draw the curiosity of all strangers, who visit Naples. The Carthusians set-

tled in England about the year 1180. They had several monasteries here, particularly at Witham, in Somersetshire; Hinton, in the same county; Beaulval, in Nottinghamshire; Kingston upon Hull; Mountgrace, in Yorkshire; Eppewort, in Lincolnshire; Sheue, in Surry; and one near Coventry. In London they had a famous monastery, since called from the Carthusians who settled there, the Charterhouse.

The Cistercian monks were a religious order founded in the eleventh century, by St. Robert, a Benedictine, and abbot of Moleme. Certain anchorites of a neighbouring forest, having heard of St. Robert, then abbot of St. Michael de la Tonnerre, intreated him to take upon him the direction of them; but the prior of his monastery, and some of the ancient monks, obstructed his complying with their request. Those monks of Tonnerre lived under so great a relaxation of discipline, that abbot Robert lost all hopes of reforming them, and therefore left them, and retired to the abbey of Montier-la-celle, in which he had formerly been a monk. Soon after he was chosen prior of the monastery of St. Angulphus, which was dependent on that abbey; and then it was that the afore-named anchorites applied themselves to the pope, who granted them a brief, which directed the abbot of Montier-la-celle to deliver Robert to them, having chosen him as governor. Robert was well pleased with the pope's order, and accordingly joined those anchorites, whom he led into the forest of Moleme, where they built themselves little cells made of the boughs of trees, and a little oratory, in honour of the holy trinity. But these hermits falling into a relaxation, and Robert not being able to reclaim them, he left them and retired to a desert called Haur, where there were religious men, who lived in much unity and simplicity of heart, and who chose him for their abbot. But those of Moleme made use of the authority of the pope to oblige him to return, and to govern them as he had done before.

Some of these religious of Moleme, observing that their customs and manners were not suitable to the rule of St. Benedict, seriously endeavoured to apply some remedy. Accordingly they had recourse to abbot Robert, who promised to assist them in their pious design; but it being impossible for them to effect their purpose in that abbey, on account of the relaxation which reigned there, Robert, and twenty-one others, by the permission of the pope, quitted the abbey of Moleme, and went to settle in a place called Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons. It was a desert covered with wood and brambles, where these religious formed to themselves little wooden cells, with the consent of the lords of the soil. They settled there on the 21st of march 1098, being St. Benedict's day, and Eudo, duke of Bur-



guntly, assisted them in building a monastery, and gave them land and cattle; and the bishop of Chalons gave Robert the pastoral staff, as abbot, erecting the new monastery into an abbey.

The following year, Robert, being ordered by the pope to resume the government of the abbey of Moleme, was succeeded in that of Cîteaux, by Alberic; and pope Paschal, by a bull of the year 1100, took that monastery under his protection. Alberic drew up the first statutes for the monks of Cîteaux, or Cistercians, in which he enjoined the strict observance of the rule of St. Benedict. The habit of these religious, of the monastery of Cîteaux, was at first black; but they pretend that the holy Virgin appearing to St. Alberic, gave him a white habit, from which time they changed their black habit for a white one, only retaining the black scapulary. In memory of this change they keep a festival on the 5th of August, which they call the descent of the blessed virgin at Cîteaux, and the miraculous changing of the habit from black to white. The number of those who embraced the Cistercian order increasing, it was necessary to build more monasteries. Accordingly, in 1113, Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux, built that of La Ferte, in the diocese of Chalons. The next year, he founded Pontigni, in the diocese of Auxerre. Clairvaux, in the diocese of Langres, was built in 1115. The order increased farther in 1118, by the founding of four other monasteries, which were Prully, La Cour-Dieu, Trois-Fontaines, and Bonnevaux; and in the following year 1119, Bouras, Fontenay, Cadovin, and Maran, were founded. Then Stephen formed all these monasteries into one body, and drew up the constitutions of the order, which he called "the Charter of Charity," containing in five chapters, all the necessary rules for the establishment and government of the order.

The first chapter of that charter enjoins the literal observance of the rule of St. Benedict, as it was observed at Cîteaux; the second regulates the power of the abbots; the third settles the manner of holding general chapters, and deciding the differences therein; the fourth regulates the election of abbots, and the qualifications of the electors and elected; the fifth and last treats of the resignation and deposition of abbots. This order made a surprising progress. Fifty years after its institution, it had five hundred abbeys, and an hundred years afterwards, it boasted of eighteen hundred abbeys, most of which had been founded before the year 1200. This great progress must be ascribed to the sanctity of the Cistercians, of which cardinal de Vitry, in his western history, says, "the whole church of Christ was full of the high reputation and opinion of their sanctity, as it were with the odour of some divine balsam, and that there was no country or province, wherein this

vine, loaded with blessings, had not spread forth its branches." And, describing their observances, he says, "they neither wore skins nor shirts, nor ever eat flesh, except in sickness, and abstained from fish, eggs, milk, and cheese: they lay only upon straw beds, in their tunics and cowls: they rose at midnight, and sang praises to God till break of day: they spent the day in labour, reading and prayer; and in all their exercises, they observed a strict and continual silence: they fasted from the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross till Easter; and they exercised hospitality towards the poor, with extraordinary charity."

The order of Cistercians became in time so powerful, that it governed almost all Europe, both in spirituals and temporals. It did also great service to the church, by means of the eminent men it produced. These religious were employed by the pope to convert the Albigenes. Some authors say there have been six popes of this order, but it will be difficult to find any more than Eugenius III. and Benedict XII. It boasts of about forty cardinals, a great number of archbishops, bishops, and famous writers. Several kings and queens have preferred the habit of this order to their royal robes and crowns: in the single monastery of Trebnitz, in Silesia, they reckon above forty princesses of Poland, who have taken the habit there. What adds farther to the reputation of the order is, that the military orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, and Montessa, in Spain; and those of Christ and Avis, in Portugal, are subject to it. The abbot of Cîteaux is the superior general and father of the Cistercian order; but his power is more limited than that of the other generals of orders. This abbey has twenty-six immediate daughters, which are called of its generation. The general chapter is always held at Cîteaux. Only the Latin tongue is spoken in their general chapters. Formerly cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, used to be present at the chapters: pope Eugenius III. honoured it with his presence in the year 1148.

The habit of the Cistercian monks is a white robe, in the nature of a cassock, with a black scapulary and hood, and is girt with a woollen girdle. In the choir they wear over it a white cowl.

The historians of the Cistercian order are not agreed as to the original of the nuns of this order.—Some ascribe it to St. Humblelina, sister of St. Bernard; others to St. Bernard himself. The most probable opinion is, that the first monastery of nuns of this order was founded at Tart, in the diocese of Langres, in the year 1120, by St. Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux. The austerity of the Cistercians at their first institution, would not allow the women, who are tenderer than the men, to undergo so heavy a yoke. After the foundation of the monastery of Tart, several others were founded in France; as

those of Fervaques in the diocese of Noion, Bladé in the diocese of St. Omer, Montreuil near Laon, &c. The number of these monasteries increased so much, that if we may believe the historians of the order, there were six thousand of them. The habit of the Cistercian nuns is a white tunic, and a black scapulary, and girdle.

The first monastery of Cistercians in England, was that of Waverly in Surry, built in the year 1129, by William Gifford, bishop of Winchester. Though these monks followed the rule of St. Benedict, they were called by the English, not Benedictines, but White Friars. The catalogues of Cistercian monasteries in the reign of Edward I. when that prince granted his protection to all the monasteries, amounted in number to sixty-two.

Pope Celestin V. instituted a religious order, which from his name are called Celestines. The original name of this pope was Peter de Meuron, of whom we have the following account: He was born at Isernia, a little town in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1215. His parents were poor, and in his early youth he retired to a solitary mountain, where he devoted himself wholly to meditation and prayer. The fame of his piety brought many persons to visit him; some of whom resolved to forsake the pleasures of life, and to accompany him in his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community in the year 1254, which was approved by pope Urban IV. 1264, and erected into a distinct order, called the hermits of St. Damien. This society was governed by Peter de Meuron till 1286, when his love of solitude and retirement, induced him to quit the charge. In 1294, he was elected pope, when he took the name of Celestine, and his order were called Celestines. By his bull he confirmed the order, which at that time had twenty monasteries; but he died soon after, having been pope only five months.

Soon after his death, his order increased so fast that they had convents not only in Italy, but likewise in France, and in many parts of Germany. They eat no flesh at any time, except when they are sick, and they rise two hours after midnight to say matins. They fast every Wednesday and Friday, and their habit is a white gown, with a hood of the same colour, and a black scapulary.

The Capuchins are a religious institution of the order of St. Francis. They owe their original to Matthew de Bassi, a Franciscan of the duchy of Urbino; who having seen St. Francis represented with a sharp-pointed capuchin, or cowl, began to wear the like in 1525, with the permission of pope Clement VII. His example was followed by two other religious, named Lewis and Raphael de Fossembrun; and the pope by a brief, granted these three monks leave to retire to some hermitage, and retain

their new habit: and the retirement they chose, was the hermitage of the Camaldolites, near Massacio, where they were very charitably received.—This innovation in the habit of the order, gave great offence to the Franciscans, whose provincial persecuted these poor monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place. At last they took refuge in the palace of the duke de Camarino, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the conventuals, in the quality of hermits minors, in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square capuchin, and admitting among them all who would take the habit. Thus the order of the Capuchins, so called from wearing the capuchin, began in the year 1528.

Their first establishment was at Colmenzono, about a league from Camarino, in a convent of the order of St. Jerom, which had been abandoned.—But their numbers increasing, Lewis de Fossembrun built another small convent at Montmelon, in the territory of Camarino. The great number of conversions which the Capuchins made by their preaching, and the assistance they gave the people in a contagious distemper, with which Italy was afflicted the same year, 1528, gained them an universal esteem. In 1529, Lewis de Fossembrun built for them two other convents; the one at Alvacina in the territory of Fabriano, the other at Fossembrun in the duchy of Urbino. Matthew de Bassi being chosen their vicar-general, drew up constitutions for the government of this order. They enjoined, among other things, that the Capuchins should perform divine service without singing; that they should say but one mass a day in their convents; they directed the hours of mental prayer, morning and evening, the days of disciplining themselves, and those of silence; they forbade the monks to hear the confession of seculars; and enjoined them always to travel on foot: they recommended poverty in the ornaments of their church, and prohibited in them the use of gold, silver, and silk; the pavilions of the altars were to be stuff, and the chalices of tin.

This order soon spread itself over all Italy, and into Sicily. In 1573, Charles IX. demanded of pope Gregory XIII. to have the order of Capuchins established in France, which that pope consented to, and their first settlement in that kingdom was in the little town of Picpus near Paris; which they soon quitted to settle at Meudon, from whence they were introduced into the capital of the kingdom.—In 1606, pope Paul V. gave them leave to accept of an establishment, which was offered them in Spain. They even passed the seas, to labour the conversion of the infidels; and their order is become so considerable, that it is at present divided into more than sixty provinces, consisting of near one thousand six

hundred convents, and twenty-five thousand monks, besides the missionaries of Brazil, Congo, Barbary, Greece, Syria, and Egypt. Among those who have preferred the poverty and humility of the Capuchins to the advantages of birth and fortune, was the famous Alphonso d'Est, duke of Modena and Reggio, who after the death of his wife Isabella, took the habit of this order at Munich, in the year 1626, under the name of brother John-Baptist, and died in the convent of Casteluovo, in 1644. In France likewise, the great duke de Joyeuse, after having distinguished himself as a great general, became a Capuchin in September 1587.

Father Paul observes, "that the Capuchins preserve their reputation by reason of their poverty; and that if they should suffer the least change in their institution, they would acquire no immoveable estates by it, but would lose the alms they now receive." He adds, "It seems therefore as if here an absolute period was put to all future acquisitions and improvements in this gainful trade: for whoever should go about to institute a new order, with a power of acquiring estates, such an order would certainly find no credit in the world; and if a profession of poverty were a part of the institution, there could be no acquisitions made whilst that lasted; nor would there be any credit left when that was broke."

There is likewise an order of Capuchin nuns, who follow the rule of St. Clara. Their first establishment was at Naples in 1538, and their foundress was the venerable mother Maria Laurentia Longa, of a noble family in Catalonia; a lady of the most uncommon piety and devotion. Some Capuchins coming to settle at Naples, she obtained for them, by her credit with the archbishop, the church of St. Euphobia without the city; soon after which she built a monastery for virgins, under the name of our Lady of Jerusalem, into which she retired in 1534, together with nineteen young women, who engaged themselves by solemn vows to follow the 3d rule of St. Francis. The pope gave the government of this monastery to the Capuchins; and soon after, the nuns quitted the 3d rule of St. Francis, to embrace the more rigorous rule of St. Clara, from the austerity of which they had the name of Nuns of the Passion, and that of Capuchins from the habit they took, which was that of the Capuchins.

After the death of their foundress, another monastery of Capuchins was established at Rome, near the Quirinal palace, and was called the monastery of the holy sacrament; and a third, in the same city, built by cardinal Baronius. These foundations were approved in the year 1600, by pope Clement VIII. and confirmed by Gregory XV. There were afterwards several other establishments of Capuchins; in particular one at Paris, in 1604, founded by the

duchess de Mercœur: who put crowns of thorns on the heads of the young women whom she placed in her monastery.

As the religious orders are now utterly abolished in this country, in consequence of the Reformation from Popery, it is necessary before we dismiss this article, to take some notice of the effects they had on the minds of the people, both in a civil and a religious light.

And first, in a civil light, they had their advantages and disadvantages. The vast estates bestowed upon them for their support, were let at easy rents to tenants, and for the most part the rents were taken from what the earth produced. This encouraged industry, and promoted agriculture, the people resided in the country, where poverty was seldom known, and those cities which now make such a distinguished figure in Britain, were then little better than contemptible villages. The people in the country were satisfied with their conditions, because the cities and towns had no temptations to present them with. How different in the present age, when the country is depopulated, and the cities crowded with unthinking persons, who are verging towards the brink of destruction. The lands which formerly belonged to these houses, are now in the hands of laymen, who not being willing to set any bounds to their extravagance, keep the farmers tenants at will, and raise their rents to such an exorbitant height, that the price of all sorts of provisions daily increases, and the country is in a manner neglected.

But the disadvantage in a civil light was the discouragement they gave to marriage. This was an unnatural sentiment, because every man should have his own wife, and every woman her own husband. It was the design of God that it should be so, lest unnatural crimes should take place, and men become even worse than the beasts that perish. Many accusations were preferred against those who lived in convents at the time of the Reformation, some of which are too shocking to be mentioned, and, for the honour of human nature, we hope that a great number of them were false. This will appear the more probable, when we consider, that too many of those who promoted the Reformation, had their own interest in view, more than the glory of God, or the happiness of immortal souls. But still, perhaps, some part of the accusation was too true, for to use the words of the moralist, "Shut nature out at the door, and she will come in at the window." Celibacy is no crime, when voluntarily chosen, and submitted to in purity, but it becomes dangerous when imposed. The ancient hermits, in times of persecution, and of whom we have already given an account, were under the necessity of living in a state of celibacy, but the cause being removed, the effect should cease. There was no necessity that the



monks should live in a state of celibacy, and if so, how great was their error in obliging young persons who devoted themselves to a religious life, to be deprived of all those innocent pleasures which will always take place between the sexes, when flowing from virtuous love.

Secondly, in a religious light. The great error of the monastic life consisted in the monks, like the Pharisees of old, having considered themselves as far superior in religion to the rest of the world.—Self-righteousness is contrary to every thing in genuine religion, whether natural or revealed. It precludes all necessity for repentance, and teaches poor sinful mortals to look down with contempt and disdain upon many of their fellow-creatures, who, perhaps, are greater objects of the divine favour than themselves. The monks taught the people to believe that the secular clergy were no better than hirelings, because they received the tithes appointed by law, for the stated discharge of their duty, whereas the monks themselves enjoyed greater estates, without doing any duty at all.

But with all these errors, the monastic life had its advantages in a religious light. In an age of barbarity, when the great lived by the sword, and the poor were their submissive vassals, many events took place, which we, who pride ourselves for living in better times, look back to like a dream in the records of history. A husband deprived of a wife by the barbarity of lawless robbers, his daughter

ravished, and his son killed in defending injured innocence, often induced some of our great noblemen to retire from the world, and build convents for those in the same distressed circumstances with themselves. In these places the disconsolate widow, the maiden injured by her false lover, the orphan, the sick, and the wounded, found an asylum; the world had forgotten them, and they were dead to the pleasures and allurements of it.

It was the great error of the Reformation, that these religious houses were not preserved, for reasons of a similar nature. The revenues appropriated for their support would have been sufficient to support the aged and the afflicted, so that we should have had no occasion for workhouses and hospitals. The youth of both sexes belonging to our industrious poor, would have been brought up in the principles of virtue and religion, till they had been fit to go out to trades; and charity-schools would have been, in many respects, unnecessary. And to conclude, bishop Burnet tells us, that archbishop Leighton, one of the greatest divines who have lived since the age of the apostles, often lamented that these religious houses had not been kept up for men of mortified tempers to spend the remainder of their lives in, without the entanglement of oaths and vows. All this, however, was rendered ineffectual, by the rapaciousness of our princes and nobility: but the subject is so melancholy, that we shall not dwell any longer upon it.

## rites and ceremonies in the church of rome.

**F**IRST of the election of the pope. When the pope dies, the care of the government is committed to four cardinals, viz. the first cardinal bishop, the first cardinal priest, the first cardinal deacon, and the cardinal chamberlain of the household.—The first three to manage the civil affairs of the government, and the latter orders all the seals of the late pope to be broken, and the money to be coined with a device of the vacancy.

The office of these four cardinals continues only ten days, but they appoint deputies, and they, with the rest of their brethren, enter the conclave to proceed to the election of the pope, or as he is called, a vicar of Jesus Christ. Before they enter the conclave, they hear the mass of the Holy Ghost in the Gregorian chapel, and a bishop delivers an harangue in Latin, exhorting them to make choice of a proper person to fill the chair of St. Peter the prince of the apostles.

This being over, the cardinals march in procession, two and two, according to their rank, attended by the Swiss guards, and a vast crowd of people, all singing the hymn to the Holy Ghost, called *Veni Creator Spiritus*. When they arrive at the conclave, they take possession of their cells by lot, after which they all go to the chapel of pope Paul III. where the bulls for the election of a pope are read, and the dean of the sacred college exhorts the cardinals to act consistent with them. They are then permitted to go home to dinner, but they must return before night, for the master of the ceremonies acquaints them, that if any of them come out of their cells after they are shut up, they cannot be re-admitted.

The marshal of the ceremonies orders the guards to stand at such places as appear to him most convenient for the safety of the election, and the ambassadors of princes are permitted to remain in the conclave the first twenty-four hours, but no longer.—

When all such as are not to remain in the conclave are gone out, the doors are shut, the conclave is walled up, and guards are posted at all the avenues. The cardinal dean, and the cardinal chamberlain, then visit the conclave to see that every thing is safe, and an act therefore is drawn up by a notary.

Each cardinal has a priest and a soldier to attend him, and the other officers are, a sacrist, an under sacrist, a secretary, and an under secretary, a confessor, two physicians, a surgeon, two barbers, an apothecary with his apprentices, five masters of the ceremonies, a bricklayer, a carpenter, and sixteen porters. All these are called conclavists, and although the office is rather troublesome, yet, when the election is over, they enjoy many privileges.—The new elected pope distributes a sum of money among them, and they enjoy pensions for life.

The governor of Rome, who, in some respects, is like the mayor of one of our corporations, issues out orders to deter all persons, except the guards, from carrying arms, either in the day or night, and all such as transgress are severely punished. The clergy of Rome, whether secular or regular, are obliged to march once every day in procession to St. Peter's, to implore the aid of the Holy Ghost, in directing the cardinals to make a proper choice of a holy father for the church, and from St. Peter's they march to the Vatican, and sing the *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

When the conclave is shut up, the under master of the ceremonies goes through the apartments at six in the morning, and two in the afternoon, ringing a little bell to call the cardinals to the chapel of the scrutiny. Each of the cardinals comes out of his cell, attended by his conclavists, one of whom carries his standish into the chapel where the scrutiny is to be, and the other his robe and hat, which his eminence puts on when he enters the chapel. These robes are not the same they wear on other occasions, but are made for the present purpose only.

This chapel, which is never used but during the election of a pope, is finely decorated, and much esteemed by those who visit Rome. At the upper end of it is painted the last judgment; and the floor and benches are covered with green cloth. The seat for the dean of the sacred college is on the right hand going in, and the first cardinal deacon over against him; behind the altar is a long table, and on it two basons filled with printed ballots for the scrutiny. There are also two chalcices, and a bag, wherein the last cardinal deacon puts the balls intended to ballot for the scrutiny.

The conclave, which consists of part of the apostolical palace, is a row of little bells, made of wainscot, where the cardinals are shut up while they are employed about the election of a pope. Every cell

has small apartments adjoining, for the use of the conclavists, and they are all ranged along the great gallery of the Vatican, with small spaces between them; such of the cardinals as had been favourites of the late pope, have their cells hung with purple stuff, but the other use only green serge. The seats, tables, and bed are all covered with the same, and over the door of each of the apartments is painted the arms of the cardinals to whom it belongs. A long range of windows running along the front of the gallery, give light to the cells, and there are ventilators to carry off the foul air.

The Swiss, who guard the door of the Vatican, are changed every two hours; and in the square of St. Peter is a body of troops, commanded by the general of the church, who is most commonly a Roman nobleman. Near the castle of St. Angelo, there is another body of guards, the soldiers of which are commanded by the marshal of the church, and these guard the passages through which the cardinals receive their provisions. Neither the cardinals, nor their attendants shut up with them, are to be spoken to, except at particular hours, and then it must be aloud either in the Latin or Italian language.

Before any provisions can be carried in to the cardinals, the soldiers, who guard all the inlets to their apartments, examine strictly whether any letters are concealed within the dishes, and if any are found, they are destroyed. Every day about noon, and towards evening, the coaches belonging to the different cardinals come into the square of St. Peter, and their domestics alighting, go to the steward of the conclave, and demand their provisions. Having received the dishes, they march to the inner passage, in the following order: first the cardinal's two staff bearers each with his wooden mace, painted of a purple colour, having his arms upon it. Behind these marches his valet de chambre with his silver mace, and after him his gentlemen follow, two and two, bare-headed. Next follows the master of the household, with a napkin on his shoulder, attended by the butler and the carver. The staff bearers who follow him, carry the cardinal's victuals and drink on a lever, whereon hangs a large kettle, containing several pots, plates, and dishes. Others carry large baskets, containing bottles of wine, bread, fruit, cream, jellies, and all such articles of luxury as can be procured.

When they arrive at the entry of the passage leading to the gallery where the bells are, they name aloud the cardinal whom they want, and a valet from within, admits porters to carry in the provisions.—But although they use all these precautions, and many more, yet letters are often conveyed to the cardinals: and this is sometimes done in the most artful manner, by writing on the skin of a fowl, and putting it into a bottle of wine.

When the election is over, three of the cardinals

wait on the pope, and ask him what name he is determined to assume. He having answered them, which is most commonly the name of the pope who raised him to the dignity of cardinal; they deliver to him the fisherman's rod. The two first cardinal deacons conduct the new elected pope to a place behind the altar, where, with the assistance of the master of the ceremonies and the sacrist, who is always an Augustine monk, they take off his cardinal's habit, to put on the pontifical, which is a robe of white taffety, a linen rochet, a canail and a cap, both of red satin, with shoes made of red cloth embroidered with gold, and a golden cross on the upper part.

The pope being thus properly dressed, is carried in his chair before the altar in the chapel, and there all the cardinals adore him, by kissing his feet and his right hand, kneeling before him. The holy father then raises them up one after another, and gives them the salute of peace on the right cheek. This part of the ceremony being over, the first cardinal deacon, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, carrying the cross, and a choir of music, singing, "Behold the high priest so acceptable to God, and so just," goes to the great lodge of St. Peter's, where the master mason takes care to have the door opened, that the cardinals may pass into the balcony, to acquaint the people with the election of a pope, crying with a loud voice, "I bring you glad tidings, we have a pope." Then one of the great guns belonging to St. Peter's is fired, to give notice to the castle of St. Angelo, to discharge a whole round of artillery, and all the bells in the city are set a ringing, while the air resounds with the noise of drums and trumpets.

During the whole of this noise, the whole body of the Roman people stand in the streets, praying for blessings upon the new pope, from whom they promise themselves every sort of happiness. The same day, the pope with his mitre on, is carried to the altar of pope Sixtus V. where the cardinals in their purple robes come and adore him a second time. The adoration is performed in the same manner as before, and, during the whole of the ceremony, the musicians sing anthems suitable to the solemnity.—In the mean time, the inclosures of the conclave are broken down, and the cardinals descend into the middle of St. Peter's church, and behind them the new pope is carried in a chair, over which is a canopy adorned with gold fringe. His bearers seat him on the altar of St. Peter, where the cardinals adore him a third time, and after them the foreign ambassadors, amidst a vast concourse of people. The Deum is then sung, and the cardinal, who stands on the epistle side of the altar, reads the verses and prayers appointed for that ceremony in the Roman ritual.—After this the pope is set down on the highest steps

of the altar, and the assisting cardinals having taken off his mitre, he solemnly blesses the people. His robes are then taken off, and twelve chairmen in long scarlet cloaks hanging down to the ground, place him in his chair, and convey him to his apartments. Such are the ceremonies practised at Rome, the first day after the election of a new pope; and when we consider it in all parts, perhaps, there was never any thing so magnificent under the name of religion.

The pope, as universal head of the church, being elected in the manner we have related, preparations are made for his coronation; and these are equal in magnificence and grandeur to those of the greatest monarchs in the world. If at the time of his election he is only a cardinal deacon, then the deacons of the sacred college, constitute him both priest and bishop at one time in the chapel of pope Sixtus V. to which on the day of his coronation he goes in his cardinal's habit, supported by two prelates, who are the gentlemen of his chamber, and his cup-bearer. All the foreign ambassadors, the cardinals, with the Roman princes and nobility, join in the procession, and they are escorted by the Swiss guards, both horse and foot. When they arrive at the chapel of pope Sixtus V. the cardinals put on their red caps, and the pope has his pontificalibus delivered to him in the following manner:

The first master of the ceremonies girds on the folds of taffety under the rochet, and puts upon his head the red satin barrette. His holiness then goes into the chapel, where the cardinals make him a very low reverential bow, and the holy father receives the submission of his spiritual children like an indulgent parent. The gentlemen who attend the cardinals are on their knees, and the pope stands with his back to the altar. After this, one of the cardinal deacons takes off his red barrette, and another puts on one of white taffety; they likewise take off his red mozette, and dress him in the amiet, the albe, the girdle, the stole, and the red chafuble embroidered with gold. The first cardinal deacon puts the mitre, adorned with precious stones, upon his head, whilst the master of the ceremonies sings an anthem, accompanied by the choir. After which, one of the sub-deans takes up the cross that is carried before the pope, and the cardinals pull off their barrettes in honour of the sacred wood.

The cross is carried in the following order: The pope's gentlemen walk two and two before it, followed by all the courtiers of the new successor of St. Peter, dressed in their ceremonial habits. The pages march next, and after them a numerous train of consistorial advocates, the gentlemen of the privy chamber, the archbishops, bishops; and the pope's chaplains, who carry the triple crown and mitre.—The cross comes after these chaplains, and is followed by the cardinal deacons two and two, and they



by the cardinal priests and bishops in the same order. After these come the Roman nobility and foreign ambassadors, each attended by numerous retinues of servants and dependants.

The holy father is carried in a chair to the church, in the midst of this solemn procession, surrounded by his guards, and followed by vast numbers of people. The knights of St. Peter and Paul, support the canopy over the holy father's head; and in that order the procession proceeds to the great church of St. Peter. Under the portico of St. Peter's, near the holy gate, there is a throne erected for the pope, where he sits under a canopy, having likewise benches raised in for the cardinals.

Then all the clergy belonging to St. Peter's, preceded by the dean, come and kiss the pope's feet; after which, he is carried to the foot of the high altar, amidst the acclamations of the people. He here kneels down and prays before the host, bareheaded, and is immediately carried from thence to the Gregorian chapel; there he places himself on a throne surrounded by the foreign ambassadors, the cardinals, the Italian princes and nobles, with all the great officers of his household. Being thus seated, he receives homage from every one present, by their kissing his feet, and then he bestows his blessing on the people, who testify their regard for him, in the loudest acclamations of love, joy, and esteem.

This part of the ceremony being over, the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, put on their white robes, whilst the canons of St. Peter's sing an anthem in the choir, and the pope washes his hands four times. The first basin of water is presented him by the first Roman conservator; the second, during mass, by the general of the church; the third, by the French ambassador; and the last, by the ambassador from the emperor. After this, the first cardinal deacon dresses the new made pope in fine robes, adorned with the most costly jewels, and then the procession begins, by the first master of the ceremonies carrying a lighted wax taper in one hand, and a basin of water in the other. A pile of combustibles is erected in the basin when the water is poured out, and fire is set to it by the master of the ceremonies, in order to put the holy father in mind of the vanity of all earthly grandeur, and he repeats three times to the pope, the following words, "Behold, holy father, how the glory of this world passes away."

The whole procession being arrived at the foot of the high altar, on which stands several large silver candlesticks gilded, with wax tapers in them; the pope makes a short prayer, and then rising up, begins the mass, having the cardinal deacon on his right hand, as assistant bishop with his cope, and the cardinal deacon of the gospel on his left, with two cardinal deacons behind him as assistants.

His holiness having made the solemn confession,

the cardinal dean, who holds the mitre gives it to the cardinal deacon's assistants, to put it upon his head. He then goes and sits down on his throne, before which, each of the three cardinal priests reads a prayer, suitable to his coronation. The pope then descends from his throne; his mitre is taken off, and the first cardinal deacon assisted by the second, dresses him in the pallium, saying to him, "Receive the pallium, which represents to you the duties and perfection of the pontifical function. May you discharge it to the glory of God, and of his most holy mother, the blessed Virgin Mary; of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the holy Roman church."

In the next part of the ceremony, the cardinal deacon of the gospel puts three deacon's vestures on the three crosses of the pallium, and the holy father ascends the altar with the pallium on his shoulder, but without his mitre; and kisses the book of the holy evangelists, at the same time perfuming the altar with incense. After this the mitre is again set on his head, and the first cardinal deacon perfumes him three times with incense, and the ceremony closes with a salute, which the cardinal gives him on his left cheek and stomach; and the two other cardinals do the same after him. Then the pope returns to his throne, where he receives the adoration of all the cardinals, and of the clergy who are present. From this throne he proceeds to the high altar, where he sings with an audible voice, "Glory be to God in the highest;" and as soon as the prayer of mass is ended, he instantly ascends his throne.—Then the first cardinal deacon descends into the confessional of St. Peter, attended by the principal officers of that church. There they sing several litanies, accompanied by the choir; after which the pope is carried into the benediction seat, accompanied by his cardinals and prelates. The canopy under which he is carried, is supported by several of the Roman nobility, and two of the grooms in red liveries carry fans of peacocks feathers on each side of the chair. All the cardinals stand up while the two first deacon cardinals assist the pope to ascend the throne, which the day before was set up in the middle of the pew. An anthem is then sung, and the dean of the sacred college reads the coronation prayer; the second cardinal deacon takes off his holiness's mitre, and the first puts the triple crown on his head, saying,— "Receive this tiara, embellished with three crowns, and never forget when you have it on, that you are the father of princes and kings, the supreme judge of the universe, and on earth, vicar of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

During the whole of this ceremony, Rome is in an unbounded state of confusion; for although the guards are drawn up to prevent disorders, yet such is the madness of the people, that they run into all

manner of extravagancies; and the murder of a few persons is considered as no more than trifles. The coronation being over, the pope treats the cardinals, foreign ambassadors, prelates, and all the great officers of state, with the most magnificent entertainment that we can form any idea of.

A lofty theatre is erected at the upper end of a spacious hall, and in the centre is a table, at which his holiness takes his seat, under a velvet canopy, adorned with fringes of gold. On the left hand side-board stand a large number of gold and silver vessel; and on the right hand is a table for the cardinals, ambassadors, and great officers of state. The laity, although princes or the sons of kings, are obliged to wait at table on the holy father, who comes into the hall dressed in his pontifical robes, supported by two cardinal deacons, and followed by all the rest of that body. Before his holiness sits down to table, he washes his hands in state; the bason being held by the Imperial ambassador; the first cardinal bishop pours the water on his hands, and two cardinal deacons give him the napkin. During the whole of this ceremony, the other cardinals, with the ambassadors and nobility, kneel down, and remain in that posture till the pope takes his place at the table.

All things having being thus adjusted, the pope is next to take possession of his sovereignty, at the church of St. John de Lateran, which is his cathedral, and the metropolitian of all the churches under his jurisdiction, throughout the Christian-world.—This ceremony is performed a few days after the coronation, in the most pompous manner that can be imagined.

Twelve trumpets and twelve light horsemen begin the procession from St. Peter's church, and six ranks of four horses each follow, carrying cloaks belonging to the cardinals. After them march the mace-bearers belonging to the cardinals, all on horseback, with silver maces on their shoulders, on which are the arms of their masters. These are followed by the gentlemen and almoners of the cardinals, foreign ambassadors, and princes, with a long train of Roman nobility, dressed in the most sumptuous manner, and attended by their servants in rich liveries.

The next part of the procession consists of four of the pope's eunuchs, dressed in large red copes, and then his tailor, and two cloak bearers dressed alike, carrying two velvet portmanteaus embroidered with gold. The pope's grooms of the stable in loose coats of red serge follow them, leading the white jennets which the kingdom of Naples is obliged annually to send to his holiness, as a tribute of homage for that kingdom; the popes having for many ages claimed it as part of the patrimony of the holy see. These jennets have silk housings, with gold fringes and leaves of silver plate; after them come several mules richly caparisoned, and bordered

with red velvet, and gold fringes, several of the pope's domestics leading them by the bridles.

Three litters covered with red velvet or scarlet cloth follow them, and two officers on horseback march before the litters, attending the pope's master of the horse on horseback, with his staff-bearers who walk on foot, five of the pope's mace-bearers come after in long gowns of purple cloth, faced with velvet, with their maces and enamelled collars.—Fourteen drums come next on foot, dressed in red satin flowered with gold, wearing plumes of feathers in their hats, and each of them bearing an ensign of the fourteen quarters or districts of Rome. A band of the pope's trumpets follow them dressed in scarlet, faced with gold; and after them walk the apostolical gentlemen of the bed-chamber, with the pages, all dressed in scarlet. The commissary of the apostolical chamber, in purple, and the advocates in black, with the family chaplains and pages all dressed in scarlet come afterwards. These are followed by a vast number of domestics, each of whom carries something in his hand, as a distinguishing mark of the rank they bear in the household, particularly the four participants, who are dressed in purple, and carry the pope's four crimson velvet hats.

After them come forty of the Roman officers, mounted on stately horses, viz. the judges, justices, secretaries, notaries, comptrollers, fiscals, &c. all dressed in long senatorial robes and black velvet hats. On the left hand of the dean, march the registers of the courts, the clerks of the chamber, the auditors, and the master of the sacred palace. The fourteen masters of the districts of Rome follow them, dressed in robes of crimson velvet, lined with rich taffety, and attended by fourteen marshals in pink satin vests. The governor of Rome follows after, attended by a vast train of dependants and officers, particularly the Roman princes, and such as attend the pope's private chamber. The apostolical sub-deacon carries the tripple cross, reversed towards the pope, who now makes his appearance in the following manner:

His holiness is carried in a litter lined with red velvet, embroidered and fringed with gold, and he himself is clothed in a white satin cassock, with the rochet and stole all of red velvet, if it is winter; but of red satin, if summer. Fifty young Roman gentlemen, dressed in white satin, walk before his holiness, and they are followed by the pages of the bedchamber, and two troops of horse guards. All the cardinals follow on horseback two and two, immediately after the pope's guard, and they are followed by the archbishops and bishops, of whom there are always many at Rome. The whole of the procession closes with two troops of light horse, with their officers, pompously dressed in scarlet and gold.

This magnificent procession marches from St.

Peter's to the bridge of St. Angelo, and from thence to the capitol, where the Roman people erect a triumphal arch for his holiness, and the senators present him with the keys of the city, holding a sceptre in his hand, while he delivers an oration, which the new-made pontiff most condescendingly stoops to hear.

From thence they proceed to Campo Vachino, where the duke of Parma erects another triumphal arch before his palace, through which his holiness is carried. They then cross the Colliseum, where the Jews have another arch erected, and under it they present him with the five books of Moses in Hebrew. One of their rabbies delivers an address to the holy father, exhorting him to reverence the law of Moses; and an humble request that he will be graciously pleased to protect them. He, in answer, tells them, that he has the most profound respect for the law of Moses, though at the same time he rejects their false interpretations of it. After which the Jews retire without making any reply, and the procession goes forward through the streets, which on that day are hung with tapestry, and crowded with a vast number of spectators. In this manner they proceed to St. John de Lateran, where they are received by all the clergy belonging to that church.

The pope being arrived at the gate of St. John de Lateran, comes out of his litter, and the arch-priest presents him the cross to kiss; after this his holiness ascends the throne, which is prepared for him under the portico, where his pontifical robes and mitre are put on. Whilst he is on the throne, the canons of St. John de Lateran come and kiss his feet, and the cardinal arch-priest makes an oration in the name of the chapter, and delivers him the keys of the church, one of which is of gold, and the other of silver.—As soon as this part of the ceremony is over, the cardinals put on the sacred ornaments, and the pope walks towards the great gate of the cathedral, where the cardinal arch-priest gives him a sprinkler, with which he takes holy water and sprinkles the people, then the same cardinal perfumes his holiness three times with incense.

His holiness then goes into his chair, and his bearers carry him along the nave of the church under a rich canopy held over his head, up to the high altar, where he prays. He is then carried into the choir to a throne, where the cardinals come and pay him their homage. Then the two cardinal-deacons put on and take off his mitre, while he gives the sacred benediction. When this is done, he is carried into the palace of St. John de Lateran, where several anthems are sung, at the close whereof, the cardinal-priest makes an oration, and repeats several particular prayers, suitable to the solemnity. The last part of the ceremony consists in throwing some handfuls

of medals among the people, and in giving them twice his benediction.

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*Particular ceremonies observed in the Vatican, with several other rites of a curious nature.*

When the pope holds a consistory, his throne is erected in the great hall of the apostolical palace, and this throne is square, about eight feet wide, and the pope ascends it by three steps. His holiness sits down on a seat covered with cloth of gold, under a canopy of the same, both equally magnificent. The cardinal bishops and priests sit on his right hand below the throne, and the cardinal deacons on the left; but in such a posture as to have their faces towards the holy father. In these consistories many things are transacted, both of a foreign and domestic nature: letters from foreign princes are read, and answers returned to them: appeals are heard from the prelates in different parts of Europe, and messengers are dispatched with the declaration of the consistory upon them. In these consistories, cardinals are nominated and appointed, and in most respects they are the same as what we call our privy-councils, for no appeals lie from what they have once given judgment upon.

Before we proceed to give an account of the pope's chapel, we shall here say something concerning what the Roman catholics call canonical hours, or services to be performed by the people, whether clergy or laity, at stated hours in the day. This service consists of prayers and holy lessons, and it is to be said in a standing posture, pursuant to an ancient order of the church, and only upon days of penance, kneeling.

Mattins, the first part of the service, and which signifies morning, is to be said between six o'clock and nine, or soon after sun-rising, so as it does not exceed nine before it is finished. Lauds, the second part of the office, and which signifies praise, must be said at any time before three in the afternoon.—Vespers, signifying the evening, are to be repeated before six o'clock, or as soon after as possible.—Last of all Complies, or the conclusion of the service, is to be repeated at any time before midnight. These services ought to be repeated publicly in the churches, but indulgencies are granted to those who are not able to attend, so that they may say them at their own houses, with their families, or privately in their closets.

But the grandest religious ceremonies observed in the Romish church, are those in the pope's chapel, where there are forty grand masses appointed to be said every year; three by the pope himself, thirty by the cardinals, and seven by the archbishops and bishops. It is the pope's turn to say mass on Easter



day, Whitsunday, and Christmas-day, and the others are said on the festivals of the most respected of the saints. When the pope goes to the holy chapel, he is carried in an elbow chair to a private apartment, where he is dressed in his robes; and as soon as he is properly equipped, he gets into another chair, carried by twelve of his grooms, who are dressed in long scarlet robes reaching down to their knees, but when he goes to St. Peter's, he is carried by the knights belonging to that church.

On Sundays in Advent and Lent, when his holiness goes to his chapel, he walks bare-footed, by way of humiliation; but on the third Sunday in Advent, and fourth in Lent, he is carried; these being privilege days set apart for rejoicing. On the first Sunday in Advent, the holy father carries the sacrament into the chapel of pope Sixtus V. and at that time he is supported by two of the cardinal deacons, and one of the Roman noblemen bears up his train. When the pope says mass, all the cardinals who are able to attend, appear dressed in robes of white damask laced with gold, with this difference, that the cardinal bishops wear copes; the cardinal priests, chasubles; and the cardinal deacons, the tunic; and all of them white damask mitres.—The bishops wear copes too, but instead of being white like those of the cardinals, they are made of rich party-coloured silks, embroidered with gold; but their mitres are of white linen, only sewed upon pasteboard.

The penitents of St. Peter's church go likewise to the same chapel in their chasubles of divers colours; but when the pope does not celebrate mass himself, the cardinals wear nothing but the rochet, covered with their copes; and such prelates as have a right to wear it, have only short mantles over it, whilst those who have no right, remain in their purple-coloured robes. The dignified clergy, who do not chuse to walk, attend the pope in their carriages; and the cardinals, as soon as they enter the apostolical palace, pull off their gloves, and lay down every thing they have in their hands, in order to put on their copes in a chamber allotted for that purpose. When the cardinals are dressed in their robes, they go into the pope's privy chamber, where they are waited on by all the great officers of the household, who treat them as if they were princes, and entertain them with every thing necessary, till at last his holiness makes his appearance, and gives them the kiss of peace, acknowledging them to be his brethren. The vicar of Jesus having thus humbled himself before the cardinals, they all march off towards St. Peter's, in the following order:

The cardinals' gentlemen walk first, and they are followed by the pope's chaplains; after which come the advocates, and all the other officers of the spiritual court. The cross is carried by an apostolical deacon in a purple cassock, with a rochet and cope

of the same colour. The crucifix is turned towards the pope during the procession, although this is contrary to the usual practice of the church of Rome. On each side of the cross are two vergers with wands in their hands, and long mantles which trail on the ground. After the sub-deacons, march the penitentiaries of St. Peter, followed by the bishops, archbishops, the governor of Rome, the cardinals, and the Swiss guards.

In the middle of the guards ride the generals and captains of the light horse, with the pope's relations, and the ambassadors from the different European princes. After all these comes the pope, followed by his cup-bearer and chamberlain, the clerks of the chamber, generals of orders, and all the clergy belonging to the chapel.

The pope goes to the chapel without his mitre, commonly at matins, and during the holy week he immediately follows the crucifix, between the two eldest cardinals. The others follow two and two; after them comes the governor of Rome, with the other great officers of state. Upon entering the chapel, they salute the officiating priest, who is dressed for saying mass, and stands on the epistle side, with his back to the altar, after which each rises and goes to his place, where they say a short prayer, and remain standing till his holiness comes in. The same ceremony is observed at entering St. Peter's, where they salute the conducting arch-priest, whose place is at the head of the chapter or canons, near the entrance into the choir. When the pope goes to attend mass at any other of the great churches in Rome, the ceremonies are the same as we have described; so that it is needless to repeat them again, as that would be entirely superfluous.

We shall now proceed to describe the pope's chapel, taking all the parts separately, that the reader may have a proper idea of the whole construction. The architecture itself is extremely grand, but it is the interior part that we must now attend to.

On the gospel side of the altar stands a throne, in the form of an alcove, where the holy father is placed during the time of high mass. Around the throne and the altar are seats for the cardinals, and behind them seats for the ambassadors from foreign princes, with the archbishops and bishops who at that time happen to be at Rome.

Before the steps leading to the throne, is a square space set apart for the monks, and the officers of the pope's court, and near it is a kind of ballustrade, which separates this holy court from the place where the populace attend, and the whole is illuminated by several lamps. Near this are several lamps always burning, and behind is the choir for the music.

The high altar is embellished with seven wax candles, and the cross is placed before the middlemost taper, somewhat bigger than the candles, but

when his holiness says mass, the number of candles is doubled.

There can remain no manner of doubt but many of our sensible readers will look upon most of these ceremonies as trifling and insignificant, and possibly they are so; but it should be considered, that it is no easy matter to make a whole body of people forget their ancient customs, and turn in an instant to a new way of thinking. It is much to be lamented, that a great part of the exteriors of religion depends upon exercises; which induced some wits in the last century but one, with no bad intention, to say, "they often promised us great things, but would not let us have any." There is a secret pleasure in attending to the exterior parts of religion, connected with the interior, which none but those who are really pious, can ever have any relish for. This species of corruption in the human heart, gave rise to the building and decorating the most famous temples; that the senses might be captivated, while the cultivation of the faculties was neglected.

#### *Of the ceremonies of the mass.*

WE shall now proceed to give a particular explanation of the ceremonies observed in the sacrifice of the mass, which the catholics look upon as the most acceptable of all adoration, and the most effectual of all prayers. On Sundays, before high mass, the holy water is consecrated, after which there is a procession. The faithful are to be present at mass, with a conscience void of offence; and on entering the church, they are to sprinkle themselves with holy water, as a sign of the necessity of internal purity. The whole congregation, with the priest before them carrying the cross, walk round the church and places adjacent to it, singing hymns and litanies.

While the priest goes up to the altar, the people are to lift up their hearts to God, considering this ceremony, as observed in imitation of Christ's retreat to the garden with his disciples, just before his agony began. When the priest comes up to the altar, he bows before it, and with his back to the people, repeats a propitiatory prayer, in which the people ought to join with him; and this is done in memory of our Lord praying with his disciples in the garden. The priest then kisses the altar, to represent the traitor Judas betraying Christ with a kiss. Having perfumed the altar, he begins the service by singing what the Roman catholics call the *Troait*, or entrance, which varies every day according to the festival or mystery which is to be celebrated. Immediately after the *Troait*, the priest says *Kyrie eleison*, which is a Greek word, and signifies, Lord have mercy upon us. It is addressed three

times to each of the persons in the ever-blessed trinity, to shew how much we stand in need of God's goodness and mercy, without which we should inevitably perish for our many sins.

Then the priest kisses the altar, while the people sing the *gloria excelsis*, or glory to God; and when he turns, he says, *Domine vobiscum*, that is, the Lord be with you, and the people return his salute, by saying, "and with my spirit." This salutation is repeated several times during the time of mass, to point out the mutual harmony that ought always to be found between the priest and the people.—The priest who officiates, turns to the collect, which is so called, because it is a prayer, containing a summary of all that the church begs of God in the office of the day. The gradual is sung after the epistle is read, and it is called the gradual, because in the ancient church, the people sung it as they went up into the gallery, in the same manner as the Jews had their psalms of degrees, when they went up into the temple. To this they add the Hallelujah except in Lent, when a verse out of one of the penitential psalms is sung in the place of it; which psalms are sung in a low and mournful tone, this being a season of humiliation for sin. In the mean while, the deacon presents the incense to the priest, who blesses it, saying over it, "may God bless thee, to whose honour thou shalt be brought."

Then the priest, turning his face to the altar, kneels down, or bows in a lowly manner, and repeats a prayer, the people kneeling and looking towards the ground. The gospel is carried from the right side of the altar, to the left, as an emblem of the gospel being preached to the gentiles after the resurrection of Christ. After the gospel is read, the priest perfumes and kisses it, saying to the people, "Behold the sacred law, I believe it with my heart, and confess it with my mouth." The priest adds, "May our sins be blotted out by the words of the gospel." Then follows the sermon, and after it the creed is sung by the whole congregation, when the priest turns once more to them and salutes them.

The offertory follows next, which consists in the priest's offering up the host, pointing out the introduction to Christ's humiliation, and then he elevates the chalice after the manner of the Jews when they offered an oblation; and then setting it down on the altar, covers it. Both the bread and wine are blessed by the priest. He afterwards blesses the incense, and perfumes the bread and wine, praying that the sweet smell of this sacrifice may be more acceptable to God than the smoke of victims offered to him under the law. In the next place the altar is perfumed; and lastly, the priest washes his fingers, which among other things is done, in order to point out that Pilate washed his hands, and then declared our Lord to be innocent.

As soon as the priest has washed his hands, he makes a profound bow to the middle of the altar, and addressing himself to the sacred and ever blessed Trinity, makes a second oblation of the bread and wine. He then turns to the people, and exhorts them to pray to God, that the sacrifice which is going to be offered, may be acceptable in his sight; to which the people bow consent, and then the priest prays in a low tone of voice, only that at the end, he says aloud, *per omnia secula*, that is, "for ever and ever;" after which he exhorts the people to lift up their hearts, as the hour of consecration is at hand. The words the priest is now to utter, are believed to be the most awful that can be spoken by man. They are to bring down the Lord God of heaven and earth upon the altar; and the people answer, that they are in a proper disposition for the solemnity. The priest then addresses himself to God the Father in a short prayer, which is called the preface, and is followed by the words, "holy, holy, holy is the Lord," sung by the people.

What follows the preface is called the canon, which begins thus, *Te igitur*, &c. "We therefore humbly beseech thee, O most merciful Father." The priest after this, covers the host and chalice with his hands, a custom observed formerly both by the Jewish and heathen priests, who always laid their hands upon the victim before it was offered up. The priest makes the sign of the cross upon the host and chalice, and pronounces the words whereby Christ instituted and ordained the sacrament of the eucharist.

After the priest has consecrated the chalice, by pronouncing the words of our Saviour, "This is the cup of my blood, &c." he lifts it up that the people may adore it, and, by their prayers, beg of God, the good effects of that sacrifice they are then offering. He then raises his voice, and smiting his breast, begs God's blessing on the congregation, and on himself, through the mediation of such saints as he mentions. He likewise implores the Divine Majesty, to grant both him and them a place in his kingdom, as Jesus Christ did grant to the penitent thief on the cross. Having repeated the Lord's prayer, the priest says a private one, to procure the favour of God, by the intercession of the blessed Virgin and the saints, and when he has done, he breaks the sacred host, and puts part of it into the chalice. This being done, the priest and people sing in concert, the *Agnus Dei*, &c. three times over, and each time the priest smites his breast, and then says a private prayer for the peace of the church. When that prayer is over, he kisses the altar and the instrument of peace, which is presented to him by the deacon. The deacon receives it from him again, and then it is sent round to all the congregation,

with these words said to each particular person,—  
"Peace be with you."

While the peace is kissing, the priest prepares himself for the communion, by two sacred prayers; and then in a low voice he says, "I will eat of the celestial bread;" and smiting his breast, adds these words, "I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter my house, &c." which are repeated three times.—He then partakes of the wafer, and uncovering the chalice, says, "What shall I give unto the Lord for all the good things which he hath done unto me? I will take the cup of salvation, &c." He makes the sign of the cross with the chalice, saying, "May the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep my soul, &c." When the priest has received the communion, he administers it to the people; after which, they sing an anthem. After this, the priest putting wine into the chalice, in order to take what is called the ablution, repeats a short prayer, in which he begs of God, that this communion which to the outward senses appears a temporal remedy, may prove to the hearts of the faithful, the means to obtain a blessed eternity. Afterwards he causes wine and water to be poured out for the second ablution, and accompanies this action with another short prayer, and then salutes the congregation.

The priest then sings the post communion, in which he is accompanied by the people; and in this action he salutes the congregation, as an emblematical representation of our Saviour's saluting his mother and his disciples after his resurrection.

The congregation is then dismissed with these words, *Ita missa est*; that is, "depart, the mass is finished." To which the people answer, "God be thanked." Lastly, the people receive the benediction from the priest who officiates, or from the bishop if he is present, which is seldom the case, unless it happens in a cathedral church. What is here recited is the common form of mass in all popish churches and chapels; or what may be properly called the common public divine service of the church of Rome. But there are other masses, of which we shall give an account in the most regular order, and these are such as are only performed on the most solemn occasion, as will appear hereafter.

#### *Of Episcopal Mass, Solemn Mass, &c.*

When there is to be a solemn mass, and a bishop is to officiate, he is attended to the church by the canons and all the other officers, who wait upon him in state and grandeur at his palace; but if the palace happens to be at a great distance from the church, then the canons meet his Lordship in solemn procession, as soon as he comes within sight. When he



comes near the church, the bells are set a ringing, to give notice to the people of his coming, and the moment he sets his foot within the church door, the organ begins to play. The master of the ceremonies gives the sprinkler to the chief canon, who presents it to the bishop, and his lordship sprinkles himself, and then the canons with it, in the name of the ever-blessed Trinity, and then goes and says a prayer before the altar, on which stands a desk prepared for receiving the holy sacrament. He does the same at the high altar, and then retires to the vestry, in order to put on such robes as are used by those of his rank, when they say mass, and which is done in the following manner:

The sub-deacon goes to a little closet contiguous to the altar, and takes from thence the episcopal sandals and stockings, which he elevates and presents to the bishop. Then he kneels down, and pulls off his lordship's shoes and stockings, who during this part of the ceremony, is surrounded by seven or eight church officers, all kneeling in the most humble posture. The bishop then washes his hands, and two assistant deacons put on his sacred robes. The chief deacon having saluted the bishop, kisses the crucifix, and puts it round the prelate's neck, sets the mitre on his head, and presents him with the pastoral ring, and the sacred glove, each of which he marks with the sign of the cross, and kisses it.

The bishop being thus dressed in his robes, his clergy range themselves about him in order, and two deacons place themselves on each side of him, attended by another deacon and a sub-deacon. Then the incense-bearer appears with his censer, and the bishop blesses the incense. After this the bishop kisses the cross upon the high altar, and then walks in procession to the altar where he is to celebrate mass. The incense-bearer walks before him followed by a priest with the cross, who is attended by two of the officers belonging to the church, carrying lighted tapers in their hands. These are followed by the whole body of the clergy, and the sub-deacon who is to sing the epistle, carries before his breast the book of the New Testament shut, in which is the bishop's maniple. A deacon and priest march before the bishop, and his lordship, as a token of humility, leans on two deacons' assistants, holding his pastoral staff in his left hand, while his right hand is a little elevated, in order to bestow his blessing upon all such as desire it.

The bishop being now arrived at the altar, salutes his clergy with a low bow, and delivers his shepherd's crook to the sub-deacon, while one of the deacons takes off his mitre. Then the bishop, with his clergy, makes a profound bow to the cross, after which all the clergy, except the sub-deacon, the incense-bearer, two deacons' assistants and one assistant priest, with the bishop, retire. The incense-bearer

having perfumed the altar, the bishop begins the mass, and the choir sing the words as he repeats them.—At the end of the confession, the sub-deacon takes the maniple out of the book of the New Testament, kisses it, and presents it to the bishop, who likewise kisses it, and puts it upon his left arm, while the canons all join in repeating several prayers.

The incense-bearer delivers the censer to the sub-deacon, who gives it to the bishop, and his lordship bestows his spiritual benediction upon it. The assistant priest then perfumes the altar, gives it back to the sub-deacon, takes the bishop's mitre from another deacon, and goes to the epistle side of the altar, where he is thrice perfumed by another deacon.

This part of the ceremony being over, the bishop kisses the cross, and taking the crosier in his left hand, walks towards his throne. There he lays aside his mitre, and making the sign of the cross, from the forehead down to the breast, he reads the introit, or entrance, out of the mass book, which the assistant priest holds to him, while another priest holds a wax taper in his hand to give light to his lordship. Two deacons' assistants point with their fingers where he is to read, then all sing the *Kyrie Eleison* together; after which, the bishop puts on his mitre, and birds around him the gremial, which is a sort of consecrated apron. Thus dressed, he sits down on his throne, and two deacons' assistants sit on each side of him, attended by a priest, who sits on a stool. When the choir has finished the *Kyrie Eleison*, the bishop, with his attendants, stand up, and turning towards the altar, gives out the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis*, in an audible voice, which is again sung by the choir.

Next follows a sort of procession, in which the master of the ceremony walks first, and after him the incense-bearer, attended by several other officers, such as light-bearers holding wax tapers. Next follows a deacon, with his hands folded as if he was at his prayers, and the deacon comes next holding the New Testament to his breast. Passing before the altar, they kneel down and salute it, and when they are arrived at the place for reading the gospel, the deacon, who then stands between the two taper-bearers, turns to the right side of the altar, opens the book and begins the lesson out of the gospel. When the deacon says, *Dominus vobiscum*, i. e. the Lord be with you, the bishop rises and lays aside his mitre and his gremial; and when he comes to these words, "Here beginneth the holy gospel," he makes the sign of the cross, and to conclude, blesses himself with another cross, after which the bishop takes up his crosier, then makes the sign of the cross again, and all his attendants follow his example. The gospel being read, he who officiates, kisses the book, incenses the bishop, and all of them return in the same order they came.

In the next place the bishop preaches, or one of his canons, who is assistant, performs that service for him, and after sermon, the deacon who sung the gospel, goes to the left hand of the bishop, and leaning a little forward, repeats the prayer called the *Confiteor*, or confession. This confession being over, the assistant priest publishes the indulgences, and the bishop gives the absolution; but if there is no sermon they go on from the gospel to the creed, which is repeated and sung in the same manner as the other parts of the service. The offertory follows the creed, and the bishop reads it standing with his head uncovered, when he has done he returns to his seat and puts on his mitre, while one deacon takes off his pastoral ring, and another his gloves, and a layman of some eminence presents him with a bason to wash his hands. The arch-deacon presents him with a napkin, and then his lordship goes up again to the altar, supported by the two assistant deacons. The sub-deacon attended by two of the church officers, puts on his shoulder the veil which covered the sacred vessels, in such a manner, that it hangs a little lower on the right side than on the left, and then with his left hand he takes the chalice in which are two hosts.

The right hand leans gently over the veil, the largest side of which is made use of to cover the chalice; and an officer follows the sub-deacon to the altar, with wine and water. The assistant priest, who is the master of the ceremonies, must take care that the bishop who officiates, shall follow exactly the rubric of the mass, so that he may with some propriety be called a prompter; and some of the attendants must stand on each side of the altar with lighted tapers, in honour of the sacrament. When the bishop elevates the host, the assistant deacon on his right hand holds up the lap of his garment; and he observes the same ceremony at the elevation of the chalice, while the attendants keep perfuming the altar.

The last part of the ceremony consists in the assistant priest placing himself at the bishop's right hand while a deacon stands at his left. The priest kneels while the bishop says a short prayer, and both rise up and kiss the altar. The bishop gives the kiss of peace to the priest, who turns his right cheek to receive it, after which the priest goes round with the kiss of peace to all the members of the choir. Such are the ceremonies observed when a bishop says mass, which indeed seldom happens; for in the Roman Catholic countries, the prelates are more intent in hunting after worldly preferment, than in promoting the spiritual interests of those who are committed to their care.

*The solemn Mass, celebrated by the Pope.*

It is but seldom that the holy father of the Catholic church celebrates mass, but when he condescends to do so, it is attended with many ceremonies; but there are different masses celebrated by the popes; an account of which we shall endeavour to lay before the reader; and first, of that which is more common on particular festivals, and generally performed in the chapel belonging to his holiness in the Vatican.

The pope approaches the altar, dressed in his pontifical robes, with a cardinal deacon to take off his mitre, and an auditor of the rota to receive it. On the right hand stands another cardinal deacon, who takes off his hat, and while the holy father is at prayer, the cardinal who says mass approaches and reads the confession. The cardinal deacons on the right and left of his holiness, extend the strings of his mitre. And both of them as they lead the pope to his throne, hold up part of his robe. Every time his holiness lifts up his eyes in a praying posture the cardinal deacon on his left hand holds up part of his robe; but when he lifts up his hands, then the cardinal deacon on the right assists the other. The pope first pays his respects to the crucifix, on the altar, and then to the cardinal who is to officiate. All the cardinals present being in their respective places, they repeat a short prayer upon their knees, and then rising up, continue standing till the whole body of the people have assembled in the chapel and his holiness is seated on his throne. The cardinals salute the pope with a low bow, but the people kneel in order to receive his benediction, which he never fails to give them.

His holiness being thus seated on his throne, the cardinals rise up from their respective seats, and go, with their cowls trailing after them, to salute the altar, which they consider as the throne of Jesus Christ. In the next place they salute the pope as his vicar, and kiss his hand. In their retreat down the steps of the altar, they salute the pope a second time; and after that, all the princes and foreign ambassadors who happen to be present. Having returned to their seats, they stand bare-headed, till their colleagues have gone through the same ceremony; but while the common archbishops do the same, they sit down on their seats, and are covered.

These are some of the ceremonies observed in the church of Rome; but we shall now describe them more particularly. After the *Agnus Dei* is sung, his holiness goes to the throne, and the cardinal-deacon of the gospel stands in such a manner on the epistle side of the altar, with his hands closed toge-

ther, that he not only sees the sacrament, but the pope also going to his throne. When the pope is seated, the deacon takes the consecrated host upon the paten, covered with a veil; and turning to the people, elevates it three times successively: viz. in the middle, and at each end of the altar. After that he gives it to the sub-deacon, who carries it to his holiness. In the mean time, the same deacon takes the chalice in which is the consecrated wine, and having elevated it three times, as he did the host before, carries it to the pope, who adores Jesus Christ in both kinds, as soon as they are presented to him; which he performs by rising up and bowing his body.

When the deacon and sub-deacon are come close to him, they place themselves, one at his right hand, and the other at his left. His holiness takes the large host which is upon the paten, and communicates; putting it into his mouth with his own hand: he then gives two small ones to the deacon and sub-deacon, who kneel and kiss his hands before they receive them. The deacon continues still to hold the chalice, till the assistant cardinal-bishop, dressed in his robes, comes up to the pontifical throne, where the pope's vestry keeper presents him with a golden pipe, one end whereof he dips into the chalice, and his holiness, at the same time, lays his hand on the other. He then inclines his head a little, in order to touch it with his lips, sucks up some part of the consecrated wine, leaving the rest to the deacon, who carries the chalice to the altar, and there sucks up some of the remaining wine, leaving the rest to the sub-deacon, who drinks it without the pipe, as also that which is poured out for the ablution of the chalice.

In the mean time, the pope gives the kiss of peace to all the cardinals, ambassadors, princes, and prelates, and sometimes to private persons who are desirous of receiving it from him; after which he returns to the altar, and finishes the usual solemnities.

There is another solemn mass observed at Rome on Christmas day, when the pope officiates; and of this we shall give the following description:

His holiness walks to the church, preceded by all the cardinals, princes, and prelates, wearing white mitres. The incense-bearer, with seven officers, called acolytes, each with a wax taper in his hand, walks before the cross-bearer; and a clerk of the chamber before the incense-bearer, who holds a sword lifted up, with a cap upon it, which represents the irresistible power of the episcopal sword, which Christ's vicar inherits from the apostle St. Paul, in order to set Christians free from the bondage of the devil. The persons who compose the remainder of the procession are the same with those who walk on all similar occasions; but should the

emperor happen to be at Rome at this time, he is obliged to carry the train of the pope's mantle; two cardinals hold up the other end of it, and his holiness walks in the most stately and majestic manner, under a canopy supported by eight gentlemen of the first rank; nay, if the sons of kings were present at this solemn procession, they could at most but walk with the first cardinal-priest: so tenacious is the church of Rome of what she considers her privileges.

When the pope goes into the church, he passes on to a chapel, where he changes his robes, and then sits down. The cardinals bow to him, and kiss the skirts of his robes on the right side; then come the other prelates in order, and kneeling before him, kiss his right knee, whilst the Latin and Greek deacons, who assist his holiness, stand in readiness at the altar: after some anthems are sung, a vestry keeper puts on the arms of the Latin sub-deacon a small napkin, containing the pope's stockings and his sandals. The sub-deacon carries altogether to the pope, with his hands held up to his eyes, and the acolytes follow and stand round the pope, whilst the sub-deacon and a gentleman of the privy chamber, get under his holiness's robe, to put on his stockings and his sandals.

While the sub-deacon is putting them on, the assistant bishops who are present at the ceremony, hold before his holiness a book and a wax taper, and the pope with his assistant deacons, sing an anthem and a psalm in the most devout manner. It is remarkable, that whenever the pope says mass, the assistant sub-deacons take off and put on his mitre at least a dozen times. A bishop kneels down with the mass book spread open on his head, that his holiness may read the offices for the day, and an assistant supports the book with one hand, and holds in the other a lighted taper; when the pope is seated again and presented with water to wash him, four noblemen of the first rank wait upon this servant of the servants of God, as he stiles himself; and princes, kings, and even the emperor must submit to this, if during the ceremony they should happen to be at Rome. Whilst the ceremony is performing, the people kneel, but the prelates stand up bare-headed.

The pope having washed the deacon and sub-deacon, is assisted by them in pulling off his robes and putting on others, all which he devoutly kisses. The pontifical ring is put on his finger, and his holiness thus equipped, and followed by two auditors holding up his robes, proceeds to the first step of the altar, where he repeats the confession. The three youngest cardinals advance to kiss the holy father's mouth and breast, and while he receives their compliments, the sub-deacon, who stands behind him, puts his hands on his shoulders to support



him; all which ceremonies are considered by the people, as essentially necessary to salvation; so true is the ancient saying, "that men may be led to believe any thing, while the eyes of the understanding are deceived."

The gospel deacon perfumes the pope, and the pope does the same to the altar, after which his holiness give the censer to the gospel-deacon, and going towards the middle of the altar, receives the kisses of the two gospel deacons and of the assistant deacons. In the next place he reads the introit, or entrance, with the *Kyrie eleison* out of the mass book; which the assistant bishop holds on his head instead of a desk. His holiness being seated, they lay the consecrated apron on his knees, and when he rises up they take it away. The Latin and Greek sub-deacons sing the epistles in their respective languages, which being finished, the two sub-deacons, with the master of the ceremonies, kiss the feet of the holy father, who reads the epistle and gradual in his turn. There is nothing particular in this till the end of the creed, unless that seven acolytes, who each carry a lighted taper, surround the holy father, while he walks to read the gospel.

After the creed his holiness washes his hands again, and a vestry keeper brings out the chalice with the paten, on which there is a small gold spoon. The sub-deacon covers the whole with a cloth of gold, and lays them on the altar on the epistle side, after they have been first well wiped. Then the Latin deacon takes three hosts and lays them in proper order upon the paten, where they wait for his holiness, whose mitre is put on, and his ring and gloves taken off, and he washes his hands again after the offertory. As soon as he has done washing, his ring is given him again, he goes up to the altar, the Latin gospel-deacon takes off his mitre, and two cardinal bishops, assistants to his holiness, set the mass-book on the altar on the gospel side. One of the assistant bishops informs the pope what he is to say, and with his finger points where he is to read. Of the three hosts which are unconsecrated, the Latin gospel-deacon takes one, with which he touches the other two, and then gives it to the vestry keeper to eat. He takes a second and touches the chalice and paten with it, and then gives it to the same vestry keeper, who eats it as he did the former, and also takes the wine and water which should be made use of for the mass. The third host the pope takes and consecrates, and this part of the ceremony being over, his holiness bestows his indulgences among the people; who receive them in the same sacred manner as if they had come from heaven.

### *The Masses for the Dead.*

It has often been taken notice of, that of all the sources of wealth to the Romish church, none comes up to, much less equals, that of masses for the dead. It is natural for people of all ranks to wish happiness to attend the souls of their departed friends and relations; and Roman catholics being persuaded that their priests have a sovereign power to release the souls of the deceased from purgatory, we need not be surprised that the people, who are kept in a state of ignorance by designing men, should lay down their most valuable treasures at their feet. Every parish priest has his fees for saying masses for the dead, and these fees are exacted according to the circumstances of the survivors, but as in substance the words are the same, though in particular instances differing in some ceremonies; we shall here confine ourselves to an account of the most solemn, namely, that which is performed by the bishop for some extraordinary persons.

This being a ceremony of a melancholy nature, all the decorations are removed from the altar, and six yellow wax candles are left burning, with a cross in the middle. Two other wax tapers give light to the Credence, a place where the creed is concealed, and this is covered with a yellow table cloth, without any other ornaments than what are absolutely necessary, such as a mass book, a holy water pot, a sprinkler, and a black cloth for absolution. The acolytes spread a black cloth upon the altar, and the bishop officiates in black robes. As soon as mass is over, the bishop puts on a new set of black robes, and all the books are covered with black. The bishop has no crossier in his hand, no gloves on, nor sandals to his feet. The sub-deacons are not allowed to kiss each other, for kisses on all such occasions are absolutely forbidden. They do not cross themselves, nor is the altar perfumed, as on other occasions. All these parts of the ceremony being over, the bishop orders the deacons to grant a certain number of indulgences to those who will pray for the dead; and this is considered as one of the fundamental articles of religion in the Romish church.

The sermon follows, and the pulpit is hung with black, and if it be a particular mass for any private family remarkable for their qualities, virtues, and honours, a flattering panegyric is delivered, in which the orator displays, as far as he is able, all the powers of rhetoric; and endeavours to add new graces to the old worn-out encomiums, which in the early ages of the world were the result of eloquence, and which flattery and dissimulation will never suffer to grow out of fashion, much less to die.

On such occasions, a temporary chapel is erected in the middle, or conspicuous part of the church, or near the monument of his ancestors. If the deceased is a priest, his head is turned towards the altar; but if a layman, his feet. The sermon being over, they proceed to the absolution of the deceased, which is done in the following manner: part of the gospel of St. John being read, the person who officiates, with the deacon and sub-deacon, return to the middle of the altar, from whence, after a profound bow, they go to the epistle side. When the sub-deacon comes to the bottom of the steps, he takes up the cross, and he and the deacon go together to the temporary chapel, where the corps of the deceased lie. The incense-bearer, and he who carries the holy water, walk first: the sub-deacon follows, between the two torch-bearers, with the cross; and after them come the choir, with yellow tapers in their hands. The person who officiates, with the deacon on his left hand, walks last, and no one except himself is covered, unless they go out of the church, and then they are all covered. Being arrived at the temporary chapel, the persons bearing the incense and holy water, place themselves at the end of the coffin fronting the altar, but somewhat to the left side, and behind the person who officiates, who has the deacon on his right hand,

The sub-deacon who carries the cross, stands at the other end towards the gospel side, and when they are all placed, the person who officiates uncovers himself, and taking the ritual out of the deacon's hands, begins the absolution of the deceased by a prayer, the first words of which are, "Enter not into judgment, &c." After this he walks round the coffin, sprinkling it with holy water, perfuming it on both sides, and making a great number of profound bows. When he has performed the great work of absolution, he says the Lord's prayer, and thereupon turns to the cross, and repeats several other prayers out of the ritual. Lastly, he makes the sign of the cross on the coffin, and repeats the words, "Let him rest in peace." The whole being over, the person officiating, with his attendants, return in the same manner they came.

When a bishop dies, the ceremonies observed in saying mass for the repose of his soul are more pompous than what we have already mentioned. The body is brought into the temporary chapel, in the same manner as already described, and four bishops place themselves, at the four sides. The youngest goes to the right of the deceased's feet, the second to the left, towards his head, the third to the left of his feet, and the fourth to the right of his head. The person who is to officiate, sits in a chair, having two persons behind him, holding the incense and holy water. The deceased thus surrounded by five bishops, is no longer exposed to the

malice of the devil, who, in his happy situation dares not attack him. The bishop who celebrates, gives the absolution; after which the first of the four bishops placed at the corners, sprinkles and perfumes the coffin on each side three times. The requiem, or may be, rest in peace, is then sung, after which the second bishop walks round and sprinkles in his turn, repeating a few prayers, and he is followed by the others in the same manner.

It sometimes happens that there are sums of money left to churches for the priests to repeat these ceremonies annually, and on such occasions they have, instead of the real body of the deceased, only the figure of one. Nay, it frequently happens, especially where families are much attached to devotion, that sums of money are left to different churches for the above purpose of saying mass for the repose of the dead. But when the relations of the deceased are not able to pay for all these honours, then the acolytes, or church officers, spread a black cloth before the middle of the altar, and the priest with his assistants, carrying the incense and the holy water, turns towards the cloth, and sprinkles and perfumes it three times.

When the pope, or any of the cardinals assist at masses for the dead at Rome, they are all dressed in purple; one of the cardinals sings mass, and the pope sings the prayers for the repose of the dead.—The first cardinal-priest gives the sprinkling brush and incense to the holy father; but none of the cardinals pay him any homage at this ceremony. The whole being over, the cardinals attend the pope home, and then retire to their own houses. These ceremonies, however, in which the pope and cardinals are concerned, are only used for persons of the highest rank, such as the cardinals themselves, princes, and other great men.

### *Of the devotion paid to the Cross.*

Soon after the death of St. John, the last of the apostles, the primitive Christians began to take some notice of the cross; for they signed every person at baptism with it, and they prayer with their arms folded like a cross. These ceremonies, however, seem not to have been carried any farther, till towards the middle of the fourth century, when christianity received the sanction of the civil power, and its priests were loaded with honours. During the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great, his mother Helena, a woman, supposed to have been a courtesan, and much addicted to superstition, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where, according to several ecclesiastical writers, she found the real cross upon which our Saviour suffered. Her son, the emperor, ordered the figure of the cross to be







*The Pope giving Medals & Tokens to the Pilgrims who kiss the Feet of his Holiness.*

stamped on his coins, displayed on his standards, and painted on his shields, helmets, and crown, but it does not appear that it was set up in churches till some years after.

The great universal council held at Constantinople towards the close of the seventh century decreed, that Jesus Christ should be painted in a human form upon the cross, in order to represent, in the most lively manner, to all Christians, the sufferings and death of Christ. Before this decree of the council of Constantinople, Christ was represented under the form of a lamb at the foot of the cross, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. Sometimes a crown was set over the cross, to point out to the faithful, that a crown of everlasting glory will be their reward for their sufferings for the cross. A stag sometimes was painted at the foot of the cross, because that creature has an enmity to serpents; and this was done to represent Christ, who is the enemy of the devil, the serpent who deceived Eve.

We are told that when Helena, or St. Helena, as she is called, found the real cross, it was quite entire, and the inscription fresh upon it, which Pilate set up, viz. "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews."—We are no where told what became of this original cross, but it appears evident, that there have been many pieces of crosses found since that time, all pretended to be equally genuine with that discovered by St. Helena.

In the year 690, pope Sergius pretended that he had found a large piece of the cross, which is still preserved at Rome as a most precious relic; and in 1492, the genuine inscription was found in a church that was repairing in the same city, where it had been concealed many years on account of the troubles of the times. Upon this occasion pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, promising a yearly pardon of all sins to those devout Christians, who should every year, on the last Sunday in January, visit this church, where the inscription had been discovered. A large part of the same inscription upon the cross is to be seen at Thoulouse, in the convent of the Benedictine Monks, and when exposed to public view, it is steeped in water, and the water being given to the sick, cures them of many disorders.

But if these supposed or pretended pieces of the cross have been so much multiplied, so have many other things pertaining to it, particularly the nails, which although only four in number according to the Roman manner of crucifixion, yet, if we may believe the monks, they are now to be found in almost every monastery. The imposition is too glaring and too barefaced to be swallowed down by any man of common understanding, which induced the late pope Ganganelli to say; that if all the relics of the saints to be met with in the convents were genuine, then they must have been monsters indeed.

It is the same with the cross and the nails which fastened our Saviour to it, for, were they all genuine, he must have been crucified above a hundred times, and at each time above a hundred nails struck through his body, all which are contrary to the methods used by the Romans, and inconsistent with what we have related in sacred scripture, and in ecclesiastical history.

That there should remain no manner of uncertainty concerning the cross that was found by Helena, being that on which our Saviour suffered, we are told that two others were found along with it. These, say the ecclesiastical writers, where the crosses on which the thieves suffered who were crucified along with Christ. At first it was difficult to distinguish our Saviour's cross from either of the others; but after some consideration, this matter was cleared up in the following manner:

St. Macarius, a bishop who attended Helena in her journey, desired all the people to join with him in prayer to God, that he would direct them which was the true cross; they did so, and their prayers were heard. A woman seemingly at the point of death, was brought to the crosses of the two thieves, both which she touched but without any effect. After this, she was brought to our Saviour's, and no sooner had she touched it, than her disorder was removed. This miracle removed all manner of doubt, concerning the validity of the cross, and it was brought in triumph to Jerusalem. In memory of this remarkable event, a solemn festival was instituted by pope Gregory the Great, in the sixth century and it is observed throughout all Roman Catholic countries on the third day of May.

There is another festival observed in honour of the cross, on the fourteenth day of September, occasioned by the following event: In the reign of Heraclitus, the Greek emperor, Cosroes, king of Persia, plundered Jerusalem, and took away that part of the cross, which Helena had left there, and sent it under a strong guard to his own country, it being considered by him and his soldiers, as the God of the Christians. After several battles, in all which the Persians were defeated, Heraclitus had the good fortune to recover the cross, and carried it to Jerusalem. This pious prince laid aside his imperial robes, in order to humble himself before it: and after he had taken them off, he laid the cross upon his shoulders, that he might carry it in the greater splendour and solemnity to Mount Calvary, from whence it had been taken. Many miracles were said to have been wrought on this memorable occasion, and the festival in memory of it, is called the Exaltation of the Cross. Paris boasts to have a piece of the cross, which they shew to strangers, and they keep a festival in memory of it on the first Sunday in August.



In making the sign of the cross, the priest is to lay his left hand stretched open upon his breast, and to take care that it touch no part upon which the sign of the cross is to be made; and he is likewise to keep the fingers of that hand close together. The fingers of the right hand, which are appropriated for making the sign, must be disposed in the same manner as those of the left. He must stand with his head erect and his hands straight, the fingers not being so much as bent. The sign must begin at the forehead, and so descend upon the breast, from whence he is to proceed from the left shoulder to the right.

They have crosses of all sizes in the church of Rome, and they are consecrated in the following manner: The bishop of the diocese dresses himself in his robes and mitre, with his crosier in his hand, and surrounded by his clergy, he presents himself before the cross, and delivers a discourse or sermon upon the excellency of it, there being three tapers burning at the foot of it, and then he takes off his mitre and repeats a prayer.

The Litanies are next sung, and after them there is an anthem, which being over, the bishop sprinkles the cross with holy water, and perfumes it with frankincense. If the cross is not above his reach, he sets lighted candles upon each arm of it; but if it is beyond his reach, then a ladder is brought him to mount on. The whole of this ceremony concludes with an exhortation to the people, and several psalms and prayers.

Besides such crosses as we have already mentioned, there are some of a more celebrated nature, and to which greater honours are paid. At Loretto in Italy, where the Roman Catholics believe there is a cottage in which the Virgin Mary died, there is a famous crucifix, celebrated for working a vast variety of miracles, and is said to have been used by the Virgin herself, because the angels brought it along with the cottage from the Holy Land to Dalmatia, and from thence to Italy. In a nunnery at Ghent, in Flanders there is a crucifix, with its mouth always open, the reason of which is this: One day during the carnival, a nun being hindered from joining with the rest in an entertainment, made her complaint to the crucifix, which spoke to her, and told her not to be displeased, for she would be married to it. The nun died the next day, and ever since, the mouth of the image on the crucifix has continued open. There is at Trent, a crucifix, with which when the council was sitting there, approved of all their acts with an audible voice; and this is believed as real matter of fact, by the Roman Catholics.

There is in Bavaria, a remarkable crucifix, of which the following story is related by the priests, and believed by the people. One day a stag being hunted, happened to set his foot on a crucifix; which

had such an effect on him, that he stood still and would not move, nor had the dogs any power to touch him. In memory of this, a convent was built at the village of Palliugeu, which drew a vast number of people to the place; so that the emperor Charles the Great, in whose reign this happened, granted the village the privilege of holding a fair.— This gave great offence to the inhabitants of a village called Weilhaum, who made interest with the emperor to get the fair removed; but the crucifix was so much offended with what had been done, that it set fire to, and consumed to ashes, the little town of Weilhaum.

There is at Cologne, a crucifix with a peruke on the head of the image, which they say is of great antiquity, which seems rather improbable, because perukes are of a modern invention. But what is remarkable in this crucifix is, that although the devotees who visit the place never go away without a few of the hairs, yet they are never diminished.

It is needless to say any thing more, concerning the amazing numbers of crucifixes used by the Roman Catholics, whether in churches, on the highways, in the market places, in private houses, and indeed in almost every place. All power and virtue are believed to rest in them; for the Roman Catholics tell us, that some of them have shed tears, others sweated blood; while some have discovered sacrilege and struck the malefactor either dead, lame, or blind. Some have restored the dead to life, and others health to the diseased; and all have distinguished themselves for something of a miraculous nature. The Roman Catholics must not be without crucifixes in their houses, and Mr. Keysler, in his travels over the Alps, tells us, that if a person should be found dead, which often happens, on account of the vast number of precipices, they search his pockets, and if he has neither a crucifix, nor beads, he is denied Christian burial; the people taking it for granted that he is a heretic.

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#### *Of some other remarkable Ceremonies in the Church of Rome.*

By the decrees of the council of Trent, no images are to be set up in churches, till they are first consecrated by the bishop of the diocese; and the ceremony is much the same as that used at the benediction of a cross or crucifix. While the prayer is repeating by the bishop, he mentions the name of the saint whom the image represents, and after that the holy water is sprinkled over the image; but if it is an image of the Virgin Mary, it is sprinkled and perfumed three different times, and several psalms and anthems are sung, the whole ceremony being concluded, by the bishop's making the sign of the



cross three times, in honour of the three persons in the holy and ever blessed Trinity. It is certain that the Roman Catholics believe these images capable of working miracles, for there is scarce one to be met with to which the honour of this supernatural power has not been ascribed. These things are not imagined by us, for we read of them in all the printed lives of those saints, who are adored in the church of Rome.

There is at Naples an image of Jesus Christ, which an impious wretch stabbed, and so sensible was it of pain, that it put its hand to the wound. The image of St. Catherine, at Sienna, has also driven away devils, and wrought many other extraordinary miracles. The image of the blessed Virgin at Lucca, being once treated in a rude and indecent manner by a soldier, who threw stones at her, and had almost broken the head of the young Jesus which she held in her arms; she set the child on her other side, and he has ever since been so pleased with his situation, that he will not consent to change it; although many devotees have offered to restore him again to the embraces of his mother.

Another object of great devotion in the church of Rome, is the holy shroud in which Joseph of Arimathea wrapped Christ's body when he laid it in the tomb; but either fortunately or unfortunately, it happens that there are more than one of these shrouds, and all adored in the same manner. The two most celebrated of these shrouds are one at Bezancon, and one at Turin. With respect to the first, we have the following account in writings of the most celebrated Roman Catholic authors:

On the festival of Easter, during matins, or morning prayers, three canons walk, out of the chapel, where the shroud is deposited, and sing as they go towards the high altar, "Who is he that shall remove the stone from the sepulchre." At the same time, several boys dressed in the form of angels, meet them, and ask, whom seek ye? to which they answer, "Jesus of Nazareth?" whereupon the boys reply, "he is not here." Then the chanter addresses himself in the following words to the first of the three canons; "Tell us, O Mary! what thou hast seen in the way." "I have seen," (says the canon) the sepulchre of Christ who liveth, and the glory of him who is raised from the dead." The second adds, "I have seen the angels who are witnesses of the resurrection, I have seen the holy shroud;" and at the same time shews it, along with the other clothes in which the body of Jesus was wrapped. The third canon says, "Jesus Christ, our hope, is risen!" The choir confess the truth of our Saviour's resurrection by singing, "It is much better to believe the testimony of Mary, than the impostures of the Jews; we know that Christ is risen from the dead." This act of devotion is finished by the *Te*

*Deum*, which is sung by the choir and the people in the most solemn manner. This sacred shroud of Bezancon is famous for the many miracles it has wrought, for we are told that it has often restored the dead to life, it has given sight to the blind, and cured the most inveterate, and dangerous distempers.

Nor is the shroud at Turin less famous than the other. It was brought from Jerusalem about the time of the crusades, because it did not chuse to remain among Mahometans. It afterwards changed its situation several times, till at last it fixed on a chapel in the cathedral of Turin, which is now called the chapel of the holy shroud. There it has wrought many miracles, such as restoring the dead to life, curing the lame and the blind, casting out devils, and such is its immaculate virtue, that although it is every day touched by pilgrims and devotees, yet it is never soiled, nor is there any necessity for washing it. But notwithstanding all the virtues ascribed to these shrouds, yet there are many more, nor is there a country where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, but some of them are to be found. In what manner they could multiply into such numbers, must be left to the reader's own judgment, for we do not consider ourselves obliged to account for it.

As the church of Rome is the most attached to ceremonies of any in the known world, that bears the name of Christians, so we find that every thing used in religious service is consecrated. The robes worn by the priests, the cloth which covers the altar, the altar itself, the church, the church-yard, and indeed every thing must be consecrated and blessed before they can be made any use of. This opens a large field for clerical privileges, emoluments and honours; and it impresses upon the minds of the people that there is something more than human in the character of that man who can change the nature of inanimate beings.

The next ceremony to be attended to, is the homily or sermon, which follows after the gospel, and consists of exhortations to the people, to continue stedfast in the faith, by avoiding heresies, and to perform such duties as are incumbent on them to their fellow creatures. When the gospel is read, the priest who is to preach, goes to the bottom of the steps by the epistle side, and comes to the altar; he then takes off his robes and puts on his cap, and kneels down on the last step of the altar, where he repeats a prayer, begging of God that he will be pleased to give his blessing to what he is about to perform. Before he begins the sermon, he bows to the crucifix, and makes the figure of the cross upon himself. Then he makes a low bow to the people, and at every time he repeats the names of Jesus or Mary, he takes off his cap. If the bishop is present, the

preacher is always uncovered, and after sermon he exposes the crucifix to the view of the people. It is remarkable, that all the Roman Catholics preach without notes, and they put on a great appearance of fervency in delivering their discourses; which seldom fails to make an impression on the minds of the hearers. As many of their sermons are preached in honour of their saints, so the accounts of the miracles wrought by those persons are sure to furnish them with abundance of matter. Their attitudes and gestures often border on ridicule; but custom, long sanctioned by a continual repetition, draws a veil over every thing. In a word, the sermons delivered by the Roman Catholic priests, are in all respects suited to the nature of their devotions, and those who consider the one as a duty, must reap some benefit at last from the other; for in all cases there must be a strong connection between both, otherwise the form of religion would be lost.

It is a rule laid down in the canons of the church of Rome, that all the altars should be made of stone, the intention being to represent Christ, who is the foundation stone of the spiritual building, which is the church of the faithful. The table of it must be of one single stone, and the body must either be supported by pillars, or filled up with mason's work. There should be at least three steps to go up to it, either of stone or brick, and covered with a carpet, and the clerk is to take care that a fine linen cloth be spread upon the altar. All this must be observed with the greatest exactness in respect to the high altar, where the body of Christ is generally deposited, and two clerks must adorn and take care of it, nor are they, on any account, to approach it without surplices on.

As soon as they approach it, they are to kneel down, adore the holy sacrament, and repeat some ejaculatory prayers; and, in particular, these rules must be observed as often as the ornaments of the altars are changed. When they change the ornaments, which is frequently done, the clerks are careful to sweep up the dust before they put on the ornaments for the day; and the cloth that covers the table must be so adjusted as to form the shape of a cross, by two corners hanging down to the ground, and the other two not above half way. The whole must be blessed and crossed, and sprinkled with holy water; and the same formalities are to be observed with respect to the tabernacle of the altar, and the box wherein the host is laid. Altars are likewise adorned with artificial or natural flowers, according to the season of the year, and the dust must be swept off from the altar, once every day. The tabernacle of the holy sacrament is fixed upon the altar, and is adorned with silver, gold, and all sorts of precious stones, having on each side tapers of fine white wax,

which being kept constantly burning, serve greatly towards illuminating the whole.

The clerk, who attends the priest at mass, has a little bell, which he tinkles when the host is elevated, and this he does nine times, thrice when the priest kneels down, thrice when he holds up the host, and thrice when he sets it on the altar: the same formalities must be used with respect to the chalice. Before every altar there must be a ballustrade either of wood, marble, or iron, to keep the people from going too far; and on each side there must be a taper burning in a silver candlestick, if the parish is rich enough to purchase one. They have likewise small portable altars, which they remove from place to place, and in these are always deposited the relics of martyrs. With respect to the furniture of their altars, it consists of a vast variety of utensils; for it is a maxim with them, that every ceremony is an act of worship. No layman is permitted to handle the sacred vessels, it is the privilege of the priests alone to handle them; this custom they have borrowed either from the Jews or the heathens, or from both. The chalices must be made either of gold or silver; and before they can be used, must be consecrated by the bishop. The paten, in which the sacred host is contained, must be made of the same metal as the chalice, and is generally about six or eight inches diameter.

The Pyx must be made of gold, or silver gilt within; and when the sacrament is consecrated, by mixing wine with the host, it is put into it; and it must be taken out once a week, lest it should become mouldy. A veil, in form of a tent, made of rich white stuff, must cover this precious repository of wafers. There must be a box of silver, gilt within, to carry the communion to the sick when it is to go any considerable way: and it must be put into a silk purse, and hung about the neck in such places as are difficult of access.

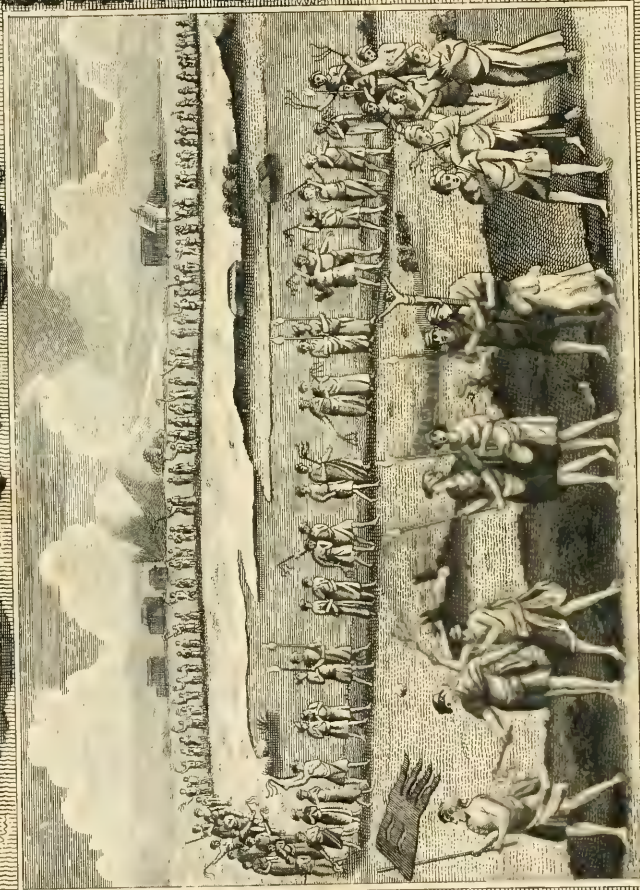
There must be another box for the larger wafers, which are round; and this may be made of silver, tin, or pasteboard, lined with white taffety within, and adorned with rich silk without. A round leaden plate must be put into the box, that the wafers may be ready; and these wafers must be kept in a place neither too moist nor too dry. A plate of silver in the form of the sun, is fixed opposite to the sacrament, on the altar; which, with the light of the tapers, makes a most brilliant appearance.

The incense which is made use of in the church must be of an odoriferous smell, and broken a little, before it is put into the censer, but not reduced to powder.

The holy water pot ought to be made of silver, pewter, or tin; and the sprinkler, either of the same, or wood, with hogs' bristles, or wolves' hair twisted







*Public Execution of the Magellans of Spain: Indly. France &c*

Engraved for J. Goussier Publisher.

round it; and at the end there must be a hollow knob with holes, in which a small sponge must be enclosed. There must be two vessels of pewter or earthenware, to hold water for the clerks to wash the chalice, and other things, belonging to the altar.

The cloth which covers the altar must be of fine white linen, not too thin, nor stitched, and should be without lace, but if there is any lace, it must be very narrow, and within two fingers breadth of the edge that comes forward. In that part where the priest most commonly kisses the altar, there must be a small cross wrought on the linen, with white silk or thread.

The Pales, another utensil used at the altar, must be made of the same linen as that already mentioned, and each must be blessed and consecrated, nor can any person below the degree of a sub-deacon be permitted to touch them. These are used to represent the grave clothes in which our Lord was wrapped when laid in the sepulchre. They are believed to have many virtues in them, and they serve to point out a vast number of mysteries, which the Roman Catholics say, protestants have not faith to comprehend.

These linen cloths are commonly called the corporals, and a bag is made of the same materials to hold them, with several crosses sewed upon it.— These bags and purses are fastened by a button and loop, and on one of the outsides there is a cross embroidered, of about three quarters of a span in length. The veil of the chalice is made of silk, of the same colour as the rest of the decorations; and is about three spans square, but there are no crosses, nor any figures whatever upon it. In large churches where the solemn mass is performed, the priest must have veils of ten spans long, and striped with silk of four colours, viz. white, green, red, and purple, to hold the paten up with; but black veils are never made use of, not even at masses for the dead, nor on Good Friday. There must be veils or covers for the crosses in passion week, and these are made of camblet, or stuff of a purple colour; but without any figure, image, or cross upon them.

In every church there ought to be a flag or standard, about nine or ten spans long and six broad, of a colour suitable to the patron, and in the middle of it the figure of the patron should be represented in embroidery. This standard is by the canons ordered to be of a satin damask, taffeta, or camblet lined with linen, with a border and a fringe round it, and the pole must be about five feet long. With respect to the mass book, it is so well known, that we need not say much concerning it, only that so late as the tenth century, almost every church had its mass book or liturgy, and all these in some things differed from each other. At present there are

some difference between the liturgy used by the French church and that at Rome. The Roman Catholics are fully persuaded that the mass book was written by St. Peter and given to his successor St. Clement; but we shall leave the reader to judge how this can be reconciled with church history, which gives no account of mass books till the sixth century.

Before a church can be erected, the bishop's consent must first be had and obtained, and it belongs to him to fix the place, the extent of it, the revenues and ministers belonging to it, the funds for lights and decorations, with all such other things as are necessary. He must likewise fix the cross on the ground of the new intended church, and lay the first stone of it, or at least if he does it not in person, then he must appoint another to act under him. A wooden cross must be set where the altar is to stand, the day before the stone is to be laid, and likewise on the day following. A square stone is to be made choice of, which is to be the foundation stone of the sacred fabric, and if it happens to be at Rome, and the pope is inclined to perform the ceremony, he must have his rochet on, and other robes suitable to the solemnity of the occasion; but an inferior bishop performs it in his ordinary robes, holding the pastoral staff in his hand.

Thus dressed, he must go to the ground intended for the new church, and there bless the salt and water, by repeating several prayers; that for the salt is the following: "May it be exorcised by the living God, and being so exorcised for the salvation of those who believe, may it preserve health of body and mind to all such as shall partake of it, and may it have sufficient influence to destroy the malice of satan." After this, he blesses the water in the same manner, and then puts the salt into the water in the form of a cross, repeating several prayers suitable to the occasion. An anthem is then sung, with the eighty-third psalm, in which all that are present join; and during this part of the ceremony, the bishop, or the person officiating for him, sprinkles the ground with the salt and water. The psalm and anthem being ended, he turns himself towards the place which he has been sprinkling with holy water, and addresses himself to God in a prayer, thro' the mediation of that particular saint to whom the new church is to be dedicated and consecrated.

He then takes off his mitre and blesses the foundation stone of the altar, repeating several prayers, and sprinkles it with the holy water. The sprinkling being performed, he makes several times the sign of the cross, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and it is done by marking the stone with a knife or chisel. A litany is then sung, after which the bishop rises up from kneeling on a carpet spread for him on the ground, and turn-



ing towards the stone, repeats some more prayers. Another anthem is sung, and then the hundred and twenty-fourth psalm; and to conclude, while the mason is fixing the stone, the bishop touches it with his hand, and says, "thou shalt cleanse me with hyssop."

This is the form observed in the dedication of an altar, but when the church is finished, there must be another dedication of the whole fabric, before divine service can be performed in it. A Sunday, or holiday, if possible, must be made choice of for that purpose, and the arch-deacon is to give notice of it to the people, that they may fast the eve before. In the mean time the clergy prepare the relics which are to be deposited under the altar of the new church, and they are put into a neat decent vessel, together with three grains of incense; to this are added a small slip of parchment, the year, the month, and the day on which the church was consecrated, with the bishop's name who performs the ceremony, and the name of the saint to whom it is dedicated. The vase in which the relics are deposited, must be sealed up and put in a very clean place, and two tapers must be kept burning before it. Before the dedication begins, three crosses of a considerable height must be painted on each of the walls of the church, and over each of them must stand a wax candle of an ounce weight. The care of this is left to the clerk or sacrist, who is obliged to have every thing properly prepared for the reception of the bishop who is to perform the ceremony.

On the morning of the day appointed for the ceremony, the bishop appears in his pontifical robes, and orders twelve candles to be lighted. He then goes out of the church, and orders every one present to do the same, except one deacon, who is left behind, locked up and dressed in his robes. The bishop, with his attendants, goes to the place where the relics were put the day before, and begins the seven penitential psalms with a low voice, and an anthem, without litanies, and during the time they are repeating, he takes off his robes, and puts on others.

The remainder of the clergy present at the ceremony, are dressed in their robes, and after they have sung the psalm, the bishop, with his attendants, goes to the church door, where he pulls off his mitre, and begins an anthem, which is succeeded by a prayer. He then leans upon a chair placed there on a carpet for that purpose, whilst the litanies are singing. He blesses the holy water, and first sprinkles himself, after which he does the same to all present. He then puts on his mitre again, and walks round the church, attended by the sub-deacon carrying the cross, and the clerk with the holy water. As he goes along, he sprinkles the walls of the church in the name of the blessed Trinity, and

as he walks, his robe is held up by two train-bearers behind, while the clerk carries the holy water at such a proper distance, that the bishop may be able to dip the sprinkler into it.

Being returned to the place from whence they set out, and another anthem and psalm sung, the bishop, while present, repeats several prayers. These ceremonies are so numerous, that every person who joins in them must hold a ritual in his hand. Another prayer being repeated, the bishop strikes the door of the church with his pastoral staff, repeating aloud, "Open the gates, that the King of glory may come in." The deacon who remained locked up within, asks who this King of Glory is, to which the bishop answers, "That it is the Lord God Almighty, the God of Hosts." Then all the people cry out, "Open the doors," while the bishop repeats a prayer in Latin, to frighten away the devil.

At length the door being opened, the bishop enters, attended by his ministers only; for the people are not yet permitted to enter, except two or three masons, who are, to close the sepulchre where they relics are deposited, and cement the altar table with mortar. The bishop as he goes in says, "Peace be in this house." To which the deacon answers, "When thou shalt enter into it." Whilst some words applicable to this wish are singing, the bishop advances to the middle of the church, where he kneels down, and begins the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, with his head uncovered, and his face towards the high altar. Then one of the sub-deacons takes lime ashes, and scatters them on the pavement, in the form of a cross; pronouncing twice the name of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. The same honours are shewn to the saints whose relics are deposited in the church; because it is believed that many miracles will be wrought by them.—While this is doing, the people call out, "We beseech thee to hear us." And along with the name of God, they join that of the titular saint, making several times the sign of the cross. The bishop makes the sign of the cross three times upon the altar, after which he repeats some prayers, and an anthem is sung, with the song of Zachariah. During this part of the ceremony the bishop puts on his mitre, and with his crosier draws upon the ashes a double alphabet in capitals.

The next thing to be attended to, is the second dedication of the altar, which is done on the same day with that of the church. As soon as the bishop has made the double alphabet with his crosier, he takes off his mitre, and turning to the high altar, repeats an anthem, which is sung by the choir. This is done three times, and each time they raise their voices a note higher, while the bishop blesses the salt and water, with the ashes and wine. When he blesses the ashes, he prays that God would send



his angel to consecrate them, that they may become a wholesome remedy to all such as shall call upon the sacred name of God, and confess their manifold sins and transgressions; and that they who, whilst they are calling on his name, shall sprinkle themselves with the ashes for the expiation of their sins, may obtain health of body, and salvation of their precious and immortal souls.

After this prayer the bishop takes the salt and mingles it with the ashes in the form of a cross. A handful of this composition he throws into the water, blessing it three times; and then he blesses the wine and mingles it with water. He delivers a discourse to the people on the virtues of things consecrated for the service of God, but this does not end the whole of the ceremony, there being still several other parts remaining.

From the altar the bishop proceeds a second time to the church door, and with his pastoral staff crosses it at the top and bottom, repeating a prayer to God, that the sign of the cross may prove invincible, and be the means of driving away devils; and he likewise prays, that such as visit this church may be blessed, and abound in all manner of good things, prosperity in time, and happiness in eternity. He then returns to the place where he consecrated the holy water, and looking towards the high altar, uncovered, exhorts the people to beg of God to bless and keep this place, by the aspersion of water mingled with wine, salt, and ashes, through the merits of Jesus Christ. An anthem is then sung by the choir, and at the beginning of it, the bishop standing before the altar, dips the thumb of his right hand into the water that had been consecrated before, and makes the sign of the cross on the middle of the altar table, consecrating it in honour of God Almighty, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints; in commemoration of the saint to whom it is dedicated, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Besides the cross in the middle, he makes one at each corner, two at the epistle side, and two at the gospel side; after which he repeats a prayer, and walks seven times round the altar, sprinkling it with holy water.

This part of the ceremony concludes by the bishop's passing behind the altar, and from thence walking round the inside of the church a second time, sprinkling the bottom of the walls with holy water. He then sprinkles the middle of the pavement before the altar, and from thence proceeds to the great gate, and continues the ceremony crossways, from one end of the wall to the other. He turns his face to the four quarters of the world, and then turning towards the great gate, repeats a prayer, laying his hands upon his breast, and pouring holy water upon the cement of the stones, under which the relics are deposited.

The next part of this ceremony consists in the procession of the relics, which proceeds in the following order: The bishop, with his clergy, preceded by the cross, carried by a sub-deacon between two torch-bearers, go and fetch the relics with much ceremony. The chrism is carried to the entrance of the church, and at going into the tent where the relics are deposited, an anthem is sung, together with the ninety-fourth psalm. The bishop having repeated several prayers, the procession begins a second time, and is conducted as follows:

The cross-bearers march first, with wax tapers in their hands, and the clergy follow them, singing as they go along. Behind them march several priests, bearing the relics on a litter, with the incense-bearer by the side of it, who takes care to perfume the relics as they pass along. There are several wax candles carried on each side, and behind the relics comes the bishop with his assistants, singing an anthem, in which they are joined by the choir; after which the whole procession goes round the church, and the bishop makes an oration to the people; which consists chiefly in celebrating the character of the saint to whom the church is dedicated: at the same time he exhorts them to treat the sacred edifice and the name of the saint with all becoming respect, and contribute cheerfully towards the support of the ministers who officiate in it. Lastly, the priests take the litter upon their shoulders, and enter the church in procession, followed by all the people present, while an anthem is sung in honour of the relics, and of the saints to whom they belong. The procession, in the mean time, continues walking on; and when they are come to the altar, where the relics are to be deposited, a great number of tapers are lighted up, and the choir sings an anthem, which is given out by the bishop.

Before they are deposited in the sepulchre, the bishop touches the vessel with his mitre, and then seals up the relics, but he must take care that four signs of the cross be made on the four sides of the sepulchre, each in the name of the three persons in the ever-blessed Trinity. He then deposits the vessel containing the relics, in the sepulchre, with every mark of respect and adoration, in order to make a more lasting impression on the minds of the people. All this time the choir sings, and continues till the bishop has laid a stone on the mouth of the sepulchre which contains the relics, when he dips his thumb in the sacred oil, and makes the sign of the cross upon it. The masons conclude this part by closing up the sepulchre, so that the relics cannot be afterwards exposed to public view without the consent of the bishop. This, however, is not the case universally, because in some churches they are permitted to shew the relics of saints; and the author of this, has been shewn some of a very extraordinary nature;

may, he has seen three or four of the same, at as many different places, and each of them are looked upon by the people as genuine.

The stone being fixed, blessed and signed with the cross, the altar must be incensed, which the bishop performs, by making the sign of the cross and pouring the incense upon it, beginning at the right hand, and going round; during which time the choir sings an anthem suitable to the occasion.

After it is incensed, the bishop repeats a prayer, while his assistants rub the table of the altar with a very clean cloth. The table must be in the form of a cross, and the bishop must incense all the four sides.

The bishop then makes five crosses with the sacred oil, and incense the whole again, while the anthem is sung by the choir, and that is followed by another anthem. Twelve crosses are made upon the walls of that part of the church next to the altar and these being incensed, the bishop returns again to the altar, and having repeated another prayer, gives out an anthem which is sung by the choir.

He again makes five signs of the cross upon the altar, and kneeling down, prays that all true Christians that come to the altar, may be protected from the snares laid for them by the devil. At Rome, on Thursdays and Fridays in Passion Week, the altars are stripped of their ornaments, and washed with wine and water; but this seems rather to be a custom peculiar to the place, than an established ceremony, because we do not find it attended to in other countries, where the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

Such is the manner in which the people in Roman Catholic countries, dedicate and consecrate their churches, and to those who peruse this impartial account with the least degree of attention, it will appear that the ceremonies are equally heavy and burthensome with those in the law of Moses. It may be added here, that although the deists pretend to ridicule even the decent and innocent ceremonies used by the protestants, yet Mr. Hume, one of their greatest writers, betrays his cause, in telling us that the ceremonies in the church of Rome are the sole support of the Christian religion.

#### *Of particular Customs relating to Devotion in the Roman Catholic Church.*

UNDER this head the first thing to be taken notice of, is, the benediction of the *Agnus Dei's*, which is always performed during the first year of the new pope's reign, and every seventh year afterwards. These *Agnus Dei's* are made of white wax, in an oval form, and upon each of them is the figure of Jesus Christ, in the form of a lamb; the meaning of

the word itself being the Lamb of God. This piece of devotion is much esteemed by the devotees of the church of Rome, and the preparing of the *Agnus Dei's*, cuts out much employment for such of the pope's chaplains as act under his chamberlain of the household. The wax of which they are made, is taken from the remains of the candles used on the preceding Easter; but as that is not always sufficient to answer the end, they are allowed more out of the apostolical chamber.

The ceremony is performed on Easter Tuesday in the following manner. The pope's chief sacristan blesses the water, and then the pope, dressed in his robes, blesses it a second time. This water is put into a large silver bason, and the pope repeats a prayer, begging that God would give his blessing to the water appointed to cleanse sinners from their impurities. After this, he takes some balm, and pours it into the water, adding thereto the holy oil, which he likewise pours in, in the form of a cross. During the ceremony, he offers up several prayers to God, and then turning to the *Agnus Dei's*, blesses and incenses them, imploring God to grant them all the virtues generally ascribed to them. After this follow several other prayers, and then his holiness sits down in an easy chair prepared for him, with a napkin girt round him in the form of an apron, and his mitre on. The gentlemen of his chamber present him with the *Agnus Dei's*, in silver basons, one after another, and the pope throws them into the holy water. The cardinals in their linen robes takes them out with spoons made for that purpose, and afterwards lay them on a table covered with a clean white cloth, and then wipe them with a napkin, which they wear in the form of an apron, and the assistant prelates range them on a table, where they remain till they are thoroughly dry. After this part of the ceremony, the holy father rises up, and in a prayer, addresses himself to the holy Ghost, beseeching him to bless them, and then makes his application to Jesus Christ. After this they are again put into basons, and the holy father takes the cardinals along with him to dinner. The same ceremony is resumed on the Thursday following, and continued till they are all blessed, which is on Friday, and during that time foreign ambassadors, and all sorts of strangers, then at Rome, are permitted to be present.

On the Saturday following, mass is sung by a cardinal priest, at which his holiness assists, dressed in his robes, and as soon as the *Agnus Dei* is sung, an apostolic sub-deacon, dressed in his robes, with the cross-bearer and two taper-bearers walking before him, goes to the pope's sacristan, and takes from him a bason full of those *Agnus Dei's* lately blessed, and wraps them up in a party-coloured china cotton.—The sub-deacon is followed by a clerk of the ceremonies, with two chaplains in their surplices; when

they have come to the door of the chapel they all kneel, while the sub-deacon sings the following words, "Holy Father, these are the new lambs, who have sung their Hallelujahs to thee. They drank not long ago at the fountain of holy water; they are now very light, or very much enlightened, praise the Lord." To which the choir answers, "God be praised, Hallelujah." After this the sub-deacon advances towards the altar, and when he comes so near as to touch the rails, he again repeats the same words; and a third time when he approaches the throne of the holy father.

Two auditors present the *Agnus Dei*' to the two cardinal deacons' assistants, who lay them in a decent manner on his holiness's knees, and the two auditors hold the two ends of the napkin, whilst the holy father blesses the sacred college. The cardinals having shewn the utmost respect to his holiness, take off their mitres, and holding them with the points or horns downward, receive into them as many of the *Agnus Dei*' as he chuses to bestow. After the cardinals have had their share, the remainder are distributed among the foreign ambassadors, nobles, and prelates, who happen at that time to be in Rome. The ceremony concludes by the pope's washing his hands; and he and all the cardinals unrobing themselves.

As it frequently happens that many of these *Agnus Dei*' are not distributed, in such cases, those that are left are given to the prelate who is the keeper of the pope's wardrobe, who distributes them among pilgrims, or such other foreigners as happen to visit Rome.

This practice of blessing the *Agnus Dei*' took its rise about the seventh or eighth century; for as it was common in those ages to make thousands and ten thousands of converts in a day, by only marking them with the sign of the cross after baptism, so, in order to distinguish them from the heathens, they were ordered to wear about their necks pieces of white wax, with the figure of a lamb upon them. This was done in imitation of the heathen practice of hanging amulets around their necks, as preservatives against accidents, diseases or any sort of infections; many of these amulets are to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, and they are still frequently found in Wales, and in the northern parts of Britain. They are in the form of rings of a deep azure colour, interspersed with most beautiful white spots; and the substance of them resembles transparent glass, and undoubtedly they have in them something of that nature.

The next thing to be attended to, is the canonization of saints, and a solemn ceremony it is, especially when we consider, that by the pope's single act he can make men or women who have been long

consigned to their graves, objects of divine worship, and mediators between God and sinners.

When a person is to be canonized, the pope holds four consistories; in the first of which, he causes the petition of those who solicit for the canonization to be examined by three auditors of the rota, and directs the cardinals to revise all the instruments relating thereto. In the second, the cardinals make their report; and in the third, which is held in public, the cardinals pay their adoration to the pope; after which an advocate makes a pompous oration in praise of the person who is to be made a saint.

He expatiates at large on the miracles he has wrought, and even pretends to know from what motives he acted. In the fourth consistory, the pope, having summoned all the cardinals and prelates together, orders the report concerning the deceased to be read, and then takes their votes, whether he is to be canonized or not.

On the day of canonization, the church of St. Peter is hung with rich tapestry, with the arms of the pope embroidered upon it, together with the arms of the prince who desires the canonization. The church is most pompously illuminated, and filled with thousands of devout Catholics, ready to attend to the ceremony of the saint's being conducted to paradise. It gives them some encouragement to attend the ceremony, when they consider, that the more respect they shew to the saint, the more ready he will be to hear their prayers, and offer them up before God. During this ceremony, the pope and all the cardinals are dressed in white; and it costs the prince who requests the canonization a vast sum of money, for all the officers belonging to the church of Rome must have their fees; but this is only a trifle, when it is considered that the saint will intercede for his subjects, in heaven, who indeed, poor as they are, generally pay all the expenses attending the ceremony.

That the ceremony of the canonization may be conducted in the most magnificent manner, an elegant theatre is erected in St. Peter's church. But that the reader may be enabled to form a proper idea of all the different parts of the ceremony put together, we shall here present him with an exact account of the canonization of four persons, not longer ago than the year 1712. These persons were pope Pius V., Andrew d'Avellino, Felix de Cantalice, and Catherine de Bologna.

On the twenty-second day of May, 1712, the procession began in the following order: the charity boys of the apostolic hospital of St. Michael walked first, with lighted tapers in their hands. They were followed by all the orphans in the city, maintained at the public expense; by the fathers belonging to the convent of miracles of the third order; the bare-



footed Augustines; of Jesus and Maria; the Capuchins; the Brothers of Charity; the Fathers of Mercy of St. Adrian; the Anchores of St. Onuphrius; the Minims of mount Trinity; the Fathers of St. Andrew the monk; and, in a word, by all the regular orders in the church of Rome. These were followed by the secular clergy, and the whole procession was regulated by one the pope's chamberlains.

After these came the officers of the pope's chapel; his esquires in their cassocks, the procurator's general of the five mendicant orders, all dressed in their proper robes, which, on such occasions, are extremely magnificent. The gentlemen of the pope's bed-chamber followed, dressed in scarlet; after them came the fiscal procurator, the commissary of the apostolic chamber, the consistorial advocates, his holiness's private chaplains, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the music of the chapel, singing without intermission during the whole. After them came the four magnificent standards of those saints who were to be canonized, with the miracles they were said to have wrought embroidered upon them. As the precedency had been given to St. Catherine of Bologna, her banner was carried first; that of St. Felix de Cantalice next; then came St. Andrew d'Avellino; and last of all, that of pope Pius V. as the servant of the servants of God. Six of the Minor Observantines, each with a lighted taper in his hand, walked before; the standard of St. Catherine, attended by the society of Bolognans of St. Petronius, the standard being supported by four of the most respectable fathers of the orders.

The standard of St. Felix was supported by ten Capuchin friars, and followed by a great number of the same order. Another detachment of the same order followed that of St. Andrew; and the fraternity of the Agonizants that of pope Pius V. each in the habits of their respective orders.

After them came the Referendaries, accompanied by the register of the pope's court, and the clerks of the chamber. The master of the sacred palace followed after, having in his train all the pope's domestics of a superior rank, each of them carrying silver candlesticks, with burning tapers, in their hand.

The sub-deacon, who was cross-bearer, appeared in his white robes, having on each side of him, an apostolic officer, carrying a red staff. The Vatican penitentiaries of the society of Jesus came next, dressed in white, with their hats on, and then the generals of the orders, who were followed by the cardinals, the deacons walking first, the priests after them, and then the bishops, attended by the envoy of Bologna on the right, and the constable governor of Rome on the left, with a great number of other officers.

The cardinal deacons' assistants, with the gospel cardinal deacon between them, walked next, and then appeared his holiness in his chair, Being about

to open the gates of heaven to the new made saints, the minds of the people were filled with the strongest fervour of devotion, especially as he was dressed in the most sumptuous manner that can be imagined. Eight of the senior Referendaries bore up a rich and pompous canopy over the holy father's head, with pikes embellished with silver, and the Swiss guards, with their naked swords, surrounded the chair. His holiness was followed by an apostolical sub-deacon, called the auditor of the mitre, who walked between two gentlemen of the privy chamber in red robes; the procession being closed by the monks of the different orders; together with a long train of abbots, bishops and prelate, from different parts of the world.

It is almost incredible to think what vast multitudes of people followed the procession, all eager to obtain the pope's blessing, and to be recommended to the notice of the saints who were to be canonized. As soon as the pope arrived at the church of St. Peter, he set down the taper he held in his hand, and putting off his mitre, went up to the high altar, where he kneeled down before the holy sacrament. After this, he was carried to his throne, and the cardinal who was deputed to demand the canonization, moved towards the throne, having the cardinal legate of Bologna on his left hand, and a consistorial advocate on his right. They first bowed to the altar and his holiness, and the advocate begged of the holy father that he would be pleased to enrol among the number of the saints, the four holy persons who had been so strongly recommended to him. This was seconded by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who closed his harangue in begging for a blessing on the ceremony, and exhorting all the people present to join with him in prayer for that purpose.

His holiness then rose out of his chair, and all the clergy kneeled down, whilst two musicians of the chapel sung the litanies of the saints. The sovereign pontiff called upon the Holy Ghost to be with them while the Minims keep standing before the throne, and singing with tapers in their hands. It was then asked of his holiness, if he would comply with the request of those princes who had solicited for the canonization? to which the secretary of briefs announced, that his holiness was going to make a decree, for raising Pius V. Andrew d'Avellino, Felix de Cantalice, and Catherine de Bologna, to the rank of saints, to the glory of God, and the honour of the Catholic church; in order that their names may be called upon, for ages to come. After these words have been repeated, the cardinals stood up, and the pope, as Christ's vicar, pronounced the decree of canonization; commanding, that from that time, all the faithful should, in their ordinary course of devotion, pray to these saints, who were now become advocates for them in heaven.

Whilst the music in the chapel was singing, the master of the ceremonies gave notice, by a signal to the citizens of Rome, that these persons were advanced among the members of the blessed, and that they were to be mediators between God and them, for the remission of their sins: upon which the whole city was in an instant illuminated; the churches were crowded with people ready to offer up their prayers to the new made saints: the bells were set a ringing, and nothing but devotion in one part, and confusion in another, were to be found.

The whole ceremony concluded with the following prayer, which the holy father composed himself:

"May God Almighty have mercy on you, by virtue of the merits and prayers of the holy Virgin, and of all those whom we have now declared to be saints: May the divine Majesty, for their sakes, pardon all your sins, and lead you into eternal life; giving you indulgence here, and remission of sins hereafter. *Amen.*"

To what has been here said, we may add, that canonization of saints was not known in the Christian church till towards the middle of the tenth century, and so far as we are able to form a notion, without prejudice or partially, the Christians in that age borrowed it from the heathens; for it was customary both with the Greeks and Romans, to deify all those heroes and great men, who had made a more than ordinary figure among them.

We have many instances of these dedications among the heathens, and they are recorded both by their poets and historians; nay, we sometimes find them introducing the gods themselves, raising up deceased heroes to the rank of deities; thus Ovid describes Jupiter as deifying Hercules.

As an old serpent casts his scaly vest,  
 Wreathes in the sun, in youthful glory dressed;  
 So, when Alcides' mortal mould resign'd,  
 His better part enlarg'd and grew refin'd,  
 August his visage shone; almighty Jove  
 In his swift car his honoured offspring drove:  
 High o'er the hollow clouds the coursers fly,  
 And lodge the hero in the starry sky.

We read of Charles Boromea, archbishop of Milan, that it was resolved on, some years before he died, to place him among the saints as soon as he died, which was done, and now he is adored as an object of divine worship. This is exactly similar to the practice of the ancient heathens, who often told their heroes and great men while alive, that for their great and virtuous actions, they would be ranked among the gods; of this we have many striking instances in Virgil, who, of all the Roman poets,

seems to have been the most addicted to the flattery of Augustus, who indeed had raised him from a low degree of obscurity to grandeur. Thus he addresses Augustus.

And chiefly thou, whose undermined state  
 Is yet the subject of the god's debate:  
 Whether in after-times to be declared  
 The patron of the world and Rome's peculiar  
 guard:

Or o'er the fruits and seasons to preside,  
 And the round circuit of the year to guide;  
 Pow'ful of blessings, which thou strew'st around,  
 And with thy goddess-mother's myrtle crown'd.  
 Or wilt thou, Caesar, chuse the wat'ry reign,  
 To smoothe the surges, and correct the main?  
 Then mariners, in storms, to thee shall pray:  
 Ev'n utmost Thule shall thy pow'r obey,  
 And Neptune shall resign the fables of the sea: }  
 Thé wat'ry virgins for thy bed shall strive;  
 And Tethys all her waves in dowry give.  
 Or wilt thou bless our summers with thy rays,  
 And, seated near the balance, poise the days;  
 Where in the void of heaven a space is free,  
 Between the Scorpion and the Maid for thee:  
 The Scorpion, ready to receive thy laws,  
 Yields half his region, and contracts his claws.

It has been much objected against canonization, that it is performed by human beings, which is giving them a power to make something an object of divine worship, which, while in this life, was no more than mortal. This objection seems to be well founded, and many Protestant writers have considered the origin of canonization, as taking its rise from a misunderstanding of the word blessing us, used in prayer. Thus, in a prayer, we say, we bless God, by which no more is meant than that we praise him. That the following is the general and particular sense in which the word blessing has always been used, will appear evident to all those who are in the least acquainted with history.

The Hebrews, under this name, often understand the presents usually sent from one friend to another. Thus when Jacob sent a present to Esau, he desires him to accept his blessing; and when Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, petitioned her father for a field, she said, "Give me a Blessing." When Abigail carried David a present, she called it a Blessing, which his handmaid had brought; and the reason probably is, because presents are usually attended with good wishes and compliments.

Besides those instances of private benediction, or blessing among the Jews, there are others of a more public and solemn nature. Thus Moses directs Aaron, the high priest, to bless the people: "On this wise shall ye bless the children of Israel, saying unto

them, the Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his to face shine unto thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." The prophetic writings are full of benedictions. The patriarchs, on their deathbeds, blessed their children and families; and God ordained, that when the people of Israel should arrive in the promised land, the whole multitude should assemble between mount Ebal and mount Gerizim, and that blessings should be pronounced from mount Gerizim on those who observed the law, and curses from mount Ebal on those who violated it, and this Joshua performed after he had conquered part of the land of Canaan.

The privilege of benediction or blessing, was one of those early instances of honour and respect paid to bishops in the primitive church, for bowing the head to them, and the receiving their blessing was so universal, that emperors themselves did not refuse to comply with it. Thus Hilary reproaches the emperor Constantius, telling him he received the bishops with a kiss, with which Christ was betrayed, and bowed his head to receive their benediction, whilst he trampled on their faith.

In the western churches, there was anciently a kind of benediction, which immediately followed the Lord's Prayer, and some understand by it the final benediction after the communion; but Mabillon more truly interprets it of the benediction before the communion, immediately after the Lord's Prayer: for there is a canon in the council of Toledo, which censures priests for communicating immediately after the Lord's Prayer, without giving the benediction to the people, and ordains that for the future, the benediction should follow the Lord's Prayer, and after that the communion: and in Mabillon's collection of Gallican Missals, the prayer that follows the collect after the Lord's Prayer, is styled *Benedictio populi*, the Benediction of the People.

No one can be beatified till above fifty years after his disease, and all the depositions relating to his piety and holiness in this life are strictly examined by the congregation of rites. This scrutiny is carried on sometimes for several years together, after which, the pope fixes a day for the beatification, for the reputation of the candidate is seldom in any danger. His holiness, attended by the cardinals, and all his great officers, goes to St. Peter's church, where he sings high mass, and then signs the bull, declaring the deceased to be in heaven among the blessed.

Messengers are immediately dispatched to the place where the deceased was buried, and when the news of the beatification arrive, the corpse is taken up and exposed to the people: mass is said in honour of the blessed, and from that time forward he is supposed and believed to work many miracles. Many

of the most learned among the Roman Catholics, such as Fleury, Baronius and Bellarmine, speak of miracles and relics in a very cold indifferent manner, and the late pope Gauganelli treats them very slightly, and seems to wish that there were none of them left in the church, and that beatification and canonization were never again to take place. The Roman Catholic priests in this country, when they converse with Protestants, tell them that the belief of modern miracles, and the adoration of relics, are not articles of faith, but that the pious may either believe in them, or reject them. This is one of the most inconsistent assertions that ever could take place; for, first, in all countries where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, a man would be in danger of losing his life, were he but so much as to hint to another that he doubted the truth of miracles, and as for the adoration of relics it cannot be dispensed with, for all Catholics are obliged to be at least once at mass every Sunday and holiday, and on most of these days, relics are exposed to public view, nor can the adoration of them be dispensed with.

But, secondly, whatever may be the practice in those countries, thus much is certain, that in England, where all sorts of religious sentiments are tolerated, all the catechisms and books of devotion written by the Romish priests inculcate the necessity of adoring relics, and believing in miracles. Now as catechisms and books of devotion contain the leading principles of religion, why insert such things in them, unless they are articles of faith?

A few years ago two Romish priests, (Dr. Fell and Mr. Butler) wrote the lives of their saints, and these books are to be had any where in England. We shall here extract the following passages from them, which will serve to shew that there is but little difference between a Roman Catholic in England, and one on the continent.

St. Raymond of Pennaforte, having long remonstrated to no purpose against the debaucheries of the king of Spain, resolved to leave him, and return to Barcelona: but the king having forbid any one to transport him, St. Raymond threw his cope into the sea; and taking his staff in his hand, went into this new kind of boat and arrived safe at Catalonia. St. Francis of Paula was endued with such supernatural strength, that he carried away a rock of prodigious bigness, which hindered the foundation of a dormitory he was building. St. Agnes of Monte Pulciano received a visit from the blessed Virgin, holding the child Jesus in her arms, whom she permitted her to embrace and press to her breast. After her death she returned the civility of St. Catharine of Sienna (who came to visit her tomb) in a very extraordinary manner. While the living saint was endeavouring to kiss the feet of the dead one, the latter lifted up



her foot to St. Catharine's lips, through an excess of humility to be before hand with her. St. Bonaventure, not being able to communicate in the ordinary way, by reason of a violent indisposition in his stomach, had the pyx placed upon his breast, and the holy wafer immediately penetrated into his very bowels. St. Ignatius, being given over by his physicians, was visited by St. Peter, who healed him with a touch. This saint was the famous founder of the Jesuits, who reckon up no less than two hundred miracles performed by him. St. Clara being one day at her devotions, a very beautiful child (supposed to be the child Jesus) with two shining wings, flew into her lap, and caressed her with many fond endearments. Another time, being indisposed, and not able to go to matins, she notwithstanding heard the office distinctly, though sung at a church very distant from her monastery. St. Stanislaus Kostka became famous after his death for driving out devils, and restoring persons to life; and the Poles believe, that one of this saint's bones steeped in a little wine, is a sovereign remedy against many distempers. St. Clara of Montefalco, having often declared to the nuns of her convent, that she had the figure of Christ crucified, and all the instruments of his passion graved on her heart, they caused her body to be opened, after her death, and were convinced of the truth of this miracle. St. Didacus cured diseases with the oil of a lamp burning before an image of our lady. One day being destitute of food in a journey, he prayed to God, and immediately saw a table spread on the grass, and covered with refreshments. The famous St. Xavier, during his mission to the East-Indies, raised several persons to life. Being in the neighbourhood of Amboyua, he calmed a tempest by plunging his crucifix into the sea. In the heat of the action, the crucifix slipt out of his hand: but an officious fish restored it to him in a moment. St. Rosa, was so venerable for her great sanctities, that the largest trees of the garden bent down their branches, as saluting her, when she passed by them to her cell.

In the fifth century, the head of St. John Baptist being found in a cave, near Emesa, a city of Phœnicia, a church was built in that place, and the head of the saint placed in it, with great ceremony and devotion. But this church falling to ruin, a very noble one was afterwards built in Emesa, to which the saint's head was transported in 760. Theophanes tells us, it continued to be an object of devotion in 800, and sent forth a most delightful odour, which cured all who approached it with faith. It is believed, the head of St. John Baptist was afterwards transferred from Emesa to Comana in Pontus, and from thence to Constantinople. The church of Amiens pretends at this day to shew a great part of it, namely, all the face as far as, the mouth, and to

have received it by the means of one Walon de Sarton, a canon of Amiens, who, being present at the taking of Constantinople by the French in 1204, found this relic in the ruins of the old palace. Some of the bones of this saint were likewise preserved by the Christians, and when, in the reign of Julian, the pagans opened the sepulchre of St. John at Sebasta, and burnt his remains, these bones were sent to St. Athanasius, who placed them in the wall of an altar. Afterwards when Theodosius demolished the temple of Serapis, and built a magnificent church in its place, dedicated to St. John Baptist, these relics were removed thither, in 396.

The bodies of St. Andrew and St. Luke were transported to Constantinople, in 357, after having performed miracles in all places where they stopped. They were interred in the Basilica, or church of the Apostles, where they became the objects of the peoples' devotion, and those who accompanied these relics, had part of them in recompense. By this means they were dispersed in several places, and wrought miracles wherever they were brought. The memory of these relics seems to have been lost at Constantinople, when about the year 550, the emperor Justinian designing to rebuild the church of the Apostles, the workmen found three wooden coffins, with inscriptions, denoting that these were the bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy. Justinian, and all the people, testified their respect to these holy relics, re-placing them in the earth, and erecting over them a stately monument. The town of Vergi in Burgundy, and the church of Beauvais, pretend each of them to shew one of St. Andrew's arms. The church of Almati, in the kingdom of Naples, pretends to have the body of St. Andrew, brought from Constantinople, when that city was taken by the French; and the Roman martyrology assures us, that there constantly distils a medicinal liquor from this apostle's tomb, at Anafii.

The chains of St. Peter and St. Paul were held in great veneration, for the popes themselves formerly dispersed the filings of them, as sovereign remedies for diseases. Arator tells us, they had at Rome, in the sixth century, the chains with which St. Peter had been bound at Jerusalem; and we are told of a coat of St. Peter's, brought from Antioch to Paris, and placed in the church of St. Genevieve, and Hugh, abbot of Clugni, it is said, made use of it to cure a paralytic, in the presence of a multitude of persons. Some of St. Stephen's bones, being carried by Orosius a priest, about the year 418, into the island of Minorca, occasioned the conversion of five hundred and forty Jews, who inhabited the town of Magona in that island. Much about the same time, a vial containing a few drops of the same saint's blood, and some fragments of his bones, cured a broken leg, and restored a blind woman to

sight in a town of Africa. The same relics gave health to the sick, and restored the dead to life. Other churches likewise were blessed with the relics of this protomartyr: particularly at Ancona in Italy, in Portugal; at Tours, Bourdeaux, and Bourges, in France: in all which places miracles were frequently performed by them.

Besides the relics of the apostles, those of the succeeding saints and martyrs were no less objects of the Christians' devotion. Thus the relics of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, in the beginning of the second century, were translated from Rome, where he suffered martyrdom, to Antioch, and placed in the cemetery near the gate of Daphne. The people daily visited them, and many miracles were said to be wrought by them. The bones of St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who suffered martyrdom about the year 169, were preserved by the Christians, who esteemed them beyond the richest jewels. The relics of St. Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, who suffered martyrdom in the third century, are shewn in several places; as, in a church near Barcelona, and in the town of Manresa in Catalonia. The relics of St. Cervaize and St. Protaise, martyred at Milan under the emperor Valentinian I. being carried in procession to the cathedral church, restored to sight, a citizen of Milan, who chanced to touch the ornaments with which they were covered. Several other persons were cured of diseases by garments or linen which had touched these relics.

The modern church of Rome pays great veneration to the relics of saints and martyrs; for shrines, in which they are deposited, are first sprinkled with holy water, and then solemnly blessed. The substance of the prayer is, that God would grant his protection to such as revere the merits of the saints, and humbly embrace their relics, to the end that these faithful suppliants may be guarded from the power of the devil, from thunder, plague, bad air, wild beasts, and from the hostilities and machinations of men. The believer, who visits relics out of devotion, must acquit himself of this duty with zeal, and touch the sacred limbs of saints with faith, and there are times fixed for publicly exposing them to the devout. The relics in the church of Notre Dame, at Aix la Chapelle, are shewn every seven years, accompanied with proclamations such as the following: "The head and right arm of St. Cornelius are to be shewn; by whose intercession may our Lord preserve you from the falling sickness, and after this life grant you the kingdom of heaven."

The translation of relics, or depositing them in some church, is performed with great care and ceremony, and before they are translated, they are examined by the bishop, who pronounces a solemn benediction over them. On the day of their translation, the streets through which they are to pass, are clean-

ed, and the houses hung with tapestry. The church and altar are pompously adorned and the images of the saints ranged in open view. The relics are carried in procession under a canopy, the clergy walking before, and the people surrounding them with lighted tapers in their hands, and as soon as they enter the church, *Te Deum* is sung, and the relics are set upon the altar to be worshipped by the people. Prayers are appointed in honour of them, and a lamp is left burning day and night before the place where they are deposited.

But of all the relics preserved in popish countries, those of the blood of martyrs are the most remarkable and frequent. Rome especially, and Italy, are grown famous for the great quantity that is found in them. The earth at Rome (an Italian writer tells us) is stained with the blood of the faithful. He adds, that the pope makes presents of this sacred earth to foreigners; and he relates the following miracle on this occasion. An ambassador of Poland earnestly solicited pope Pius V. to grant him a relic, whereupon his holiness drew out his handkerchief, put a little Roman earth into it, and rolling it up, gave it to the ambassador, who took the pope to be in jest. However, as soon as his excellency was returned back to his house, he opened the handkerchief, and found it deeply stained with blood.

It would be endless to repeat the prodigious number of miracles, said to be wrought daily by the blood of the saints. At certain seasons, it is seen to melt and run. There are several liquefactions of this kind especially in Italy. Thus on the festival of St. Eustace at Rome, that saint's blood is seen to boil. But the most remarkable is that of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, of the truth of which we here present the reader with what cannot be objected to by the most bigotted Roman Catholics in the world.

On the 18th of September is performed at Naples, the ceremony of exposing the head and blood of St. Januarius, patron of that city. On this occasion there is a solemn procession made, in honour of the saint, in which the martyr's head and blood are carried in great pomp. These two relics are made to meet, and when they are pretty near one another, the blood is seen to grow fluid, to boil, and to force itself over the sides of the glass vial, in which it is kept. This miracle is wrought annually, and never deceives the people's expectations, who are always ready to witness the truth of the fact.

The rise of this miracle, they pretend, was as follows: A Neapolitan lady who was so sick as to keep her bed, having heard of St. Januarius and his companions, resolved to seek her cure upon the place where those faithful Christians had suffered martyrdom. Accordingly she went, and finding the place still wet with their blood, she filled two vials with

it. In one she put all the pure blood she could take up, and in the other that which was mixed with earth and other filth. Scarce had she made an end, when she found herself cured. Soon after this, hearing that the head of the saint was lodged at Naples, she sent word that she was in possession of the saint's blood; upon which the head was carried in procession to fetch the blood. The pious lady did not wait for this visit, but ran with the two vials to meet the head of the martyr. In the first moment of the interview the blood dissolved and convinced the people that it was really the saint's blood; and since that time the miracle has never ceased.

Mr. Addison mentions this pretended miracle, in his Remarks on several parts of Italy. "I saw, (says he, speaking of Naples) a very splendid procession for the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain. To grace the parade, they exposed at the same time, the blood of St. Januarius, which liquified at the approach of the saint's head, though, as they say, it was hard congealed before. I had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle, and must confess I think it so far from being a real miracle, that I look upon it as one of the most bungling tricks I ever saw. Yet it is this that makes as great a noise as any in the Roman church, and that Mr. Paschal has hinted at, among the rest, in his marks of the true religion. The modern Neapolitans seem to have copied it from one, which was shewn in a town in the kingdom of Naples, as long ago as in Horace's time.

At Gnatia next arrived, we laugh to see

The superstitious crowd's simplicity,

That in the sacred temple needs would try,

Without a fire, th' unheated gums to fry: }

Believe who will the solemn sham, not I.

One may see, at least, that the heathen priesthood had the same kind of secrets among them, of which the Roman Catholics are now masters."

The next thing that claims our attention to the church of Rome is, the Jubilee, which is partly of Jewish, and partly of heathen original. Among the Jews were two sorts of Jubilees, namely, the lesser, every seventh year; and the greater, every fiftieth year. The grand Jubilee on the fiftieth year among the Jews procured liberty for all such as were slaves; the poor were acquitted of the payment of their debts; all sorts of pledges were to be delivered up; and the heirs of those who had mortgaged their estates, were at liberty to take possession of them in the name of their ancestors, it being a maxim in the Jewish law, that the enjoyment of the fruits of the earth, during the space of forty-nine years, was a sufficient payment for the money laid out in the mortgage.

In the same manner the pope makes every fiftieth

year, a year of rest to his dutiful children. He forgives them all manner of sins; relieves the spiritual poverty of the penitent, by opening the treasures of divine mercy to him, and restoring him to the favour of God and the saints. Thus we find that this ceremony comes in room of the secular games of the ancient Romans, only that it has a few Jewish rites mixed with it. It was first instituted by pope Boniface VIII. who declared in his bull, that such as should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year 1300, should have a full and free remission of all their sins; but as this was to be repeated only once in one hundred years, and that being considered as too long to wait for the remission, Clement VI ordered that the Jubilee should be observed once every fifty years.

Since that time, however, great alterations have taken place, for by several decrees of councils, every pope may grant a jubilee on that year when he is advanced to the pontificate, only with this exception, that the holy gate is never opened, but at the end of the twenty-fifth year, "Which," to use the words of a popish author, "brings with it an universal indulgence: the hearts of the faithful are comforted thereby, and joy entereth into the house of the Lord." The jubilee grants to such confessors as are approved of by their superiors, a power to absolve all reserved cases from all censure, and the greater excommunication; to annul all suspensions relating to benefices and ecclesiastical offices, and to take off interdicts. It permits them likewise to alter vows, so as they have no connection with religion or chastity, or are not of the nature of those by which pilgrims engage to visit the shrines of the most celebrated saints.

When the pope has appointed the time for the jubilee, he gives notice of it by his apostolical letters to all the prelates throughout Christendom, and these cause them to be published throughout all their dioceses, with proper exhortations, in order that the faithful may put themselves into a condition for obtaining the advantages which attend it. On such days as are set apart for fasting and repentance, the bishop and his clergy are enjoined to appear overwhelmed with sorrow, and filled with sentiments of humility. They are to pray with heart and mouth to the Almighty, and to offer him the fruits of a sincere contrition, which consists in the renunciation of all those engagements by which men are, for the most part, devoted to the world; and in a strong resolution to instruct the people by their own pious example.

The grandest part of this ceremony consists in opening the holy gate, of which the following is a faithful account: On the twenty-fourth day of December, of the holy year, all the regular and secular clergy assemble together, at the apostolical



palace, and from thence march in procession to St. Peter's at the Vatican. When the clergy arrive in the great square before the church of St. Peter, they find the gates shut, and all the entrances of the portico lined with guards, to prevent the populace from getting in. The pope, cardinals, and bishops, dressed in their white damask robes, having their mitres on, meet in the chapel of pope Sixtus V. where his holiness sings the *Veni Creator*, &c. with a lighted taper in his hand. The cardinals hold lighted tapers in their hands, and walk forward, according to their respective ranks, and repair to the Swiss portico, where the holy father nominates three of them his legates to open the gates of St. John de Lateran, St. Mary major, and St. Paul without the walls.

The cardinals having received these orders from his holiness on their knees, go to those several churches, preceded by trumpets, with a band of monks and another of soldiers. A grand and most magnificent throne is erected before the gate of St. Peter, upon which the holy father sits some time, till one of the cardinals, who, for that time, is called the prince of the throne, approaches him, and puts into his hand a small golden hammer. Having marked the hammer with the sign of the cross, his holiness, followed by his clergy holding lighted tapers in their hands, marches forward to the gate of St. Peter, and knocking three times, says, "Open to me these gates of justice." Upon which the choir sing, "This is the gate of the eternal God, the just shall enter therein." In the mean time the chief masons break down the walls which close up the sacred gate, and the rubbish of it is distributed among the devotees, who pick it up with all the zeal and eagerness imaginable, in order to rank it with their most precious relics. While the rubbish is clearing away, his holiness returns and sits down upon his throne, and when the whole is demolished, the penitentiaries of St. Peter take their brooms and sweep the dust out of the passage. All the mouldings and decorations around the gate, are washed with holy water, and when this part of the ceremony is over, his holiness descends from his throne, and begins an anthem in these words, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, &c." and the choir sing it with him. Being again arrived at the sacred gate, the holy father repeats several prayers: takes the cross, kneels down, sings the *Te Deum*, then rises up and passes through the holy gate, singing as he goes along. He is followed by his clergy in their robes, and a vast concourse of people, who all throng into the church, in order to be present at the sacred ceremony. After the whole service is over, which concludes with vespers, the cardinals put off their white robes and put on their red hats and purple mantles; and attend the holy father home to his apartments.

During this solemn season there are always many pilgrims at Rome: and by the pope's bull, these are obliged to visit the four churches already mentioned, namely, St. Peter's, St. John de Lateran, St. Mary major, and St. Paul without the walls. The natives of Italy are obliged to visit these churches thirty times, but the pope grants an indulgence to all foreigners, who are not obliged, without their own choice, to visit them any oftener than fifteen times. There are little books of devotion, compiled for the use of the pilgrims, and if any of them die before they have visited the churches so often as is prescribed in the ritual, then there is a clause left in the bull, granting them a complete absolution.

There is another ceremony observed during the jubilee, which deserves particular notice, because it is confined to Rome alone. It is the opinion of the Roman Catholics, and they have learned it from the traditions of their monks, that the hall in which Pontius Pilate sat when he examined our Saviour, was twenty-eight steps high, and in imitation of that they have contrived to make a ladder of twenty-eight steps, which the pilgrims are obliged to ascend. This ladder, we are told, was brought from the Holy Land by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, whom we have had occasion to mention before, and who may be considered as one of the most industrious collectors of relics that ever lived. But the ladder was not all, for they tell us that she brought along with her a drop of our Saviour's blood, which is contained in a small vial near the upper end of the ladder, and the passage to it is through a brass gate.

This place is esteemed so sacred, that some of the Roman Catholic writers call it the Holy of Holies; and when the pilgrim has ascended the top of the ladder, he is obliged to repeat a short prayer before he enters into it. As for female pilgrims they are not permitted to enter it, but they are entitled to indulgence by looking at it through the grate. All these acts of devotion obtain for pilgrims an absolute pardon of all the sins they ever committed; and the penitentiaries of St. Peter put the seal to such pardons, by touching them with their rods. The Roman prelates, with all the bishops who are at that time in the city, assemble together and wash the feet of the pilgrims; and the holy father, attended by his cardinals, all without their robes, wait on them at table. The pope presents them with medals, chaplets of roses, and Agnus Deis; and when they have kissed his feet with the profoundest humility, they are dismissed with his blessing.

As the jubilee continues a whole year, being opened on the twenty-fourth of December, so it concludes by shutting the gate on the same day of the month. On this occasion many ceremonies are observed, for, of all courts of the world, that of

Rome is the most ceremonious. On the twenty-fourth day of December, the pope, with the cardinals, the Roman nobility, and all the clergy of distinction, go to St. Peter's in their robes of state, where vespers are sung; after which the clergy light their tapers, and pay their obedience to the holy father. Then his holiness gives out an anthem, which begins with these words, "Ye shall go out with joy." And as soon as the choir begin to sing it, every one makes haste to get out of the gate, as soon as possibly he can. When they are all gone out, the holy father goes towards the gate, where he prays some time, and then gives out another anthem, beginning with these words, "Our help is in the name of the Lord." He then blesses the materials with which the gate is to be shut up; and he lays the foundation stone, under which are concealed several medals, which serve to transmit the memory of the sacred ceremony to the latest posterity. After this, a basin with water is presented to the holy father, who washes his hands, returns to his throne, while the choir sings an anthem suitable to the solemnity of the ceremony. During the time the anthem is singing, the masons close up the gate, in the midst of which they place a cross of copper; and it is blessed by the pope's repeating several prayers.—The whole ceremony concludes with the pope's bestowing his benediction on all the faithful; particularly on those pious pilgrims who have visited Rome, and then he returns home to his palace, attended by the cardinals.

The last thing we shall take notice of under this head is, what the Roman Catholics call indulgence, which has two different significations, according to the Roman ritual. First, it implies that the pope has authority to dispense with the times of fasting and fasting, in favour of any one who shall apply to him for that purpose; and secondly, that he has a right to remit all those temporal punishments which are annexed to sin in this life. This is the more necessary to be mentioned, because many well meaning Protestants are led into an error concerning this principle in the church of Rome, by taking the word in its primary sense. To indulge is to give a person leave to do something, and therefore some have imagined, that when the popes grant indulgences, they give men leave to sin. This, however, is so far distant from any thing intended by the word, that even the most bigotted Roman Catholic would look upon it with abhorrence.

It is certain that many abuses have been committed by the sale of indulgences, and it was owing in part to that, our happy Reformation took place.

But this is rather to be charged upon the persons intrusted with the distribution, than upon the popes who granted them. It must, however, be acknowledged, that indulgences, even in the manner we

have considered them, bring in an immense sum of money to the papal treasury. Men do not love to be always confined down to forms, and therefore that religion must always be agreeable to them, which indulges them with a few things in their own nature indifferent, and which, for the payment of a small sum of money, exempts men from temporal pains in this life.

To corroborate the truth of what we have here advanced concerning indulgences, we shall add what was written about a century ago, by a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit, viz. the famous father Maimbourg; he says, that when pope Leo X ascended the pontifical throne, he published indulgences to all those who would contribute towards re-building the church of St. Peter's at Rome. Those persons who purchased the indulgences were permitted to eat flesh and eggs in lent, and to make choice of any priest whom they esteemed, to be their confessor. They same author adds, that these indulgences were sold by auction, to those who bid highest for them, so that we need not be surprised to find that many abuses crept in. The practice itself became at last so odious, that sober Roman Catholics condemned it, and Luther, a man of spirit, althought at that time no more than an Augustine monk, opposed the whole power of the popes, and in the hand of Divine Providence, became a most eminent instrument in bringing about our Reformation from popish ignorance, darkness, superstition and idolatry.

As the whole festival of the jubilee is connected, in a manner, with the remissions of sins to men, so it may not be improper to explain, in a few words, what has been meant in ancient and modern times, by the word absolution; for it is certain, that it has been misunderstood, misapplied and abused.

The ministerial power of remitting sins was vested by Christ in the apostles, and from them derived to the church. This is all that the primitive church ever pretended to, leaving the absolute, sovereign, independent, irreversible power of absolution to God alone. The ancients reckoned five kinds of absolution. 1. That of baptism. 2. That of the eucharist. 3. That of the word and doctrine. 4. That of imposition of hands and prayer. 5. That of reconciliation to the communion of the church, by a relaxation of her censures. The two first may be called sacramental; the third declaratory; the fourth precatory; and the fifth judicial. The first had no relation to penitential discipline, being never given to persons who had once received baptism. The second had some relation to it, but did not solely belong to it; for it was given to all baptized persons, who never fell under penitential discipline, as well as those who lapsed, and were restored to communion again: and in both respects it was called the perfection of a Christian. By the third the ministers

of Christ made public declaration to men of the terms of reconciliation and salvation. The fourth sort was used as a concomitant of most other absolutions; and by the fifth penitents were finally restored to the peace, and full communion of the church.

Anciently, no sinners were absolved, till they had performed their regular penance, except in case of imminent death. As to the ceremony of absolution, the penitent was publicly reconciled, in sackcloth, at the altar, by this, or the like form; "He that forgave the sinful woman all her sins, for which she shed tears, and opened the gates of Paradise to the thief, make you partaker of his redemption, and absolve you from all the bonds of your sins, and heal you by the medicine of his mercy, and restore you to the body of the church by his grace, and keep you whole and sound for ever." The indicative form, "I absolve you," instead of "Christ absolve thee," was not in use till the twelfth century, a little before the time of Thomas Aquinas, who first wrote in defence of it; as the learned bishop Usher has clearly proved. Sometimes *chrisim*, or unction, was added to the imposition of hands, in the reconciliation of such heretics and schismatics to the church as had been baptized in heresy or schism; and the reason was, because their baptism out of the church being null and void, they were supposed to want the true effect of baptism, viz. the grace or unction of the holy spirit. The time of absolution seems to have been fixed to the day of our Saviour's passion, and some penitents were received into the church by absolution, even after their death; particularly such as died during the course of their penance. We need not observe that absolution, as well as all canonical discipline, was primarily lodged in the hands of the bishop, and by him committed to the hands of the presbyters and deacons only; indeed, in cases of extreme necessity some canons allowed a layman to administer baptism, rather than a catechumen should die unbaptized.

There were some crimes which incapacitated the sinner from ever receiving absolution, and these were, originally, the three great sins, idolatry, adultery and murder; and though this rigour afterwards, by general consent, was abated, yet they continued to deny communion to the very last, to such apostates as remained obstinate and impenitent all their lives, and only desired reconciliation when the pangs of death were upon them, only that very great and scandalous offenders were reserved for the patriarch's absolution.

The judicious Hooker, speaking of the abuse of absolution in the Roman church, says, "They strangely hold, that whatsoever the penitent doth, his contrition, confession and satisfaction, have no place of right to stand as material parts in this sacrament, nor consequently any such force as to make

them available for the taking away of sin, in that they proceed from the penitent himself, without the privacy of the minister, but only as they are enjoined by the minister's authority and power—except therefore the priest be willing, God hath by promise hampered himself so, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any man—he hath no answer to make, but such as that of the angel unto Lot. "I can do nothing." Then describing the true nature and effects of absolution, he says, "The sentence therefore of ministerial absolution hath two effects: touching sin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltiness thereof, and restored into God's favour; but concerning right in sacred and divine mysteries, whereof through sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the church did before effectually blind and retain us from access unto them, so, upon our apparent repentance, it truly restoreth our liberty, looseth the chains wherewith we are tied, remiteth all whatsoever is past, and accepteth us no less returned, than if we had never gone astray."

Archbishop Tillotson has given his opinion of the use and intent of absolution in the following words: "Upon this miraculous gift of knowing the secrets of men's hearts, it seems to be very probable, that that which is commonly called the power of the keys, did depend; I mean the power of remitting or retaining sins: for they who had the privilege of knowing men's hearts, might do this upon certain grounds, and was secured from mistake in the exercise of their power upon particular persons; which the priests and ministers of the church now are not, nor can be; because they cannot see into men's hearts, whether they be truly penitent and qualified for forgiveness or not. For I cannot easily believe but that those words of our Saviour, "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained," were intended to signify something more than a mere declaration of the promises and threatenings of the gospel, which any man might make as well as the apostles and ministers of the church. For that God will forgive the penitent, and that he will not pardon the sinner except he repent, is as true from any man's mouth, as from an apostle's: and as to the absolution of this or that particular person, though a minister, by the skill and knowledge of his profession, is ordinarily and reasonably presumed, by virtue of his office, to be a better judge of a man's repentance, than other persons are, and therefore may, with more authority and satisfaction to the penitent, declare his judgment and opinion concerning him; yet not being able to see into his heart, he may be mistaken concerning him; and, if he be, his declaring his sins to be forgiven, that is, his absolution of him will do him no good; and on the other hand, his refusal to absolve him, if he be truly penitent, will do him no harm; as



the judgment of a skilful lawyer is of great authority, and more satisfactory to us, concerning our title to an estate, than the opinion of another man, who is not of the profession, nor presumed to have the like skill: but yet for all this his judgment does not alter the case; and if in truth the law be otherwise, our title is bad, notwithstanding the skilful man's opinion of the goodness of it."

The archbishop says farther, that "Protestants do not make the absolution of the priest at all necessary to the forgiveness of sins, but only convenient for the satisfaction and comfort of the penitent. For which reason our church does not require a formal absolution to be given to the dying penitent, unless he himself desire it; which is a certain argument, that, in the judgment of our church, the absolution of the priest is not necessary to the forgiveness and salvation of the penitent."

In the liturgy of the church of England, there are three several forms of absolution. The first is that at morning prayer, "Almighty God, &c. who hath given power, &c. He pardoneth and absolveth, &c." The second is used at the visitation of the sick, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church, &c. by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee, &c." The third is in the communion service. "Almighty God, &c. who hath promised forgiveness of sins, &c. have mercy on you, &c." These three different forms. (Bishop Sparrow says) are, in sense and virtue, the same. "For as when a prince hath granted a commission to any servant of his, to release out of prison all penitent offenders whatever, it were all one, in effect, as to the prisoners discharge, whether this servant says, by virtue of a commission granted to me, under the prince's hand and seal, I release this prisoner; or thus, the prince who hath given me this commission, pardons you; or lastly, the prince pardon and deliver you."

The form of absolution which the pope gives to crowned heads, who have been excommunicated is briefly this. The pope is seated on a rich pontifical throne, erected before St. Peter's church, attended by the apostolical court. The ambassadors of the excommunicated princes appear before this assembly, and throw themselves at his holiness's feet, asking pardon in the name of their masters, and desiring absolution. Then they lay their hands on the mass-book, and swear by the holy gospels, and the crucifix, obedience to the church. Then the pope and twelve cardinal priests, sing the *Miserere*, observing to strike the ambassadors on the shoulder at the beginning of each verse, and the ceremony ends with prayers, and the imposition of a penance proportionable to the crime of the persons absolved.

# Of Religious Societies in the Church of Rome.

BESIDES the religious orders among the Roman Catholics which we have already described, there are several societies which are not authorised by the pope, but established by immemorial custom. The design of establishing them, seems to have been that of promoting social religion; and although the intention was good, yet the means made use of, had such a connection with superstition, that every valuable purpose was defeated.

The first of these societies is that of the Chaplet, or Beads, the invention of which is ascribed to Peter the hermit, who conducted the first crusade into the Holy Land. The heathens, whose prayers were numerous, used to teach their votaries to count beads, that they might not forget the different collects; and something of this nature was practiced by the Saracens, against whom this Peter the hermit carried on the war. The design was to enable the soldiers to repeat their prayers: for in that age, few except the priests, could read. At present great encouragement is given to those ignorant persons in Roman Catholic countries, who are most exact in making the repetition of their collects, and other acts of devotion keep time with the counting of the beads. Nay, some of the vulgar are so strict in their attention to these ceremonies, that they will neglect every thing else, for the sake of them. The author of this work being once at Brussels in Flanders, asked a waiter at an inn to bring him something; but, as the waiter was counting his beads, he only answered, that he must first discharge the duty he owed to the blessed Virgin.

The society of the Rosary was first instituted by Dominic, a native of Spain, of whom we have already given some account, and of whom we shall speak more at large in our history of the inquisition. The rosary is a chaplet, consisting of one hundred and fifty beads, which make so many Ave Marias; and every ten beads, divided by one somewhat larger, make a Peter; and the fifteen large beads are the symbols of fifteen mysteries, wherein are pointed out the eternal purposes of heaven, in laying down the plan of man's redemption.

Before a person begins to repeat his rosary, he must cross himself, repeat the apostles' creed, and say the Lord's prayer with three *Ave Marias*, to point out the relation the blessed Virgin has to the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity. The fifteen mysteries are divided into three classes; the first includes the five mysteries of joy; the five next are those of sorrow, as alluding to our Saviour's passion: and the five last those of glory, being designed to represent the resurrection, and the ascension. These ceremonies being over, all

the brethren of the rosary are obliged to join together in singing litanies for the benefit of those who are afflicted in mind, body, or estate; and on all such occasions they are obliged to address themselves to the blessed Virgin, because she first presented Dominic with a rosary when he was only a child. The solemnity of the rosary is celebrated on the first Sunday in October, in consequence of an order from pope Gregory XIII. Several privileges have been since granted to the society, and most of these having been confirmed by bulls, authorized by different popes, we need not be surprised that at present it makes a most distinguishing figure.

The next order, or rather society, in the church of Rome, is that of the Scapulary, or in plain English the Shoulder-knot, because all those who enter into this society, wear a piece of cloth upon their right shoulder, to distinguish them from those who make a different profession. We are told by the legendary writers, that the blessed Virgin herself, condescended to come down from heaven, in order to bestow the scapulary, with some marks of her approbation, upon one Simon Stock, who was at that time general of the Carmelite friars; she assured him that she would at all times grant him her protection, and promised to be propitious to all those who joined in the devotion of the scapulary, and to look upon them as her children at the hour of death, so as they had this badge along with them.

Thousands, and ten thousands of miracles are said to have been wrought by the all-sufficient power of these scapularies; and pope John XXII. in one of his bulls declared, that the blessed Virgin came to him on a visit, and gave him an absolute promise, that she would deliver out of purgatory all those who wore the scapulary, on the next Sunday after their death. In consequence of this bull, all those who belong to the order of the scapulary, are, when they die, kept unburied till the next Sunday after their decease, when there remains no doubt but the soul is in heaven. It is difficult to say how far superstition may lead men into the most extravagant schemes, inconsistent with either natural or revealed religion; for in some cases, no bounds can be set to the human passions. The author of this, once saw a London tradesman entered into the order of the scapulary at Antwerp, and so silly was the poor bigot, that he told those who conversed with him, that he wished he could, at that instant of time, enter into eternity, being of opinion that all his sins were forgiven, and that he was accepted in the sight of God.

But of all these societies, none deserves our notice more, nor are entitled to greater respect, than that called the Society of Charity. This society consists of a body of laymen, who really deserve the name they assume. They distribute bread among

the poor every Saturday, cause masses to be said for the repose of departed souls, and give marriage portions to forty young women. But there is another act of charity performed by the brethren of this order, which ought to be attended to by all those who call themselves Protestants. When a poor person dies, they are at the whole expence of his funeral, and they take care not only to see his ashes consigned decently to the silent earth, but they likewise, at the same time, order masses to be said for the repose of his soul; and although every Protestant must look upon this practice as of a superstitious nature, yet it shews the good intentions of the people, who, although mistaken, are willing to testify their respect to the deceased, even beyond the grave.

In all Roman Catholic countries there are societies of men, who, for a small sum, annually make it a rule to whip themselves publicly in the streets in Lent, and to such a height has this ridiculous superstition been carried on in Spain, that the clergy have allowed that it shall be done by proxy, upon the two following conditions: First, the priest is to receive a particular sum of money for admitting a proxy; and secondly, the proxy is to be paid according to the manner in which he makes his agreement with his principal, whom he represents. These hired penitents continue whipping themselves till the blood runs plentifully down from their backs, and during the whole of this barbarous ceremony, the women, who look upon them as something more than human, keep tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, weeping most bitterly, and praying for a thousand blessings on the pious penitents.

Some of the most celebrated Roman Catholic writers, particularly Baronius and Fleury, have asserted that the practice of penitents scourging themselves, did not take its rise in the Christian church, before the middle of the eleventh century. About that time, a parcel of fellows who loved a state of idleness, wrapped themselves up in cowls, and provided themselves with rods and whips, under pretence of appeasing the deity for the many crimes they had committed. With these implements they whipped themselves in such a severe manner, that blood gushed out from all parts of their bodies, and being considered as saints, the people made considerable collections for them; so that although their backs were sore, yet they had the comfort of enjoying some money in their pockets, which those who were as ignorant of religion as themselves, but far less artful, could not pretend to.

But ridiculous as this form of devotion may appear to Protestants who live in this enlightened age and nation, yet we can assure our readers, that we have not exaggerated the least or most trivial circumstance. On the contrary, the madness was so great, that the female sex became, as it were, in-

fected with it; women forgot that softness peculiar to their nature and constitution, and driven by enthusiasm to superstition, they lacerated their bodies with cords and ropes, not only to make an atonement for their own sins, but also to procure the favour of the deity for such souls as they imagined to be confined in purgatory.

About fifty years after the period already mentioned, a new set of whippers, or scourgers, under the name of penitents, arose, and these pretended that they had received a particular commission from God, to whip themselves without mercy. Nay, such was the madness of the times, that even children, encouraged by their parents, entered themselves into societies, some to whip themselves, and some to whip each other.

To what has been already advanced concerning the whippers or disciplinants, we must add the high respect they are held in by all ranks of people in Spain, Good-friday is appropriated for their honour, and so much are they esteemed, that even the king and great officers of state, and in a word, all those who are most respectable in the metropolis think it an honour to attend them. The king's guards march with their arms covered with crape as a sign of mourning, and the musicians play upon their different instruments the most dismal tunes that can be imagined. All the drums are covered with black, and they beat a most doleful march, in order to point out to the populace the death of our Saviour. The dismal sound of the trumpets animates and stirs up the contrition of the penitents, and the banners and crosses all covered with black, have the same influence upon the devotees.

As there are many societies of these disciplinants, or whippers, in Spain, so they are generally all present at Madrid, on Good-friday, and they are dressed in such a manner as to distinguish them from all others. They wear a long cap covered with cambric, about three feet high, from whence hangs a piece of linen, which falls down before and serves them for a veil. On their hands they wear white gloves, with shoes of the same colour on their feet, and a waistcoat with sleeves tied with a black ribbon, if they are not in love with any particular young lady; but if they are, then they have ribbons of such a colour as they imagine their mistresses will approve of. He who whips himself with the greatest dexterity, is esteemed far superior to those who are fearful and timid; and whenever they meet a young beautiful lady in the course of the procession, they are so artful, that by a few strokes of the whip, they can make the blood flow in the most copious manner, and this act of heroism is so much esteemed by the lady, that if not engaged, she is generally ready to offer her hand.

When any of them happen to come before the

windows of their mistress' apartments, they redouble their blows upon their backs and shoulders, and the ladies, who view the whole of the procession, considering it as done in honour to themselves, take care to return the compliment with all the marks of unfeigned love. The procession being over, and the voluntary penitents returned to the place from whence they set out, they find an elegant entertainment provided for them; for although Good-friday is one of the most solemn fasts in the whole of the Roman calendar, yet the pope dispenses with the obligation. Previous to his sitting down at table, the patient or rather penitent, has his back and shoulders rubbed with wine and vinegar, in order to cure his wounds and remove the congealed blood.

Another society among the Roman Catholics, is that which pretends to shew the utmost respect to the relics of departed saints, such as their legs, arms, hands, feet, bones, hair, teeth, and even the clothes they wore when they died. This society is extremely industrious; for they send out, from time to time, missionaries to collect together some of the relics of the faithful. The missionaries are generally very successful, and sometimes they bring home more bones belonging to a saint than ever he had while he was alive. If any dispute arises concerning the authenticity of these bones, it is referred to the bishop, who considers of it in the most mature manner, and then sends an account of the whole to Rome, where his holiness re-considers the whole matter, and his decree is final with respect to the matter in dispute between the contending parties.

It has been often asked by very sensible Protestants, why those who make a profession of Christianity, could so far forget the duty they owed to their Divine Redeemer, as to worship the bones of a man or woman who had been long deposited in the grave, while, at the same time, they believed that the dead were to rise again when Christ comes to judge the world? To this we would answer, that the Christians, or at least those in the middle ages, who assumed that name, borrowed this from the heathens. The Egyptians made it a rule to preserve the bodies of their departed ancestors, which in time became objects of idolatrous worship; and to prevent the Israelites from falling into the same snare, Moses was commanded to depart from his beloved people, and yield up his spirit to God upon Mount Nebo. The Jews did not know the place where their great legislator died, or at least they could never discover where he was buried, so we find, that although they were often guilty of the grossest practices of idolatry, yet they never worshipped the body of Moses, which they certainly would have done, had they known in what place he was interred. At present great respect is paid to the bones and ashes taken



out of what is commonly called the catacombs at Rome, and Naples; and of these ancient places of burial, we shall give the following faithful account from the judicious bishop Burnet, who visited Italy in the year 1685.

This will appear the more necessary, when we consider, the bodies taken out of those sepulchres of the dead, are said to be the remains of those primitive Christians who suffered martyrdom for the truth; whereas it is well known, that in a continual state of persecution, the Christians, so far from being able to erect such monuments for those of their own profession, were often obliged to provide for their own safety, by concealing themselves in the most private manner. And here we shall find, that many of those relics, worshipped by the Roman Catholics, are either the bones of heathens, or of some Christians who lived many years after the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great.

The bishop says, "they are vast and long galleries cut out of the rock: there are three stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These galleries are about twenty feet broad, and about fifteen feet high, so that they are noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the catacombs at Rome, which are only three or four feet broad, and five or six feet high. I was made to believe that these catacombs of Naples, went into the rock nine miles long; but for that I have it only by report; yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards Puzzolo, and so they may have been the burial places of the towns on that bay, but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found galleries going off in all hands without end, and where, as in the Roman catacombs, that are not above three or four rows of niches that are cut out in the rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher: some niches are for children's bodies, and in many places there are in the floors, as it were great chests hewn out of the rock, to lay the bones of the dead, as they dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, that looked like the bellies of chests, or of a facing to shut up the niches when a dead body was laid in them, so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome, and stinking places, where some thousands of bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell; for the niches shew plainly that the bodies were laid in them, only wrapt in the dead clothes, they being too low for coffins. In some places of the rock, there is as it were a little chapel hewn out in the rock, that goes out from the common gallery, and there are niches all round about;

but I saw no marks of any wall that shut in such places, though I am apt to think these might be burying places appropriated to particular families. There is in some places on the walls and arch, old mosaic work, and some painting, the colours are fresh, and the manner and characters are gothic, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the Normans about six hundred years ago, after they drove out the Saracens. In some places there are palm-trees painted, and vines in other places. The freshness of the colours shew these could not have been done while this place was employed for burying, for the steams and rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both plasters and colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little beard, and Paulus is written by his head: there is another reaching him a garland, and by his head Laud is written, and this is repeated in another place, right over against it. In another place I found a cross painted, and about the upper part of it these letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part M J K A are painted. A learned antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the painting and characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old; but neither of us knew what to make of these letters: the lower seemed to relate to the last word of the vision which it is said Constantine saw, with the cross that appeared to him: but though the first two letters might be for Jesus, it being ordinary in old coins and inscriptions, to put a C for an S and X stands for Christ, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek Theta, and that the little line in the bosom of the Theta was worn out, and then it stands for Theos: and thus the whole inscription is Jesus Christ God overcometh. Another picture in the wall, had written over it S. Johannes, which was a clear sign of a barbarous age. In another place there is a picture, high in the wall, and three pictures under it; that at the top had no inscription; those below it had these inscriptions, S. Katherina, S. Agape, and S. Margarita, these letters are clearly modern, besides that Margaret and Catherine are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the S. were manifest evidences, that the highest antiquity that can be ascribed, is six hundred years. I saw no more painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness and the thick air of the place, so I stood not above an hour in the catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the catacombs of Rome than I had done. I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of Naples, when there is so much said concerning those of Rome; and could give myself no other account of the matter, but that its being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the Roman catacombs, as the repositories of the relics

of the primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought that there were catacombs far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive Christians, and indeed nothing seems more evident than that these were the common burying places of the ancient heathens. One enters into them without the walls of the towns, according to the laws of the twelve tables, and such are the catacombs of Rome that I saw, which were those of St. Sebastian, the entry into them being without the town: this answers the law, though in effect they run under it, for in those days when they had not the use of the needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were once so far engaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians, in the primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such rocks, must have been a very visible thing, by the mountains of rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their assemblies amidst the annoyance of, so much corruption. I found the steams so strong, that though I am as little subject to vapours as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordered me extremely: and if there is now so much stagnating air, there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those inches.

But besides this improbability that presents itself from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a letter of Cornelius, that was bishop of Rome, after the middle of the third century, which is preserved by Eusebius in his sixth book, chapter 43, in which we have the state of the church of Rome at that time set forth. There were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, and ninety-four of the inferior orders of the clergy among them: there were also fifteen hundred widows, and other poor, maintained out of the public charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this epistle was written, as they were at any time before Constantine's days; for as this was written at the end of that long peace of which both St. Cyprian and Lactantius speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time there was such a succession of persecution, that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the number of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this state of the

clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the number of the Christians: the one is their poor, which were but fifteen hundred, now upon an exact survey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of mankind; and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the poor among the Christians of that age: For as their charity was vigorous and tender, so we find Celsus, Julian, Lucian, Prophry, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their charities to the poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their brethren: So that this being the state of the Christians, then we may reckon the poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near the full sum of their numbers, by the other character of the numbers of the clergy, for as there were forty-six presbyters, so there were ninety-four of the inferior orders, who were by two, more than double the number of the priests: and this was at a time in which the care of souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted ages, the clergy having then really more work on their hands, the instructing their catechumens, the visiting their sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a city as Rome was in those days, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the city, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every presbyter had perhaps a thousand souls committed to his care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the number of the Christians at Rome in that time; and so of many persons, the old, the young, and the women, made more than three fourth parts, so that men that were in a condition to work, were not above twelve thousand; and in consequence they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a work. If Cornelius in that letter, speaks of the numbers of the Christians in excessive terms, and if Tertulian in his apologetic hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous eloquence, which disposeth people to magnify their own party, and we must allow a good deal to a hyperbole that is very natural to all that set forth their forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know that when the laws of the twelve tables were made,

sepulture was then in use, and Rome being then grown to a vast bigness, no doubt they had repositories for their dead, so that since none of the Roman authors mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginning of the city, and so that the latter authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that though burying came to be in use among the Romans, yet they returned back to their first custom of burying bodies long before Constantine's time; so that it was not the Christian religion that produced this change. All our modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the time of the Antonins, yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an age full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying places, Vesserus's opinion seems more probable, that the custom of burning wore out by degrees, and since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think that the slaves, and the meaner sort of the people were still buried, that being a less expensive and a more simple way of bestowing their dead bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and if there were already burying places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the custom of burying grew universal without any law made concerning it.

I could not, for some time, find out upon what grounds the modern critics take it for granted, that burying began in the times of the Antonins: till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned Gronovius, who seems to be such a master of all the ancient learning, as if he had the authors lying always open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Christian emperors; for Macrobius (lib. 7. cap. 7.) says in plain terms, that the custom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite worn out in that age, which is a clear intimation that it was not laid aside so late as by Constantine, and as there was no law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding emperors gave such an entire toleration to paganism, admitting those of that religion to the greatest employments, that it is not to be supposed that there was any orders given against burning; so that it is clear the heathens had changed it by their own accord, otherwise we should have found that amongst the complaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. Gronovius shewed me a passage of Phlegons that mentions the bodies that were laid in the ground, yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the custom of burying that might be elsewhere. And so Petronius gives the account of the Ephesian matron's hus-

band; but he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practised in Commodus's time, for Nipilius tells us, that in Pertinax's time, the friends of those whom Commodus had ordered to be put to death had dug up their bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their entire bodies. The same author tells us that Pertinax buried Commodus's body, and so saved it from the rage of the people, and here is a positive evidence that burying was the common practice of that time. It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the Roman families continued to bury their dead, even when burning was the more common custom, so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being indifferent, and no law being made about it, and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the custom of burning the bodies of the dead, which is mentioned by Minutius Felix: but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from medals of consecrations after this time, will only prove that some were still burnt, and that the Christians practised burying universally, as expressing their belief of the resurrection, whereas the heathens held the thing indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine inscriptions that have been found in the catacombs, which bear the dates of the consuls, that these were the common burial places of all the Christians of the fourth and fifth century; for I do not remember that there is any one date that is more ancient, and yet not one of the writers of those ages speak of them as the work of the primitive Christians. They speak indeed of the burial places of the martyrs, but that will prove no more but that the Christians might have had their quarters, and their walks in those common burial places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely that they would in times of persecutions make such inscriptions as might have exposed the bodies of their dead friends to the rage of their enemies; and the spurious acts of saints and martyrs are of too little credit to give any support to the common opinion. Damasus's poetry is of no better authority, and tho' those ages were inclined enough to give credit to fables, yet it seems this, of those catacombs having been the work of the primitive Christians, was too gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the world. And this silence in an age in which superstition was going on at so great a rate, has much force in it, for so vast a work, as those catacombs are, must have been well known to all the Romans. It were easy to carry this much farther, and to shew that the bas reliefs that have been found in some of those catacombs, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and Roman time. This is also more discernable in many inscriptions that are more Gothic



than Roman, and there are so many inscriptions relating to fables, that it is plain these were of latter times, and we see by St. Jerome, that the monks began, even in his time, to drive a trade of relics; so it is no wonder that to raise the credit of such a heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable sculptures, and some inscriptions; and perhaps shut up the entries into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some dream or other artifice to give them the more reputation, which was often practised in order to draw much wealth and great devotion, even to some single relic; and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died, or by the many revolutions that have happened in Rome, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery. And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible magazine of bones, which by all appearance are no other than the bones of the Pagan Romans; which are now sent over the world to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the bones of the Roman slaves, or at least those of a meaner sort, are now set in silver and gold, with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the world. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at Naples, as could have wrought such catacombs, and if it had been once thought that those were the common burial places of the ancient heathens, that might have induced the world to think, that the Roman catacombs were no other; and therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these.

*The most remarkable Feasts and Ceremonies in the Roman Calendar.*

On the third of January, the festival of St. Genevieve is celebrated at Paris, she being the patroness of that city. The Roman writers tell us, that this female saint wrought so many miracles, that too great respect cannot be shewn her; they add further that the angels rejoiced at her birth, and the blessed in heaven annually celebrated her birth-day. One time, being seized with something like convulsion fits, her body was so much distorted, that she seemed to be in great agonies, but instead of feeling any pain, she was among the angels in heaven, filled with unutterable glory. She could penetrate into the inmost recesses of the heart, and spent so much time in prayer and penance, that the floor of her chamber

was wet with her tears. Many miracles were wrought at her tomb, and will continue so to the end of the world.

On January the seventh, is celebrated at Rome, the feast of St. Anthony the abbot. On the morning of this feast, the pope, cardinals, princes, prelates, and indeed all those who have horses, send them to be blessed by the monks of St. Anthony; the saddles and bridles are also blessed, upon the consideration of a small sum being paid for each of the beasts, with their furniture. The Roman Catholics in England, were, in some measure, kept in the dark concerning this ceremony of blessing the horses, till 1732, when Dr. Middleton wrote his letter from Rome, in which he tells us, that he paid about eighteen-pence for having his horse and that of his servant blessed. Dr. Challoner, the titular popish bishop of London, attacked Dr. Middleton on this subject, telling him, that although he (Dr. Challoner) had lived many years on the Continent, yet he never saw or heard of it.

Here the popish bishop, who had asserted the above in the preface of his book, entitled *The Catholic Christian*, forgot to mention to the public, that, although he had resided many years on the Continent, yet he had never been further than Doway or St. Omer's. This brought on a second controversy between Challoner and one Marmaduke, the latter of whom wrote an annual pamphlet in the form of a calendar, called *A Guide for the Faithful*. In this work, Marmaduke attacks the bishop in rather a satirical manner, by telling him there could be no harm in blessing of horses, seeing they were creatures of God; and every thing ought to be set apart for use, by prayer and thanksgiving. He added further, in a still more laconic and satirical manner, that if any true Catholics doubted of the truth of what had been asserted by Dr. Middleton, it would be proper that they should take a trip to Rome, during the month of January, and they would be convinced from the evidence of their own senses.

On the twenty-first of January, the feast of St. Agnes, virgin and martyr, is celebrated; and of this extraordinary person we have the following account. When the pro-consul ordered her to be stripped quite naked, in order to be carried in that indecent manner to the public stews, God gave such a thickness to her dishevelled hair, that it covered her more completely than her clothes; and when she entered the brothel, an angel spread such a dazzling light around her, that none could see or touch her, by reason of the greatness of the splendor. Immediately after, an angel presented her with a white linen garment, which she put on, and it fitted her so exactly, that all the spectators were persuaded that it was something more than human. The son of the pro-consul attempted to enter into the light to violate her

chastity, but he was choked by the devil, and immediately dropped down dead.

On the thirtieth of January, the festival of St. Martina, virgin and martyr, is celebrated, and as she is considered by the Roman Catholics, as a most extraordinary person, we shall here relate what is written concerning her in the Roman breviary. St. Martina being brought before the emperor, and refusing to sacrifice, he commanded her to be stripped naked, and her flesh to be slashed off with swords; but the body of the virgin was of so transparent a colour, that it dimmed the eyes of the beholders, and milk flowed from her wounds, which had the most fragrant smell. After this, the emperor commanded her to be beaten with clubs, but the executioners employed, cried out that their strength failed them, saying, "Deliver us from this virgin, for as often as we strike her, the angels of God return the blows upon us with bars of iron, and our flesh and bones are all on fire." But when the emperor would have the blows continued, all those who beat her, dropped down dead. She was then sent to a dungeon, but when the gaoler went to visit her, he saw a great light shining around her, and he fell to the ground. In that situation, he continued for some time, till at last, lifting up his eyes, he saw St. Martina sitting on a most glorious seat, surrounded by a great number of men all dressed in white, holding a golden table, on which the following words were written: "Thy works are wonderful, O Lord; in wisdom hast thou made them all." All which, we are told, he related to the emperor. At last, a fierce lion, who had been kept fasting three days, was let loose upon her, but he fawned upon her, and licked her feet, which induced the soldiers to run their spears through her body.

On the twenty-first day of February, is celebrated the festival of the blessed Margaret of Cortona, who, in her younger years, had been a common prostitute, but the sight of the skeleton of her lover, with whom she had held an unlawful commerce for nine years together, touched her heart in so efficacious a manner, that from that instant to the day of her death, she loved God with an uninterrupted affection, and expiated, by a series of the most severe penitence and mortification, the many sins of her youth. After she had thus devoted herself to God, all her pleasure consisted in mortifying her body, by the severest austerities. Her beauty, which had been her ruin before, now became, as it were, a horror to her. She bruised her face with stones, shed tears of blood, and inflicted such torments on herself, that her eyes seemed ready to start out of their sockets. She was almost constantly beating herself, and used to whip herself with a scourge full of great knobs, and other instruments of penance. She fed continually on bread and water, had herself dragged along in her

shift, with a halter about her neck, till at last she became insensible to the force of temptation.

During the time this penance continued, her guardian angel made her several visits; and the Roman writers tell us, that our Saviour used to converse with her frequently, in the most familiar manner.

On the seventh of March, the festivals of St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Barbara, are celebrated; but what connection male and female saints had together we know not, only that during the dark ages of Christianity, St. Thomas Aquinas was considered as the titular saint of the booksellers, for no other reason we are able to assign, besides that of his being one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived. It is common with the Roman Catholics to tell us, that St. Thomas Aquinas was never guilty of a mortal sin; and it is related of him that one day while he was only a boy, he happened to kneel down to pray before the sign of the cross, and there falling asleep, he thought he found his loins fast bound by angels, from which time he was never afterwards troubled with any lustful inclinations. This will, in some measure, account for the popish traditions concerning him, although we are afraid that many Protestants will consider it as a PIOUS FRAUD.

We read in the golden legend, that a man who was thought to be starved to death, and by a rope put about his neck was drawn to the top of a tower and thrown down from thence; when he came to the ground, he rose up upon his feet and gave the following account to those who wondered at his being alive, seeing he had lived so long without any sort of nourishment, and how it was possible for him to be preserved in his fall. He assured them that St. Barbara preserved him in all his dangers, and in his fall from the tower, sustained him with her holy hands. It is also related of this St. Barbara, that her father was a heathen, and in order to prevent her from being seduced, she being extremely beautiful, perceived by her discourse that she was a Christian, and immediately drew his sword in great indignation, threatening to kill her; but upon praying to God, a large stone opened itself, and received her whole body into the cavity, and carried her to a mountain full of caves, where she thought to have concealed herself, but was discovered by a shepherd. For this act of insolence, the shepherd was punished in the most exemplary manner; for he was changed into a marble stone, and all his sheep into locusts, or as others say, into beetles, who annually visit the tomb of this saint.

There is another very remarkable circumstance related concerning this St. Barbara, which every Roman Catholic believes to be as true as any thing recorded in the sacred scriptures. In 1448, one Henry Knoock, a native of Holland, had his house

set on fire by a candle falling into a bundle of straw, and he himself hardly escaped in his shirt. But remembering that he had left some money in the house, he returned to fetch it, and the roof fell in upon him. Considering himself as in a dying condition, he reflected that he had not received the last sacraments of the church, and in this hour of distress addressed himself to St. Barbara. The saint being thus invoked, came immediately to his assistance, under the same form as she is generally represented in churches. She brought him through the flames, and put him in a place of safety, but told him at the same time, that he was to die next morning, which accordingly took place.

The festival of St. Longinus is celebrated on the fifteenth of March; and of this extraordinary person, we are told that he was once a slave, but having obtained his freedom, he entered himself a soldier in one of the Roman legions, and was present at the crucifixion of our Saviour: we are told further, that he was the soldier who pierced our Saviour's side. (see John xix. 34.) It is added in the legend concerning him, that when he thrust the spear into our Saviour's side he was blind, but some of the blood and water bursting against his eyes, he was restored to sight, and became a convert to the gospel. He afterwards retired to the wilderness, where he lived a hermit many years; but being at last discovered, he was put to death by order of Octavius, a Roman consul. That this soldier who pierced our Saviour's side, was spiritually blind, cannot be doubted; but that he was blind in a natural sense, is next to impossible; for how then could he have acted as a soldier, and as for his living a hermit, that sort of profession did not take place till many years after.

On the twenty-fifth of March, or Lady-day, the pope performs the ceremony of marrying or cloistering several young women. On the morning of that day, the pope, attended by the cardinals, goes to the church of Minerva, where he celebrates high mass, and all the maidens confess and communicate. This being done, these maidens go to the place clothed in white serge, and muffled up like so many apparitions, in a large sheet that covers their heads, in which is only a little hole to peep through, which often is but just big enough for one eye to look out at. These maidens, who are the daughters of poor parents, walk two by two into the choir, where all the cardinals are assembled, and prostrate themselves before them in the most humble manner.

An officer appointed for that purpose, stands on one side, having in his hands a bason, wherein are little white tabby bags, in each of which is a note of fifty crowns for those who make choice of marriage, and another note of one hundred crowns for those who prefer the veil. When each maiden has de-

clared her choice, her bag is given her, hanging by a small string. In taking it, she kisses it, makes a low courtsey, and immediately walks off to make room for others. Those who prefer the veil, are distinguished by a garland of flowers, and greater respect is shewn to them than to the others. Misson, the celebrated traveller, tells us, that out of three hundred and fifty maidens, whom he once saw present at this ceremony, only thirty-two consented to take the veil.

The carnival, which ends on Shrove Tuesday, is borrowed from the heathens, and comes in room of their bacchanals. It generally continues three weeks, but in some places more, particularly at Venice, where all manner of debauchery is tolerated. It is not enjoined by any order or constitution of the Romish church, but is tolerated, that debauchees may be the more fit to comply with the hardships and austerities of lent.

The first day of lent is called Ash Wednesday, because on that day, the penitents, among the Christians, about the fourth and fifth centuries, stood at the doors of the churches, covered with ashes and sackcloth. But the Roman Catholics have added many ceremonies on this day, which were unknown to the ancients. The ashes used for the first day of lent, must be made from the branches of olives, or some other trees, which have been blessed and consecrated for that purpose the year before, on Palm Sunday. The vestry keeper gets the ashes ready, and places them in a vessel on the epistle side of the altar, where the officiating priest blesses them, and then marks them with the sign of the cross.

After this they are incensed, and then the officiating priest, attended by the deacon and sub-deacon, walks forward to the rails of the altar, where he is met by the priest to whom the church belongs, who pours some of the ashes in the form of a cross upon the head of the officiating priest, repeating at the same time, "Remember man that thou art dust." The ashes are then sprinkled on the heads of all the people in the congregation, whether men or women.

With respect to lent, it is of considerable antiquity, but it was very different in ancient times from what it is at present. Till the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, lent seldom exceeded forty hours, and it was kept in memory of our Saviour's passion and sufferings; but since, the Roman Catholics have added forty days more, in commemoration of the time our Saviour fasted in the wilderness.

On the fourth Sunday in lent, 1336, pope Urban V. consecrated a golden rose, and sent it to Joan, queen of Sicily. He likewise made a decree, by which it was ordained, that the popes, his successors, should consecrate one on the same Sunday



every year. At present there are many of these roses consecrated and sent to princes, to particular churches, and to several great persons. His holiness blesses the rose with frankincense, balm, musk, and holy water, all mixed together. This he does in a private apartment in his own palace, after which he carries the rose in his hand to his chapel, and the sub-deacon lays it on the altar. Mass being ended, the pope takes the rose and delivers it to the ambassador of the prince, &c. for whom it is intended.

Palm Sunday is celebrated with many ceremonies by the Roman Catholics; great numbers of palms are prepared at the pope's chapel, and likewise in other churches in Rome, and these are distributed to such of the faithful as chuse to accept of them. During the remainder of the day, and the Monday following, the people who go to mass must carry these palms in their hands, because they were consecrated for that purpose.

On Palm Sunday the altars are all adorned with palms, and on that day a very remarkable custom is observed in several Roman Catholic countries, namely, the setting a prisoner at liberty, on which occasion the bishop and clergy walk to the prison in solemn procession, and this is said to be an emblem of our spiritual freedom. This ceremony is borrowed from the Jews, who in ancient times set a prisoner at liberty on the day of the passover, as we read in the account of Barrabas, who was set at liberty when our Saviour was crucified.

On Holy Thursday, many ceremonies are observed, but particularly at Rome, where the pope assists at mass in the apostolical chapel. Mass being over, a priest takes up the host, and marches with it under a canopy, from the altar to the sepulchre. All the church officers who are present follow him according to their seniority, and the younger ones range themselves near the cross, which is set up opposite to the grave, with the senior ones behind them.

The host is then taken out of the tabernacle, and incensed by the officiating priest, while all the people kneel down. This being done, the deacon puts the host again into the tabernacle and locks it up, giving the key to the master of the ceremonies, and this is what is called, the carrying of the host to the sepulchre.

This ceremony is followed by another, which the Roman Catholics call, the uncovering of the altars; and as the pope performs this ceremony in his own chapel, so all the archbishops and bishops do the same in their respective parish churches and cathedrals. The priest who officiates on such occasions, makes three low bows before the altar, and then proceeds to remove from the images those mournful robes with which they had been covered during

the former part of lent. All the sacred images having been exposed to public view, the priest covers the cross with black, sets over the altar a canopy of the same colour, while the choir sings anthems suitable to the solemnity of the ceremony.

The next ceremony is that of excommunicating and giving over to the devil, all the Protestants in the world, who at Rome, and among Roman Catholics, are known by the name of heretics. The pope is then clothed in red, and stands on a high throne, the better to be seen by the people. The sub-deacons, who stand at the left hand of his holiness, read the bull, and in the mean time, the candles are lighted, and each of them takes one in his hand. When the excommunication is pronounced, the pope and cardinals put out their candles and throw them among the crowd, after which, the black cloth that covered the pulpit is taken away. The pope, having excommunicated all the Protestants, proceeds to exercise an act of formal humility, which is that of washing the feet of thirteen poor priests, in imitation of our Saviour's washing the feet of his disciples. The pope attended by the cardinals, comes into the hall of the palace, where are several deacons and sub-deacons, with other proper officers. The youngest cardinal deacon gives the pope the book of the gospel, which his holiness kisses three times, and then the choir sing an anthem, beginning with these words, "A new commandment I give unto you."

As soon as the pope hears these words, he puts off his mitre, and having girded himself with an apron of fine linen, he washes the feet of thirteen poor priests, all strangers, who sit on high benches, with coarse hoods reaching down to their arms. The above priests have their right legs bare, and they are washed clean with soap before they are presented to his holiness. When his holiness has done washing them, his treasurer, by his order, gives to each of them two medals, one of gold and the other of silver, weighing one ounce each, and the president of the sacred college dries their feet with a napkin. The thirteen priests, whose feet have been washed by the pope, are carried into a grand apartment, where they are entertained with a most sumptuous dinner, and they are no sooner seated than the pope comes in and presents the first dish. He likewise pours out to each of them a glass of wine, and converses with them in the most familiar manner, and grants them several privileges, which being done, he withdraws. Then the pope's preacher in ordinary begins a sermon, which continues while the priests are at dinner, and the pope, with his cardinals, sit behind a screen, where they see all that passes, but are not seen by any. The same ceremony is performed, not only in the great churches in Rome, but likewise in most cathedrals and parish churches,

where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, differing only according to particular circumstances.

We come next to the ceremonies observed on Good-Friday, and these begin with the adoration of the cross. About ten o'clock in the evening of Holy-Thursday, the officiating priest goes up to the altar, attended by such of the church officers as happen to be present. There they kneel down before the cross, and having repeated several prayers, the table of the altar is covered with black, and so is the mass book, which is placed at the epistle side.

The priest who is to officiate, goes up to the altar, and having kissed it in the most reverential manner, repeats several short prayers with a low voice, and these are likewise repeated by his attendants after him. Prayers being ended, the officiating priest goes to the epistle side of the altar, the deacon takes up the cross which is veiled, and presents it to the priest, who, after he has uncovered the top of it, elevates it with both his hands, at the same time singing the following words, "Behold the wood of the cross." Then all the congregation rise up with their heads uncovered, and the priest at the altar sings, "on which the Saviour of the world was extended." The choir answer, "let us come and adore." Here they all fall prostrate on their knees, except the officiating priest, but in a moment after, they rise up, and the priest uncovers the right arm of the crucifix, with the head of Jesus, and shows them to the people. The ceremony of the adoration being over, the priest and the deacons kiss the crucifix, and it is given round to be kissed by all who are present in the congregation, whether men or women.

At Courtray there is a procession on Good-Friday, in commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings, and the magistrates of that city give twenty-five livres to a poor man who submits to be scourged by the monks. The monks assure him, that should he die in consequence of the flagellation, he will be entitled to everlasting happiness. The procession is conducted in the following manner: The mock Saviour is brought into the church, where he is stripped naked, and clothed in a purple robe, which is hung round his shoulders, girded by a thick rope, and his head crowned with thorns. After this, he is made to walk barefooted, with a pack saddle tied to his neck; on each side of the pack saddle six ropes are fixed, of the thickness of such as are usually put to draught horses, which being done, the voluntary martyr has a heavy cross laid upon his shoulders, and thus equipped, he walks up and down the whole of the city. Six Capuchins, who walk on his right hand, draw the six ropes, which are fixed on that side of the pack saddle, and the other six are drawn by as many Recollects on the other side, so that the poor fellow is so unmercifully handled by the twelve

friars, that he is almost pulled in pieces. The poor wretch would be killed in good earnest, were it not that a mock Simon, the Cyrenian, frequently comes up very seasonably to give him a little assistance.

The poor wretch, before he is able to return to the church, is half killed, for he receives so many kicks and cuffs from the enraged multitude, who, at that time, think it meritorious to imitate the conduct of the malicious Jews, that they shew no mercy to the mock Saviour; but notwithstanding all he suffers, yet he is so fully persuaded that his conduct is meritorious, and that he shall obtain the divine blessing, that he submits with cheerfulness, and his sufferings bring considerable sums to the priests, who, on such occasions, are sure to make a collection for their own private emolument.

To enumerate all the ceremonies used by the Roman Catholics on Good-Friday, would be endless, and in some measure unnecessary, we shall therefore mention only the following. At Brussels, the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, all ranks of persons strive to vie with each other, in celebrating the death of Christ, and although some of the most learned among them may be persuaded that there is but little devotion in their ceremonies, yet the prejudices of the vulgar oblige them to make a formal compliance. The grand part of the ceremony is performed at the altar, in the church of the Austin-Friars, and persons who join in the procession, assemble together at eight in the morning, in the cathedral church of St. Guidela.

The brethren of the order of mercy came thither in their proper habits, and barefooted, with their faces masked, and some walk with drums covered with black cloth. After the brotherhood, a great number of prisoners make their appearance, each of them dragging after him a large iron cannon ball, chained to his foot. The Austin Friars march next, dressed in Jewish habits, in the midst of whom is a man, who is always a criminal, but pardoned for the part he then acts. This criminal is bound with fetters, crowned with thorns, and dressed in a robe of coarse purple. Then a band of trumpets come forward, followed by the prebends of the cathedral, and a great number of the inferior clergy, with an incredible multitude of people. In this manner they march into the church, but the crowd is in general so great, that thousands are obliged to remain without. In the church, a large scaffold is erected, and a cross, twenty feet in height, set upon it. The criminal, who represents the crucified Saviour, ascends the scaffold, accompanied by the mock executioners, carrying ropes, nails, and hammers.

The brethren of mercy crowd round the scaffold, and the ladies have high seats erected for them, but the common people stand in the body of the church below. The mock Jews strip the pretended Christ

of his robes, laying him along the scaffold, and casting dice for his garment. Last of all, he is fixed to the cross, by tying his hands and feet to it with thongs of leather, which, the better to imitate the real crucifixion, are nailed to the cross, having small bladders filled with blood under them, which runs down as soon as the nails pierce through them. At the sight of the blood the devotees beat their breasts, although they know it is no more than a farce, and the choir sings anthems suitable to the mock solemnity of the day.

On Easter-eve, the ornaments of the churches and altars are changed, the black being taken off, and the white put on before mass is celebrated. On the gospel side of the altar, a large candlestick in the form of an angel is set, and in this the paschal candle is placed. It is made of white wax, and weighs about eight or ten pounds, and five holes are made in it, in the form of a cross. This paschal candle must remain on the gospel side of the altar, from Easter to Ascension-day; and previous to its being lighted, the officiating priest consecrates it in the most solemn manner. On the same day, all new utensils belonging to the church, and which have not been used before, are consecrated and set apart for divine service. The officiating priest perfumes the font thrice with frankincense, after which he takes some of the oil used in baptism, and pours it on the holy water cross ways, mixed with the chrism, and this is reserved to baptize all the catechumens, or children who shall be brought to the church.

The Sunday commonly called Easter, brings joy along with it to all ranks of people in the Romish church, for the priests are not only released from the slavish drudgery of passion week, but they likewise receive the oblations of the faithful, which enable them to enjoy a few of those comforts of which they were deprived during lent. On the other hand, the people, having by confession settled all their accounts with heaven, receive absolution and the eucharist; they give themselves up for some time to all sorts of diversions, without considering that they are contracting new sins.

Many of the Roman Catholics never go to bed on the night before Easter, but wait with the most longing expectation for the sun rising, in imitation of the devout women who, on the morning of the resurrection, waited at the sepulchre of our Lord. At Rome, the pope, attended by two deacon-cardinals, and all the great officers of his household, go in procession to his holiness's chapel, and mass is celebrated much in the same manner as at Christmas. All the faithful are obliged to receive the holy communion, either on Easter-day, or on the Sunday following; for if they neglect both, they cannot,

when they die, obtain the privilege of Christian burial.

The next festival is that of the Ascension, celebrated in memory of our Saviour's ascending into heaven after his resurrection, in his human nature, and in the presence of his disciples.

This festival is not so ancient as some of the Roman Catholics would have us to believe, for it was not celebrated till after the reign of Constantine the Great, there being no other festival during the three first centuries, besides Whitsunday, Easter and Christmas, nor was the latter regarded, or observed, except in some particular churches.

The ancient church was a stranger to many of the ridiculous ceremonies used on this festival, namely, the drawing up the image of Christ to the top of the church, and then casting down the image of Satan in flames, to represent his falling as lightning from heaven. An author who is said to have lived in the fifth century, affirms as a truth, that when Jesus Christ ascended into heaven, he left the print of his feet on the ground; and that the marks continued ever after, notwithstanding the faithful carried away some of the earth from time to time, in order to preserve it as a sacred relic. Nay, St. Austin affirms, that it was common in his time, to adore the footsteps of Jesus Christ at the place from whence he ascended into heaven.

To this is added another miracle, no less remarkable than the former, namely, that when the empress Helena built the church of the Ascension, in the midst of which is this spot of ground, when the workmen would have covered it with a marble pavement, like the rest, they could not effect it, for whatever they laid upon it immediately came off. Bede says, that in his time (the seventh century) on this festival after mass, there always came so strong a wind that it threw down all who were at that time in the church.

Whitsunday, another festival, is the most ancient in the Christian church, and even from the apostolic age, was celebrated in memory of the Holy Ghost's descending in the form of cloven tongues upon the disciples. It is the grand era of the promulgation of Christianity, for before that miracle was wrought, the apostles had only carnal notions of Christ's kingdom. It is called Whitsunday, partly from the glorious light which was this day sent down upon earth from the Father of lights, but principally because this day being one of the stated times for baptism in the ancient church, those who were baptised put on white garments, as types of what spiritual purity they received in baptism.

As the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, happened upon the day which the Jews called the Pentecost, or the fiftieth day after Easter, or



the Passover; so this festival has ever since retained the name of Pentecost in the Roman calendar. In countries where the Romish religion is professed, the altars, on the preceding eve, are covered with purple till mass is said, and then the purple being taken away, it is covered with red, and the officiating priest appears at the altar in robes of the same colour. All the fonts for baptism are blessed in the same manner as on Easter-eve; and on Whitsunday the officiating priest wears the same scarlet robes, in imitation of the Holy Ghost having descended upon the apostles like fiery tongues.

The next Sunday after Whitsunday, is called Trinity Sunday, and commemorated in honour of the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity. And here it may not be improper to observe, that although the Roman Catholics, by an unnecessary load of rites and ceremonies, have much debased the purity of the gospel, yet in the midst of all their errors, they never denied the divinity of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost.

On the fourteenth of April, is celebrated the festivals of three martyrs, known in the Roman calendar by the names of St. Tiburtius, St. Valerius, and St. Maximus, of whom the following legend is told.

An angel brought two crowns from paradise, composed of roses and lilies, and gave one to Valerius, and the other to Cecilia, his new married wife. The angel, at the same time told Valerius, that because he had not carnally known his wife, Christ had sent him notice, that he would grant him whatsoever he should require. Valerius at these words fell down and worshipped, begging that his brother Tiburtius might become a Christian. Tiburtius afterwards coming into the house, smelt the fragrantcy of the roses and lilies, but saw nothing. However, as he was wondering from whence the sweet smell proceeded, Valerius told him of the two crowns which his eyes were not yet able to see. He assured him, that in case he would turn Christian he should see them both, and the angel of God also. At these words he consented to be baptised, and immediately after obtained all he had desired of God, and the sight of the angel daily. That there were three martyrs who suffered in the reign of the emperor Dioclesian of the same names with those above mentioned, cannot be doubted, because we have an account of them in Eusebius; but we may, without the imputation of scepticism, doubt whether they ever conversed with angels.

On April the 27th, is celebrated the festivals of St. Comus and St. Damien, who were both physicians and brothers. We are told concerning them, that being chained to a stake, they were first scourged, and then thrown into the sea. There an angel had compassion upon them, loosed their cords

and delivered them. They were then hanged upon a cross, and commanded to be stoned, but the stones rebounded back on those who threw them; and the same happened when arrows were shot at them, so that the provincial was obliged to order the soldiers to stab them dead with spears.

In all Roman Catholic countries on the first day of May, it is common to plant boughs of trees before the doors of houses; and this is no more than a faint imitation of the ancient games used by the Romans at the festival of Flora. Indeed most of the Roman Catholic ceremonies are borrowed from the heathens; which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the Roman emperors, who embraced the Christian religion, compelled all their subjects to do the same, although they knew nothing besides heathen rites and ceremonies.

On the 13th of June, is celebrated the festival of St. Anthony of Padua, and it is accounted for in the following manner. A Franciscan novice, having thrown off his habit, ran away from the monastery in which St. Anthony lived, and stole a psalm book, written with St. Anthony's own hand, and explained with marginal notes, which St. Anthony often used when he expounded the scriptures to the friars.

As soon as St. Anthony found that his book was stolen, he fell down upon his knees, and begged that God would restore to him the precious treasure. In the mean time, the apostate thief having the book along with him, attempted to swim across a river, but the devil met him with a drawn sword in his hand, and commanded him to return back immediately, and restore to St. Anthony the book he had stolen from him, threatening to kill him in case he did not immediately comply. The devil gave this order with so dreadful an aspect, that the thief being astonished, returned immediately to the monastery, restored St. Anthony his book, and consented to live in a course of devotion ever after. It is for this reason, that when people have goods stolen from them in Roman Catholic countries, they always invoke the assistance of the holy St. Anthony.

July twenty, is the day on which the Roman Catholics celebrate and honour the memory of St. Margaret, of whom we have the following account in their legends. This woman had been long celebrated for her piety, and it is written of her in the breviary of Salisbury, that on a certain time, she begged that she might have an opportunity of engaging with the devil, face to face, because she had formerly had many secret struggles with him. Her request was granted, and the devil appeared to her under the form of a most hideous dragon, who immediately swallowed her up. Here was the moment of trial; she recollected that she was a Christian, and although in the belly of the dragon, the marked

upon herself the sign of the cross, and the monster's body burst asunder, so that the virgin came out unhurt.

The festival of St. Christina, is celebrated on the twenty-fourth of July, and of her we have the following account in the Roman martyrology. She was bound to a wheel, and roasted on a fire, and as they poured oil upon her, the flames burst forth, and slew above a thousand of the heathens. She was again thrown into prison, where she was visited by an angel, who healed and refreshed her, so that she was enabled to undergo a second trial.

Then she was cast into a lake with a great stone fixed to her body, but the angel kept her from sinking. She prayed that God would send some signal judgment upon the image of Apollo, which she was commanded to worship, and her prayers were heard, for it was suddenly reduced to ashes. This miracle was of such a surprising nature, that three thousand of the spectators were converted to the faith. She was afterwards put into a fiery furnace, where she remained five days unhurt, but at last, that she might enjoy everlasting happiness, God suffered her enemies to put an end to her life by strangling her.

On the twelfth of August is the feast of St. Clara, a female much respected in the church of Rome, on account of the many miracles wrought by her.—It is recorded in the Roman breviary, that one day, while St. Clara was abbess of a convent, she was told that there was but one loaf of bread left for dinner, and that but a small one. But that did not in the least affect her, for she commanded it to be cut into two equal parts, one of which she gave to the friars, and the other to the nuns. No sooner had they touched the pieces of bread than they swelled into such magnitude in their hands, that there were more than sufficient for the whole convent.

The feast of St. Roach is celebrated on the sixteenth of August, and of him we have recorded in the Roman breviary, that he was born with the sign of the cross on his left side, and that as a token of his future sanctity, he would never suck but once a day when he was a child. When he was but a boy, he cured men of the plague, by only marking the sign of the cross upon them. A little dog used to bring him bread, and an angel gave him a golden table, with St. Roach written upon it by the hand of God the Father.

September the twenty-ninth is dedicated to the service of St. Michael the Archangel; and it is a high festival in the Romish church. In an old English legend, we have the following anecdote, to which nothing is added, besides that of modernizing the language. St. Michael appeared to a bishop, and bade him go to the top of a lofty mountain called Gardel, where he would find a bull tied, and there he was to build a church, for the worship

of God and the archangel. The bishop obeyed, but when he came to the place where the bull was tied, he found a rock on each side, which appeared frightful, and that it would be dangerous to build a church between them. Then St. Michael appeared to a man named Haymo, and desired him to go and remove the rocks, and to fear nothing, for he would be with him.

This Haymo, who seemed to have more faith than the bishop, went and set his shoulders to the rocks, commanding them, in the name of God and St. Michael, to depart, which they instantly did, so that the building went on. It is further related, that the sea encompassed the mountain where this church was built; but when the people went to divine service, it divided on each side, and left them a free passage. One day as they were going to prayers as usual, there happened to be a woman in the company big with child; and the sea being stormy, the people were afraid of it returning upon them, and therefore they all returned to land except the pregnant woman, who was taken in labour. St. Michael came to her assistance, delivered her of a child, and brought her and the infant safe to land.

October the ninth is the feast of St. Dennis, the titular saint of France; and of whom we are told, that he and two of his companions, having refused to sacrifice to the heathen gods, were all beheaded in one and the same moment, but their tongues spoke after their heads were cut off. Nay, it is further added, that St. Dennis, when his head was cut off, stood upright on his feet, and taking it up in his right hand, marched off with it to the place appointed for his burial.

The first of November is called the feast of All Saints, and so closely have the Roman Catholics imitated the heathens, that at Rome, in the seventh century, the Pantheon, where all the heathen gods were worshipped, was turned into a church for all the saints. It had been formerly consecrated to Jupiter and all the gods, by Agrippa, but now it is consecrated to the Virgin Mary and all the saints.

November the second is the festival of All Souls, on which day the souls of all such as are in purgatory are prayed for. This festival was not known in the church till the tenth century, and its origin was from the following circumstance. A pilgrim having been to visit the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, returned by the way of Sicily, and while he was in that island, there happened to be an eruption of Mount Etna. This terrified him so much, that he concluded that it was the mouth of hell, for he declared that he heard the groans of those who were in torments. Full of this notion, he returned to St. Odilon, abbot of Cluguy, to whom he related the whole affair, and that abbot applied to the pope to have this festival established, that by virtue of the

prayers of the faithful, the souls of those in purgatory might be released.

November the twenty-second is the festival of St. Cecilia, the great patroness of music. In the Roman breviary we have the following account of her. On the marriage night, when she and her husband Valerius were left alone together in the bed-chamber, she spake to him the following words: "O sweet and most loving youth! I have a secret to reveal to thee if thou wilt swear to conceal it." Valerius having taken an oath as she desired, she added, "I have an angel a lover of mine, who keeps my body with the strictest jealousy. If he should in the least perceive that thou touchest me with polluted love, his fury would be stirred up against thee, and the flower of thy youth will be destroyed; but if he finds that thou lovest me with a sincere and immaculate love, and preservest my virginity inviolate, he then will love thee in the same manner he does me; and on all occasions express to you his favour." To this Valerius answered, "If thou wouldest have me give credit to thy words, then shew me the angel; and if I find that he is really an angel of God, I will do as thou desirest me; but if thou lovest any man better than me, I will draw my sword and slay both him and you." She then presented him to Leoni, a Christian, and as soon as he was baptized, he saw the angel and was conviuced; so that St. Cecilia lived and died a virgin martyr.

November the thirtieth is the feast of St. Andrew, the titular saint of Scotland. He was brother to Peter and John the Apostles, and suffered martyrdom sometime in the reign of the emperor Nero. We are told by the Scottish historians, that one Regulus, a monk, brought some of the bones of this apostle to Scotland, about the middle of the fourth century, and built a church over them, at a place called Killrymont, in the eastern extremity of the county of Fife, and on that spot the city of St. Andrew was afterwards built.

On the sixth of December is the feast of St. Nicholas, who was invoked by sailors in storms, in the same manner as Neptune was by the heathens. We read in the legend concerning him, that some mariners, being in great danger at sea, addressed themselves to him in the following words: "O St. Nicholas, the servant of God! if the things be true which we have heard concerning thee, now help us! That so, being delivered from this danger, we may render thanks to God and to thee." While they were thus speaking, one appeared and said, "Behold I am here, for you called me," and immediately began to help them to order their sails and tackle, and in a few minutes the storm ceased.

As soon as the mariners came to shore, they inquired where St. Nicholas was, and being informed that he was in the church, they went into it, and,

what is most wonderful, knew him immediately, without any one having pointed him out. Convinced that he had wrought a great miracle for their deliverance, they fell down at his feet, and worshipped him; and ever since he has been the titular saint of the mariners.

On Christmas-eve, the twenty-fourth of December, a fine sword is presented to the pope, having a gold head, made in the form of a dove, and over it a ducal coronet, made of purple coloured silk, and faced with ermine, having several jewels fixed to it. The pope fixes the ducal coronet upon the point of the sword, and repeats several prayers, making at the same time the sign of the cross. He then blesses the sword and coronet, in the name of the Trinity and all the saints, after which it is sent to one of the Roman Catholic princes.

On Christmas-day, the pope preaches in his own chapel, and also sings high mass; this being one of the grandest festivals in the whole year, all the cardinals, and other great men belonging to the pope's court, attend that day on his holiness, and his court makes a splendid appearance.

December the twenty-ninth is celebrated in memory of St. Thomas-a-Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and some time chancellor to king Henry II. This Thomas-a-Becket was the son of a reputable tradesman in London, where he was born, 1117.—Having learned as much as was then taught in the schools, he entered into holy orders, but did not rise to any preferment till some years after. On the death of king Stephen, 1154, Becket attended Henry II. as chaplain, and next year he was promoted to several valuable livings, and made high chancellor of England; for he, under pretence of suiting himself to all the king's passions, became the greatest favourite at court.

The king thought he could place the utmost confidence in him, and therefore, on the death of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, Becket was advanced to that see. Now it was that Becket pulled off the mask under which he had long concealed his hypocrisy, and determining within himself to make the clerical power superior to the civil, he put on the most austere habit, and shut himself up in solitude among the monks at Canterbury. The king was then in Normandy, carrying on the war against the French king, and Becket, that he might no longer conceal his ambitious intentions, sent the great seal to his sovereign, intimating, at the same time, that he could not, consistent with his character as a bishop, keep it any longer.

Henry was much alarmed at this part of Becket's conduct, and the more so when he learned that a priest had been apprehended for murder, and the archbishop had reclaimed him from the civil courts, declaring that none but the bishop of the diocese



could sit in judgment on a priest. This was such an high exertion of clerical power, as had never been heard of before in England; and the king upon his return, finding Becket inflexible, called a parliament to meet at Clarendon, where an act passed, establishing the civil power above that of the clergy. It was ordained, that all the clergymen indicted for crimes, were to be tried in the king's courts; and Becket, who refused to attend this assembly, was summoned to meet the next parliament at Northampton, 1164. It is true, he went to the parliament, but so soon did he find that the constitutions of Clarendon were to be enforced than he left the assembly; and having disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, walked as far as Suffolk, from whence he returned through Essex, and crossing the Thames to Kent, got on board a ship which carried him over to Flanders.

In this part of his conduct, he had two objects in view; the first was to prevail with the pope, to issue an interdict against Henry and his subjects; and the second, to urge the French king to take up arms and invade England. In both he was very successful; for the French king invaded the duchy of Normandy, at that time belonging to the English; and the pope issued his interdict, but through the vigilance of Henry, it was not published in England.

Henry, a man of some learning, considering the times he lived in, and no stranger to the ignorance of his subjects, made several attempts to be reconciled to Becket; for had the interdict been published in England, the consequences to the king might have proved fatal; and this will appear the more probable, when we consider that the pope's interdict prohibits all the orders of the clergy from performing any of the duties of their function, nor can the laity be interred in consecrated ground.

After many consultations held between the king and Becket, a formal sort of reconciliation took place; and leaving the king at Rouen, the archbishop returned to England. Henry now thought himself extremely happy; but within a few days afterwards he learned, that as soon Becket arrived at Canterbury, he called a meeting of his clergy, in order to put the pope's interdict in force.

The news was brought to the king while he was at supper; and, in the violence of his passion, he started up and exclaimed, "Will none of my servants rid me of this factious prelate?" Whether the king really wished that some of his attendants would assassinate Becket, is matter of doubt; because men, on account of violent provocations, will sometimes make use of words, which, upon sober reflection, they would be ashamed of. This much, however, is certain, that four knights, then present, left the king's chamber immediately, and arriving at Canterbury, on the twenty-ninth day of December,

while the archbishop was attending divine service in the cathedral, they dragged him over the rails of the high altar, insisting that he should issue an order to revoke the interdict. Becket, however, was too proud to give up his pretensions to clerical power, and therefore absolutely refused to comply with their request.

The knights were not to be trifled with, and therefore, in an instant, and before the whole congregation, they stabbed their swords through his heart. Nor were some of the clergy belonging the church any more attached to Becket than the knights; for the arch-deacon, going up to view the mangled remains of his body, seeing a sword laying on the ground, took it up, and scooping out the brains of the deceased prelate, scattered them upon the pavement. Such was the end of Thomas-a-Becket, whom the Roman Catholics now worship as a saint; and to use the words of lord Lyttleton, "From what motives he acted, must be left to the searcher of all hearts to inquire into."

Having said thus much of Becket, from the best records, and the most judicious Protestant historians, it may not be improper to subjoin something said concerning him by those of his own denomination; and this we do from motives of candour, leaving the reader to judge for himself.

Polydore Virgil, a popish historian, tells us, that God, in a most miraculous manner, avenged Becket on his enemies. According to this superstitious historian, the archbishop was travelling one day through the town of Stroud, near Rochester in Kent; the people who considered him as the enemy of the king, in order to put an affront upon him, had the impudence to cut off the horse's tail upon which he rode, but hereby they brought upon themselves a perpetual reproach: for afterwards it so fell out, by Divine Providence, that the whole posterity of these men, who committed the fact, were born with tails, like brute beasts.

It is added in the Romish breviary, that a bird being taught to speak and repeat the words St. Thomas, happening one day to sit out of its cage, a hawk seized on it, but the bird crying out St. Thomas, the hawk fell down dead. From this story, which the Roman Catholics believe in the same manner as they do the gospel, the draw the following extraordinary inference, viz. "If St. Thomas heard the bird of his great grace, much more will he hear a Christian man or woman, when they cry to him for help and succour."

In some of the Roman Catholic writers we read, that Becket, in his early youth, made a vow of chastity to the blessed Virgin; and one day, before he was archbishop, being along with some of his companions, heard them boasting of their mistresses, and how many presents they had received from them.

Becket told them that they were vain fellows: for he had a mistress far superior to any of theirs, and that she had given him a present worth more than all theirs put together. They being extremely urgent to see this most accomplished mistress, Becket ran to the church, and prayed the blessed Virgin to pardon the presumptuous words he had spoken of her. No sooner was his prayer ended, than the Virgin appeared to him, and having highly commended him for speaking so much in favour of his mistress, she gave him a little box, which, when he had opened, he found in it a purple robe. Becket was murdered on the 29th of December, 1170, aged 53 years.

The ignorance and superstition of the people in general, were at that time so great, that although Henry II. was the most powerful prince in Europe, yet he was obliged to demean himself so low as to submit to be whipped naked by the monks of Canterbury, as an atonement for the death of Becket; a man who had endeavoured to strip the prince of his regal dignity, and to inflame his subjects with the spirit of rebellion, and, in a word, to put all things into a state of confusion.

### *Of the Sacraments of the Church of Rome.*

As there were only two sacraments upon the ceremonial law, namely, circumcision and the passover, so there are only two mentioned in the New Testament, viz. Baptism and the Lord's supper: Circumcision was instituted to distinguish the chosen people of God from all others in the world, and the passover was to put them in mind of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Baptism was to point out, that we are all born in original sin, and that there is a necessity for our being washed in the blood of Christ. Such were the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments, and as no others are mentioned, so Protestants consider Roman Catholics as guilty of adding to the number of divine ordinances without authority from scripture.

The Roman Catholics admit of the two New Testament sacraments, but they have added five more to them, and of these, including the others, we shall treat in order.

I. Baptism, which consisted originally in dipping in, or pouring pure water on the body; but to this the Roman Catholics have added many ceremonies. The water they use must be blessed by the bishop or priest, either at Easter or Whitsuntide, and every priest keeps some of it in order to have it in readiness, in case any child should be likely to die. This is the more necessary, because they believe, that if a child dies unbaptised, then he cannot be saved; and on the other hand they are clearly per-

sued, that when infants are baptized, the guilt of original sin is removed. In extreme cases of necessity, any person present at the delivery may baptize the child, and this is frequently done by the midwife: but if the child lives, proofs of its having been baptized must be made to the priest, who enters it in his register.

Fonts or baptistries are not of any great antiquity, for the primitive Christians, before the time of Constantine, baptized their catechumens in general in rivers, and often in the middle of the night, for fear of their persecutors. In the reign of Constantine, these fonts were set up in towns, villages, and by the sides of the highways, and this was done in order to baptize the vast number of heathens, who in conformity with the conduct of the emperor, embraced the Christian religion; but none were set up in churches till the middle of the fifth century.

When the mother is in violent pains, and the child likely to die in the birth, if any part of it, such as a finger, hand, or foot appears, then it must be baptized on that part, if tokens of life appear in it. If it is born and lives, it must be rebaptized by the priest, but if after this partial baptism in the act of delivery, it happens to be still-born, then it is to be buried in consecrated ground.

A monster, whose shape does not resemble that of a human creature, must not be absolutely baptized; for the priest speaks conditionally thus, "If thou art a man, I baptize thee, &c." No persons are admitted to be godfathers or godmothers if they are heretics, excommunicated, or have neglected to come regularly to confession and mass.

The following is as nearly as possible the form used in baptism. The priest having washed his hands, and put on his surplice and purple stole, he walks to the church, attended by his clerk, where the persons who bring the child to be baptized must be in readiness waiting for him. He first acts the sponsors what sex the child is of, the present to the church? Whether they are its true godfathers and godmothers? If they are resolved to live and die in the true Catholic faith? And what name they intend to give it? Having received answers to these questions, he delivers an exhortation to the godfathers and godmothers, with regard to the devotion that ought to accompany the ceremony, and calling the child by the name given it, asks, what dost thou demand of the church? To which the godfather answers, faith. The priest adds, what are the fruits of faith? The godfather answers, eternal life. The priest then goes on:

If you are desirous of obtaining eternal life, keep God's commandments: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. After which he breathes three times upon the child's face, saying, come out of this child, thou evil spirit, and make

room for the Holy Ghost, This being done he makes the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, and afterwards on his breast, repeating at the same time, receive the sign of the cross on thy forehead, and in thine heart; whereupon the priest takes off his cape, and repeats a short prayer, laying his hand gently on the head of the child. He then blesses the salt, if it was not blessed before; which being done, he takes a little of it, and puts it into the child's mouth, saying at the same time, receive the salt of wisdom. He then repeats another prayer, after which he puts on his cape, and commands the prince of darkness to come out of him who is to be baptized. The priest then lays the end of the stole upon the child, and laying hold of the swaddling clothes by one corner, he once more commands the devil to depart out of the child; after which he puts his thumb in his mouth, and having dipped it in spittle, rubs it over the mouth of the child.

The next thing is to strip the child naked on the upper part of his body, while the priest is preparing the holy oils. The godfathers and godmothers hold the child over the font, with the face towards the east, while the priest, calling it by its name, asks it whether it is willing to renounce the devil and all his works? To this question one of the godfathers answers in the affirmative, upon which the priest takes some of the baptism water, which he pours thrice on the child's head in the form of a cross, mentioning at each time, one of the persons in the ever-blessed Trinity. He then anoints the top of the child's head in the form of a cross, with the sacred oil, and puts over it a piece of white linen, to denote that it is cleansed from all impurities. The ceremony is concluded by the repetition of several prayers, by the priest and his clerks, after which the child is taken home to be brought up in the Catholic faith. It is certain that some of these ceremonies were used in the primitive times, but not till Christianity had lost much of its original purity by the introduction of Pagan rites and ceremonies.

II. Confirmation. That confirmation could not be a sacrament in the christian church will appear evident to every one, who will consider that it was no more than a continuation of the sacrament of baptism. As baptism was originally by immersion, so we find, that in succeeding ages, sprinkling was used; but this was when superstition began to creep into the church, and in such cases as immersion was considered necessary, so those who were only sprinkled, were obliged to appear before the bishop to make it appear that they had been baptized. Their sponsors were obliged to appear along with them, and certify to the bishop, that they had constantly attended divine service, and were in all respects Catholic Christians. Thus a ceremony origi-

nally necessary to preserve inviolate the purity of the Christian church, has been made use of by the Roman Catholics to establish a system of superstition, and contrary to the design of the ancients, it has been made a sacrament.

All those who are to be confirmed, must attend early in the morning, fasting, because it is supposed that the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, before they had partaken of any refreshment. The bishop, before he begins the confirmation, goes to his private devotions, washes his hands, puts on his white garments, and then turns himself to the candidates, who stand in the same order as at baptism, the boys on the right and the girls on the left. He then sits down, and the candidates kneel before him; but if they are numerous, then the bishop stands up, and the candidates stand on the steps of the altar, supported by their godfathers and godmothers. The bishop asks the name of each candidate, which must be registered, after which he dips the thumb of his right hand into the holy oil, and makes the sign of the cross upon their foreheads, giving a gentle blow on the cheek to each person confirmed, saying, peace be with you. Immediately after, the forehead of the person confirmed is covered with a slip of linen, and then the bishop says, I confirm you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The ceremony ends by the bishop's pronouncing the blessing, not only on those who are confirmed, but likewise upon all the congregation present, who receive it from his lordship with as much pleasure as if it was a passport to heaven.

III. The third sacrament is that of the eucharist, acknowledged by Protestants, and in some manner idolized by the Roman Catholics. The word eucharist signifies thanksgiving, and no name can be more applicable to that sacred ceremony in which Christians commemorate the sufferings of that Redeemer who laid down his life for them, and by whose active and passive obedience, a way of salvation has been opened for sinners, so as to bring glory to the divine attributes, and make offenders eternally happy. Happy for Christians, had they continued to attend to the duties incumbent on them, concerning this sacrament, without running into superstition on the one hand, or infidelity on the other. Some of the modern Protestants have paid too little regard to this sacrament, but the Roman Catholics of whom we are now treating, have run into the opposite extreme.

It is necessary to observe, that the ancients, before the time of Constantine the Great, never believed in the real presence, nor indeed was it universally acknowledged by the church, till after the tenth century, as appears from the celebrated book written on that subject, by Bertram. However, the real presence, or doctrine of transubstantiation, makes now a capi-



cal article in the church of Rome, and must for ever divide them from Protestants. It is one of the strong engines by which clerical power is supported; for who among the vulgar (as lord Lyttleton says) would not reverence the man who, by mumbling over a few prayers in Latin, can in a moment change the nature of a wafer, and make it the real body and blood of Christ?

We have already taken notice of the sacrament of baptism, as acknowledged both by Roman Catholics and Protestants; we have likewise attended to confirmation, and now we must proceed to the eucharist. Every genuine Roman Catholic ought to communicate three times in the year; but an indulgence is granted to some, so as they communicate only once, and if that is neglected, they are to be considered as infidels, and denied the privilege of Christian burial.

In the Roman Catholic church, when a person grown up to years of maturity, desires to partake of the communion, or in other words, to eat the body and blood of Christ, he is first to confess his sins to the priest, and receive absolution, which is granted upon condition of his performing some acts of penance. All this being complied with, the communicant comes to the chapel, and attends mass, after which he puts a ticket into the hand of the priest, who is thereby convinced that he is not an impostor, but the same person whom he confessed. This part of the ceremony being over, the communicant kneels down before the rails of the altar, and the priest, having repeated what is commonly called the canon of the mass, takes the chalice in his hand, and approaches the rails of the altar.

Having repeated several prayers, he puts his right hand into the chalice, and takes out a wafer steeped in wine, which he gives to the communicant, saying, this is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given to preserve thy soul and body into everlasting life; eat of it in faith, with thanksgiving. The communicant is to swallow the wafer as the body and blood of Christ, and he is not to taste any victuals, nor even to spit, till he thinks it is dissolved on his stomach.

It is next incumbent on him, according to the laws of the church, that he should do something for the poor, and for that purpose he gives some money to the priest, who either keeps it for himself, or bestows it according to his discretion; for in all such cases, the priests are to be sole judges, nor can the laity in the least interfere with them. Indeed were the laity to interfere with the priests, there would be an end to all clerical authority, and men of knowledge, endowed with rational faculties, would be considered as no better than heretics, or infidels.

When the Roman Catholics return from the com-

munion, they are not to sit down to victuals till they have returned to their closets and repeated several prayers, after which they sincerely believe that all their sins are forgiven, till they have contracted a new account, and made a second confession.

As it sometimes happens that persons are not able to attend the church, so on such occasions, either the priest of the parish, or one of his clerks, carries the eucharist to the infirm person, who first confesses his sins and then receives it. Wafers are always kept consecrated for this purpose, and as the priest receives his fees, so he cannot have any reasonable objection against attending his duty.

Every Roman Catholic believes, that in the sacrament of the eucharist, he eats the body and blood of Christ; and as the greater number of learned men in France are deists, so they have not failed to play upon this circumstance with all the force of wit, scurrility and satire. The Marquis de Argens did much in his Jewish letters towards ridiculing this nonsense, but none can come up to Mr. Hume's account of the natural history of religion, a work which a heathen would blush to peruse, and which a Christian would abominate. Mr. Hume, not contented with all that had been formerly told us concerning the doctrine of the real presence, introduces a story which would have done much honour to himself, had it not been that it was in the most servile manner copied from Voltaire. It is well known what regard the late Mr. Voltaire had for the Roman Catholics in France, and therefore he made a proper advantage of it, in order to support his hypothesis, and establish the doctrine he contended for.

Hume tells us, (that when he was at Paris, which is false, because Voltaire had asserted the same before him) that in 1682, the Russian ambassador being at that time in Paris, he had a young man in his train, a member of the Greek church; and the Jesuits, ever anxious to make proselytes, prevailed upon this young man to be baptized in the Roman Catholic church. The youth being initiated into all the mysteries of popery, great rejoicings were made, in consequence of such a valuable acquisition to the Catholic church, and the young Russian being called before some of the French nobility, the Jesuits who had converted him, asked him how many gods there were? The novice answered, there was not any god, for said he, I eat him on Easter Sunday.

Indeed, the Roman Catholics, especially their priests, have met with several rebuffs of a similar nature, which is not much to be wondered at, when we consider that a wafer, composed of flour and water, is apt to be eaten up by mice and rats, and yet this is the body of Christ. To commemorate the death of our Divine Redeemer, is a duty binding upon us as Christians, but we are not to carry this

into the service of superstition. Those who love God, will honour him in all the appointments of his divine ordinances; but they will never carry things to such extremities as to darken the glory of the everlasting gospel, by substituting in place thereof, superstition, idolatry, and all those things that can degrade the nature of man, and make him in the eye of unprejudiced reason, sink beneath the dignity of his character.

But the most remarkable part of this ceremony is the Viaticum, or provision for a journey, by which we are to understand, the administration of the sacrament of the eucharist, to those who are at the point of death. In such cases, the priest attends with his wafers, and if the sick person cannot swallow the whole of the host, a small bit is put into his mouth, and some liquid given him to force it down. If the patient is so sick that he throws up the wafer, then all the scattered particles must be gathered together, and put into a clean vessel, carried to the church, and put into a sacred place till such time as they are corrupted, when they are to be cast into the sacristy, a kind of shallow well, narrow at the top, and it must be locked up, so that nothing profane may enter into it. This sacristy is generally behind the altar, and all consecrated things that have been spoiled by accident, are thrown into it. The priest must take care not to give the viaticum to those who are troubled with a continual coughing, lest some accident should happen to the host.

If the sacrament is to be carried publicly to the sick person, the rector of the parish gives notice to the people by the ringing of a bell, and, in general, the greatest part of them attend with all the marks of sincere devotion. Being assembled, the priest washes his hands, and then puts on his surplice and stole, and goes to the altar, where he opens the tabernacle and takes out the host. He then goes under a canopy, holding the host tied up in a scarf, and a clerk, with a lighted taper, walks before him, with two other clerks, one carrying the holy water, and the other the ritual in one hand, and a little bell in the other. These are followed by several persons bearing torches, and, lastly, comes the priest under the canopy, carrying the host raised up to his breast.

When he comes into the apartment of the sick man, he wishes peace to all those who live in the house, and then a table is spread over with a fine linen cloth, upon which the host is placed, which he and all present adore and worship. He then sprinkles the sick person, and also the room, during which time several anthems are sung suitable to the occasion, and all these are in Latin, which the people in general do not understand.

After this, he takes out the wafer from the box in which it is enclosed, and puts it into the mouth of

the sick man, who receives it with all the marks of devotion. If the priest is sent for to attend a person afflicted with the plague, he must go within nine or ten paces of the houses, taking care to stand in such a manner as the wind may be on his back. There he takes out the consecrated wafer, which he puts between two common ones, and after having wrapped the whole up in a sheet of clean paper, he lays it on the ground and covers it with a stone to secure it from the wind. This being done, the nurse who attends the infected person, comes and takes up the wafer after the priest has repeated the prayers usual on such occasions.

We shall conclude this account of the eucharist with the following passage, from an ancient English author, which we have faithfully translated into the modern language. This will appear the more necessary, when we consider that there are but few in the present age who can read the old language, and if they could, they have but few opportunities of getting at the originals. The whole passage runs thus:

There was an earl of Venice, whose name was Sir Ambright, who had the most sacred regard for the sacrament of the altar, and paid it all the reverence and respect in his power. Being taken extremely ill, he longed for the blessed wafer, being at the point of death; but he was afraid lest he should vomit it up. This consideration affected him much, and he lamented greatly to those who attended him. After sometime spent in lamentation, he desired them to make clean his right side, and cover it with a searchcloth, in which was to be inclosed the body of God. His request being complied with, he spoke to the host as follows: "Lord! thou knowest that I love thee with all my heart, and would be willing to receive thee with my mouth, if thou would only grant me such a privilege; but because the nature of my disorder is such, that I cannot lay thee on the place which is next to my heart, and thereby display all the love I have for thee: O God! have mercy upon me, and accept my sincerity, for what could not be done consistent with my present bodily indisposition." Upon this a notable miracle was wrought; for no sooner had he repeated the prayer, than, in the sight of all present, his side opened, and the host went in, after which he died. In the same ancient manuscript, we read of something almost as miraculous as what has been already related.

Near Exmouth in Devonshire, was a woman that lay sick, and none of those who attended her had any hopes of her recovery. Under such alarming circumstances they sent for a holy man who lived in the neighbourhood, to hear her confession, and grant her absolution for all her sins. As soon as the pious priest had received the invitation, he went

to the church, and took God's body along with him in a box of ivory, which he put into his bosom, and went to the chamber where the sick woman lay.

But as in his way thither he had a large forest to cross, in which was a fine meadow, it happened, that while he was contemplating the beauties of creation, the box fell out of his bosom to the ground, which he did not perceive; so that when he came to the dying woman, he asked her if she would be housed, that is, if she would be confessed. The woman answered in the affirmative; but the priest putting his hand into his bosom, could not find the box: upon that he told the woman he would go and seek for God's body, which he had lost somewhere by the way, owing to his carelessness and simplicity.

Accordingly he returned to the meadow in the forest, and seeing a willow tree, he cut off one of the branches, which he made into a rod; and having stripped himself naked, whipped himself in such a manner that the blood ran down from every part of his back. While he was whipping himself, he said, "O thou simple man! why hast thou lost thy Lord God, thy maker, thy former, thy creator?" When he had thus beaten himself, he put on his clothes, and walked on for a considerable time, till he saw a pillar of fire reaching from earth to heaven. Being dreadfully astonished at such an apparition, he prayed to God, who gave him encouragement to approach it; and there he found the consecrated wafer fallen out of the box, and laying upon the grass: the light was so transparent, that it resembled the sun at noon-day; and it reached from the consecrated wafer, in one continued stream, till it mounted to heaven.

At that time there were several beasts grazing in the meadow, and they were so much affected with the apparition, that they came and kneeled round the body of our Lord, all except one black horse, which kneeled but on one knee. The priest perceiving the obstinacy of the horse, said unto it, "If thou be a beast that can speak, I charge thee, in God's name here present in the form of bread, to tell me why thou kneelest but on one knee." The horse answered, "I am a fiend of hell: and although I can, yet I will not kneel, but I am forced contrary to my own inclination; for it is written that every knee shall bow to the name and the honour of Jesus Christ." Then said the priest, "Why art thou like a horse?" To this the fiend in the shape of the horse answered, "I am made like a horse that people may steal me, and several have been already hanged for so doing." Then said the holy priest, "I command thee, by God's flesh and blood, that thou go into the wilderness, and remain there, never to distress any Christian more." The priest then went to the woman with the blessed sacrament,

which she received, and, within a few minutes after, she went into everlasting happiness.

However ridiculous, some part of the above narrations may appear to Protestants, who live in this enlightened age and nation, yet we can assure them, that they are believed by all the devotees in the church of Rome. Here a most shocking infatuation takes place in the human mind; for because miracles were wrought in an age when they were necessary towards the promulgation of Christianity, so we find that such is the weakness of many people, that they expect the same miraculous power should be exercised after the causes are removed. This is a sort of reasoning which does not deserve a serious confutation, for what man of common sense would presume to prescribe rules for the Divine Being, who gives no account of his ways. Indeed, we could wish that our readers would attend to the doctrine of miracles; and when they call in the aid of human reason, let them never forget that there is no such thing as infallibility in this world. Men may be learned, but men may be deceived.

The learned and pious Dr. Doddridge has defined a miracle in the following manner: "A miracle being in itself supernatural, no person can form a proper notion of it till he has consulted the course of nature." The meaning is (if there is any meaning in the words) that men must first comprehend every thing in nature, before they can tell what is supernatural. Now here is an error laid down as a fundamental principle; for common experience daily teaches us, that even natural things are, in many respects, supernatural to us, because they are beyond our comprehension. According to Dr. Doddridge's manner of reasoning, there can be no miracles at all; for nothing is to be considered as miraculous till the whole course of nature is understood. This, however, is what cannot take place in this lower world; for men's understandings are so much circumscribed, that instead of being able to comprehend supernatural things, they seldom thoroughly know those that are natural.

The God of nature is the God of providence; and when men cannot comprehend his works they should be silent. To acknowledge that God is able to work miracles, is a tribute due from man; to say that he is not, is to deny that he is the universal Lord of creation and providence. We shall therefore lay before the reader, what has been said by the wisest, the best, and most pious men on this subject, whether in ancient or modern times.

It has been much controverted, whether true miracles can be worked by any less power than the immediate interposition of God; and whether, to complete the evidence of a miracle, the nature of the doctrine pretended to be proved thereby, is necessary to be taken in consideration or not. In



respect to the power of God, and the nature of the things themselves, all things that are possible at all, are equally and alike easy to be done. It is not therefore a right distinction, to define a miracle by any absolute difficulty in the nature of the thing itself; for it is at least as great an act of power to cause the sun to move at all, as to cause it to stand still at any time; yet this latter we call a miracle, the former not.

What degrees of power God may reasonably be supposed to have communicated to create beings or subordinate intelligences, is not possible for us to determine. Therefore a miracle is not rightly defined to be such an effect as could not have been produced by any less power than the Divine Omnipotence. There is no instance of any miracle in scripture, which to an ordinary spectator would necessarily imply the immediate operation of original, absolute, and underived power. All things that are done in the world, are done either immediately by God himself or by created intelligent beings; matter being not at all capable of any laws or powers whatever. So that all those things, which we say are the effects of the natural powers of matter, and laws of motion, are properly the effects of God's acting upon matter continually and every moment, either immediately by himself or mediately by some created intelligent beings. Consequently, there is no such things as what men commonly call the course of nature, and the power of nature. It is not therefore a right distinction, to define a miracle to be that, which is against the course of nature: it is no more against the course of nature for an angel to keep a man from sinking in the water, than for a man to hold a stone from falling in the air, by overpowering the law of gravitation; yet the one is called a miracle, the other not so.

Those effects, which upon any rare and extraordinary occasion, are produced in such a manner, that it is manifest, they could neither have been done by any power or art of man, or by what we call chance; these undeniably prove to us the immediate and occasional interposition either of God himself, or at least of some intelligent agent superior to man. Whether such an extraordinary interposition be of God himself, or of some good, or of some evil angel, can hardly be distinguished certainly, merely by the work or miracle itself: because it is impossible for us to know with any certainty, either that the natural power of good or evil angels extends not beyond certain limits, or that God always restrains them from producing such or such particular effects. It is not therefore a right distinction, to suppose the wonders which the scripture attributes to evil spirits, to be mere flights or delusions.

The only possible ways, by which a spectator may certainly and infallibly distinguish, whether

miracles be the works, either immediately of God himself, or some good angel employed by him; or whether, on the contrary, the miracles be the works of evil spirits are these: If the doctrine attested by miracles be in itself impious, or manifestly tending to promote vice; then, without all question the miracles, how great soever they may appear to us, are neither worked by God himself, nor by his commission. If the doctrine, attested by miracles, be in itself indifferent, and at the same time in opposition to it, and in proof of the direct contrary doctrine, there be worked other miracles, more and greater than the former; then that doctrine which is attested by the superior power, must necessarily be believed to be divine. This was the case of Moses and the Egyptian magicians. The magicians worked several miracles, to prove that Moses was an imposture: Moses worked miracles more and greater than theirs: therefore it was necessarily to be believed, that Moses's commission was truly from God. If, in the last place, the doctrine attested by miracles, tends to promote the honour and glory of God, and the practice of righteousness among men; and yet nevertheless be not in itself demonstrable, nor could without revelation have been discovered to be actually true; and there be no pretence of more and greater miracles, to contradict it; (which is the case of the doctrine and miracles of Christ;) the miracles are unquestionably divine, and the doctrine must without all controversy be acknowledged as an immediate and infallible revelation from God.

From these few clear and undeniable propositions it follows; first that the true definition of a miracle, in the theological sense of the word, is this, that it is a work effected in a manner unusual, or different from the common and regular method of providence, by the interposition either of God himself, or some intelligent agent superior to man, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation of the authority of some particular person. And, if a miracle so worked be not opposed by some plainly superior power, nor be brought to attest a doctrine either contradictory in itself, or vicious in its consequences; that doctrine must necessarily be looked upon as divine, and the worker of the miracle entertained as having infallibly a commission from God. Secondly, that the pretended miracles of Apollonius Tyaneus, Aristaeus Proconnesius, and some few others among the heathens, even supposing them to have been true miracles (which yet there is no reason at all to believe, because they are very poorly attested, and are in themselves very mean and trifling, as has been fully shewn by Eusebius in his book against Hierocles); yet they will prove nothing at all to the disadvantage of Christianity: because they were worked, either without any pretence of confirming any new doctrine

at all; or else to prove absurd and foolish things; or to establish idolatry, and the worship of false gods; consequently they could not be done by any divine power and authority.

The suitableness and efficacy of miracles, to prove a divine revelation, appear from hence that the world has ever expected (as Dr. Jenkins remarks) that God should reveal himself to men by working somewhat above the course of nature. All mankind have believed, that this is the way of intercourse between heaven and earth; and therefore there never was any of the false religions, but it was pretended to have been confirmed by something miraculous. If it be inquired, why the miraculous gifts bestowed upon the first preachers of Christianity were not continued to the church, but ceased in after ages; the answer is plain, because the power of working miracles being given for the establishment of the Christian religion in the world, by convincing men of its truth and authority; when this purpose was effected miracles were no longer necessary, and those miraculous gifts ceased, with the reason for which they were bestowed. The learned Mr. Dodwell, in an historical account of miracles from the times of the apostles, through the ages next succeeding, has shewn, that they were always adopted to the necessities of the church, being more or less frequent as the state and progress of the Christian religion required; till at last they wholly ceased, when there was no longer any need of them. And this will seem the more reasonable, if we consider first, that miracles, by becoming common, would lose their design and end, and the very nature of miracles; and secondly, that a perpetual power of miracles, in all ages would give occasion to continual impostures, which would confound and distract men's minds, and make the true miracles themselves suspected.

We shall here insert two curious remarks; one from lord Bacon, and the other from Acosta. Lord Bacon observes, that there were never a miracle wrought by God to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God. But miracles are designed to convert idolaters, and the superstitious, who have acknowledged a deity, but erred in the manner of adoring him; because no light of nature extends to declare the will and true worship of God. Acosta, inquiring into the cause, why miracles are not wrought by the present missionaries for the conversion of heathen nations, as they were by the Christians of the primitive ages, gives this as one reason; that the Christians at first were ignorant men, and the Gentiles learned; but now on the contrary all the learning in the world is employed in the defence of the gospel, and there is nothing but ignorance to oppose it; and there can be no need of farther miracles in behalf of so good a

cause, when it is in the hands of such able advocates, against so weak adversaries.

IV. The fourth sacrament in the church of Rome is penance, which although in some measure observed in the early ages of the church, yet it was not then considered as necessary to salvation, nor did it receive the name of a sacrament till after the sixth century. Before a person can be enjoined penance, he must make an open confession of his sins, for that lays the foundation of all the ceremonies that are to follow in the act of absolution. The penitent or penitents having confessed their sins, are ordered to attend next Sunday at the church, and on such occasions they are dressed in clothes made of goat's hair, that their bodies may be mortified as much as possible.

In this habit they approach the altar, and with a loud voice, beg that their sins may be forgiven. If the penitents have been guilty of very gross sins, to incur the sentence of excommunication, then the priest leads them to the door of the church, and says to them, "You are turned out of the church for the sins you have committed, in the same manner as Adam was turned out of Paradise, because of his disobedience." At the same time, he enjoins them a very severe penance, and shutting them out returns to the church.

If the penitents have not been guilty of such gross sins as subject them to excommunication, then the priest enjoins them their penance, and leads them to the left side of the church door, where they must remain during divine service, once every Sunday and holiday, till they had given the utmost satisfaction to the church. When the penitents, whether excommunicated or not, have complied with every thing enjoined, they return back to the bishop or his deputy, with a certificate signed by the rector of the parish, to prove that they have fulfilled it, after which they proceed to the reconciliation with the church. A day being appointed for this purpose, the penitents come to the door of the church, in order to receive absolution, and they must kneel down on their knees, holding lighted tapers in their hands. If the penitent is a man, he must have on his clothes of goat's hair, or something similar, and if a woman, she must be veiled. The priest being dressed in his robes, goes up to the altar before mass begins, and gives notice to the people, that A. B. C. D. mentioning their names, are to be reconciled to the church, and he exhorts the whole congregation to pray for them.

Prayers being ended, the priest goes to the church door, and makes a long exhortation to the penitents, which being over, he takes them by the hand, and leads them into the church. This is the form with common penitents, but in case they have been excommunicated, he then, before he reunites them to



the body of the faithful, sits down and puts on his cap. After this, he repeats the fifty-first psalm, while the penitents kneel at his feet along with the congregation, and at the end of every verse the priest strikes the penitents on the shoulders, with a short stick or whip made of cords.

When an excommunicated person dies unabsolved, enquiry is made whether he gave signs of sincere repentance, and whether it may be proper to absolve him, in order to give him Christian burial. If it appears that he died a sincere penitent, the priest puts on a black robe over his surplice, and in the most mournful manner walks towards the corpse. There the priest repeats the fifty-first psalm, and at the end of each verse strikes the body of the deceased, calling upon him to answer to the questions proposed, and as he cannot do that, it is taken for granted that the Divine Being is satisfied, and the priest pronounces the absolution. By absolution, the penitent is received into the body of the Catholic church, all the members of the congregation are obliged to acknowledge him as a brother, and whatever were his crimes before, they are to be entirely cancelled and forgotten. Indeed, we cannot desire more of a sinner than repentance; and taking it for granted that his professions are sincere, we ought to rest satisfied, till we, by a variety of incidents, find reason to change our opinion.

But the church of Rome does not confine her excommunications or censures entirely to men and women, for even animals and reptiles must be subject in their turn. When it happens that much of the fruits of the earth are damaged by rats, mice, locusts or caterpillars, then the church's censure becomes necessary. The priest is obliged to transmit to the bishop an account of the damage done by these creatures, and the bishop orders the priest to repair to an eminence in his parish, where he is to put on his surplice, and sprinkle himself and his clerks with holy water. Having repeated some prayers prescribed by the bishop, the priest walks over the adjacent fields, and sprinkles them with holy water in the form of a cross. He commands the caterpillars, locusts, rats, mice, &c. to depart from the place immediately, otherwise they are to be excommunicated and accursed.

Of this species of superstition, we have a most striking instance in the miscellanies of the marquis d'Argens, who tells us, that in the year 1738, Province, in France, was much infested with locusts. Application was made to the pope, who sent his bull to the bishop, ordering them all to be excommunicated. The bishop obeyed the order, but the locusts refused to comply, which gave no small uneasiness to the farmers: it surprised them much to find that the locusts refused to comply with the apostolical

order, but one, more sagacious than the others, observed, that the bishop was a Janenist.

An account of this was transmitted to the pope, who, by the whole of his conduct, seems not to have been a fool, for he sent an injunction to a bishop, who was orthodox in the faith, to let the locusts alone till the beginning of November, and then to go out with his priests, and excommunicate them. Here the pope acted a very wise part, for locusts seldom survive the first week in November, whereas, had he excommunicated them sooner, the ceremony would not have had its proper effect. This, however, was considered as a miracle, because it served to point out that the Janenists are not to expect the Divine Blessing upon their works, whereas, all those who are orthodox, are certain that God will hear them whenever they call upon him, and that he will, in the most signal manner, grant their requests.

In ancient times, penance was enjoined by the bishops, but at present there are several priests in every cathedral, who are called penitentiaries. It is the business of these men to hear confessions, and they generally proportionate the punishment to the crime. Thus: those who are voluptuous are commanded to fast; the covetous are to give alms; the profane are to repeat a certain number of prayers at different hours of the day; and when they have complied with these forms, are absolved, upon condition of their paying a certain sum of money.

Over these common penitentiaries there is a grand master at Rome, who is always a cardinal; and, during lent, he visits all the great churches in Rome, in order to hear confessions, and grant absolutions. He sits on a throne about three steps high, in the form of a tribunal, placed on the right side of the high altar. He holds in his hand a rod in the form of a sceptre, made of three different substances, viz. ivory, brazil, and ebony. His power is great, for he has a right to grant dispensations and absolutions in cases which none but the pope himself could grant, or one deputed by him. He can legitimate children, and grant privileges to clergymen to hold more than one benefice. He has a right to absolve priests from all cognizance of the civil power, and to appoint confessors under him in any part of the world where the Roman Catholic religion is professed. He sometimes hears debates upon cases of conscience, and grants directions for absent clergymen how to act. He disposes of all places that are sold for money at Rome, and appoints the legates who are to go into foreign countries. Upon the whole, it is one of the most lucrative offices in the church of Rome, and the profits arising from it are in a manner incredible. He has no less than twenty-four attorneys to attend him in his office, and all their places are at his disposal. Thus we find, that



if penance is not acknowledged as a sacrament by Protestants, yet it is of considerable service to some individuals in the church of Rome. Indeed, without money absolution of sin is not easily obtained; and although Peter said, "thy money perish with thee," yet the popish priests would rather chuse to perish than be deprived of the money.

V. The fifth sacrament in the church of Rome is extreme unction, and is grounded on this passage in St. James v. 14, 15. "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." It is certain that many of the primitive Christians understood these words as an absolute command, whereas they were no more than an allusion to an ancient custom among the Jews; for we read in Mark vi. 13, that Christ anointed many diseased persons with oil, and healed them. However, when many other innovations and superstitions took place in the church, this ceremony was magnified into a sacrament, which took place about the middle of the sixth century.

This sacrament can only be administered by the priest; nor is it to be given to any, except such as are apparently dying. It is not to be given to criminals condemned to die, and the reason assigned is, that the criminals are not in a state of death, either, by infirmity or disease. The parts to be anointed are the eyes, the ears, the mouth, the nostrils, the hands, the feet, and the reins, but women are not anointed in the last-mentioned parts. The laity are anointed on the palms of their hands, and the clergy on the back of theirs, for this reason, that the palms of the priests' hands have been already consecrated by ordination. The feet are always anointed on the soles, but if the sick person has lost any of those members, then the parts next to them are to be anointed, and these are the general parts of the ceremony, but we shall describe them more particularly.

The priest must prepare seven balls of cotton, or some such matter, to wipe those parts that are to be anointed with holy oil; and he must have some crumbs of bread to rub his fingers with, water to wash them, a napkin to wipe them, and a taper to light him during the ceremony. Before he goes to the sick person, he must sanctify himself by prayer, after which he must wash his hands, put on a surplice and the purple stole. He must cover the vessel containing the holy oil with a purple veil, and put it in a bag of the same colour. In this manner he is to carry it to the house of the sick person, and if it is at a considerable distance, he is not to put on his surplice and stole till he comes to the door. The priest must be attended by his clerk, who is to carry

the cross without a staff, the vessel with the holy water, the sprinkler and the ritual; they must not ring the little bell by the way, but the priest is to continue repeating prayers for the sick person.

When he enters the house, he repeats the ordinary salutation, "Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell therein." After having taken off his cap, and set the vessel with the holy oil on the table, he gives the sick man the cross to kiss; and then sprinkles the whole apartment with holy water, repeating, at the same time, some prayers, and singing an anthem suitable to the occasion. He exhorts the sick man to make a free and unreserved confession of his sins, telling him, that if he conceals any thing, the sacrament of extreme unction will avail him nothing. If the sick person discovers signs of deep contrition, the priest shall grant him absolution, and repeat several prayers in the ritual. Before they begin to anoint him, all the persons present fall down on their knees, and whilst the priest is going through with the ceremony, they are to repeat the penitential psalms and litanies for the happiness of the sick person's soul.

The priest dips the thumb of his right hand into the oil, and anoints each part in the form of a cross, pronouncing words, at the same time, suitable to the ceremony. The clerk holds the lighted taper and a bason, containing the balls of cotton. The priest begins by anointing the right eyelid, and then the left, repeating the following words; "May God, by this holy anointing, and by his gracious mercy, pardon all the sins you have committed by the eyes." He then wipes off the oil from the eyes, and proceeds to anoint the ears, repeating nearly the same words as before. From the ears he proceeds to the nostrils, and then to the mouth, and so on till he comes to the feet.

The anointing being over, the priest rubs the oil from off his fingers, and afterwards washes his hands. The crumbs of bread with which he rubbed his fingers, and the water with which he washed them, must be thrown into the fire, and the balls of cotton that have been used in anointing, are carried into the church, where they are burnt, and the ashes thrown into the sacarium. The anointing being ended, the priest repeats some prayers, which are followed by an exhortation to the sick; after which he leaves the crucifix on the sick man's bed, and returns home. If he happens to live till next day, the priest is to visit him, and keep up his spirits, by putting him in mind of the heavenly bliss and glory of God. Such is the sacrament of extreme unction as administered to dying persons of the Roman Catholic religion; and here we may observe, that it is borrowed partly from the Jews and partly from the heathens; for in most of those ceremonies enjoined in the law of Moses, oils and anointing are men-

tioned: but particularly when any person was set apart to an office. Thus Christ was said to be anointed with the oil of gladness, and that ceremony was used when kings were crowned, and priests consecrated. In the writings of the heathens we have many instances of anointing with oil, and on many different occasions; and thus the Roman Catholics, having mixed the Jewish and heathen customs and ceremonies together, of both have they formed a sacrament.

VI. The sixth sacrament in the Roman Catholic church is marriage, an institution as old as the creation of our first parents, and designed to promote the happiness of both sexes, by being mutual helps to each other. Our Saviour once honoured a wedding with his company, and although under the Old Testament a plurality of wives were allowed, yet under the Christian dispensation no such permission is granted; it being strictly commanded that every man should have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.

In Roman Catholic countries, the bans must be published three times in the church, and it must be in those places where the parties have dwelt so long that their characters may be publicly known. If the man and woman live in different parishes, they must publish the bans in both at the same time. The general impediments to marriage are errors in opinion, heresy, and vows of chastity; and besides these, gross immoral actions, such as idolatry, fornication, drunkenness, and, in a word, all those vices which are a dishonour to society.

It is enjoined in the Roman ritual, that marriage shall not be celebrated except on working days; and the reason assigned is, that there is most commonly feasting and drinking on such occasions, it is not proper that it should be on Sundays or holy days.—But however rational this order may appear to those who treat with respect all those times set apart for public worship, yet this much is certain, there is more mirth, feasting, and all sorts of diversions in Roman Catholic countries than among any Protestants, and these are practised on Sundays and holy days. It is required of those who are to be married, that they understand the Christian religion; that is, that they be able to repeat their catechism to count their beads, and say the prayers used on such occasions.

When the parties to be married come into the church, the priest and his clerks go up to the altar dressed in their surplices, one of them carrying the ritual, and another a boson to put the ring in, which is to be blessed. The priest having repeated the usual prayer for the couple who are to be married, comes to the lower step of the altar, the man standing on the epistle side, and the woman on the

gospel side, so that the man stands at the woman's right-hand, having the relations and witnesses behind them; then the priest asks their names and surnames, which is only a piece of formality, because he knows their names before, they being entered in his register after the publication of the bans. He asks both parties whether they are willing to enter into the marriage state, and they answering in the affirmative, the priest puts off his cap, and taking them by the hands, says, "I join you together in marriage, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." At the same time he makes the sign of the cross upon them, and sprinkles them with holy water. This being done, he blesses the wedding-ring, and sprinkles it with holy water in the form of a cross, after which he gives it the man, who puts it on the finger of the woman.

The young couple then makes an offering of some money to the priest, who repeats several prayers, and exhorts them to live together in discharging the duties incumbent upon them to each other. The ceremony ends here, if the new married couple are poor; but when they are rich, or reputed to be so, then the priest goes home with them, and blesses the nuptial bed. This he does by perfuming it with incense, and sprinkling it with holy water; and if the parties are young, he prays that they may multiply their offspring; but if they are so far advanced in years as to leave no hope for that, then he prays that they may live peaceably together, and become mutual helps to each other. It is certain that some of these ceremonies have been borrowed from the Jews, particularly that of wishing the bride to be the happy mother of many children; for barrenness among those people is considered as a base reproach. This may serve to shew, that the promise made to our first parents, that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, had made a deep impression on their minds, for as it was not foretold who was to be the mother of this glorious person, so every woman might have a right to expect that it was herself.

VII. The seventh and last sacrament in the church of Rome, is orders, or the consecration of priests to the clerical office. Ministers of the gospel were, from the apostolic age, ordained by the imposition of hands and prayer, with a charge to them to attend to their duty as servants of Jesus Christ. But no sooner had the Roman emperors embraced the profession of Christianity in a public manner, and settled upon the Christian bishops the revenues of the Pagan priests, than a new change took place. The successors of the meek and humble Jesus, who, while in this world, had no where to lay his head, became grand and imperious as soon as they were possessed of riches. Hence the origin of those

numerous distinctions which have since taken place in the church of Rome; with all the ridiculous and pompous ceremonies attending them.

All those who are to enter into holy orders, are obliged to live single, and previous to their ordination must produce a certificate that they have not been guilty of any gross immoralities. For this purpose, a declaration is made in the church three different Sundays, previous to their being ordained, that all those who have any objections to make, may come and declare them before the arch-deacon, the chancellor, or their officials.

The first part of the ceremony in ordination is the tonsure, which seems to have been borrowed from the practice among the Jews, in consecrating Nazarenes. The candidate for the tonsure presents himself in a black cassock before the bishop, with a surplice hanging on his left arm, and a lighted taper in his hand. He kneels down, while the bishop in a standing posture, covered with his mitre, repeats a prayer, and several verses out of the scriptures, suitable to the ceremony. This being done, the bishop sits down and cuts five different parts of hair from the head of the young man who comes to be ordained, during which time, the young candidate for orders says, "The Lord is my inheritance." The tonsure being thus performed, the bishop takes off his mitre, and repeats a prayer over the person who has been tonsured, and the choir sing an anthem relating to the sacred order of priesthood.

The bishop then repeats a prayer, and in the middle of it turns himself to the person who receives the tonsure. He afterwards puts the surplice upon him, repeating at the same time, "May the Lord clothe thee with thy new name." This part of the ceremony being over, the candidate presents a wax taper to the bishop, who gives him his blessing.

When the bishop ordains a door-keeper, or sacristan, he gives him the keys of the church, and while the sacristan touches them, the bishop says to him, "Remember that you are to give an account unto God of whatever these keys shut up." This being done, the arch-deacon gives the door-keeper full power to exercise his office, by causing him to open and shut the gates of the church, and to ring the bells; during which ceremony, the bishop repeats several prayers, and delivers an exhortation to the sacristan.

When a person is admitted into the order of a reader, the bishop causes him to lay his hands upon the books of the Old Testament, saying to him at the same time, "Receive this book, render an account of the word of God; and if you acquit yourself worthy of this office, be assured that you shall have a portion of the inheritance allotted to those who, from the beginning, have dispersed the word of

God." These readers are not clergymen, but only persons who attend the priest at the service of the altar.

The next order is that of exorcists, and these are a set of men whom the bishop authorizes in the absence of the priest to cast out devils; when an exorcist is ordained, the bishop makes him lay his hands upon the book of exorcisms, saying unto him at the same time, "Receive this book, and remember at the same time, that you receive the power of casting out devils, whether the persons possessed with them have been baptized, or are only catechumens."

At the ordination of an acolyte, or one who lights the tapers in the church, the candidate lays his hand upon the candlestick, which has a taper in it, and which the bishop presents to him; repeating at the same time, a form of words suitable to the ceremony. After this, the bishop presents him with empty cruets, and such other vessels as are used in the sacrifice of the mass. Several prayers are repeated by the bishop, who continues kneeling within the rails of the altar, and the whole ceremony concludes with an exhortation to the acolytes to be attentive in the discharge of their duty.

The bishop, when he ordains a sub-deacon, causes him to lay his hand on the chalice and the patten, both being empty, saying to him at the same time, "Take care of the ministry which is committed to your charge; present yourself to God in such a manner as may make you agreeable to him." After which, he causes the sub-deacon to lay his hands on the epistles, saying to him, "Receive this book, and the power of reading the epistles to the holy church of God." The person to be ordained, must present himself in a white robe, girded about him; and having a lighted taper in his right hand, he falls prostrate on the ground, and continues in that posture while the bishop and clergy read the litanies of the saints. After this the bishop turning himself towards the candidate, who is still prostrate, gives him his blessing three times, and delivers a discourse, in which he represents to him the importance of his office.

Several prayers follow this part of the ceremony, and then the bishop clothes the sub-deacon with the robe called the Amict, saying unto him, "Receive this Amict, which denotes the chastisement, or rather the briding of the tongue." He then puts the manipule on his left arm, telling him, that it signifies the fruit of good works. Last of all, he puts upon him the garment called the Dalmatica, telling him that it is a garment of joy, and having repeated a prayer, with an anthem suitable to the ceremony, the bishop pronounces the blessing and dismisses the congregation.



The next degree in orders is that of deacon, and the ceremony is conducted in the following manner: The candidate presents himself clothed in the sub-deacon's habit, and the arch-deacon relates to the bishop what he knows of his character, producing several certificates from those who have been formerly acquainted with him. The bishop then repeats several prayers, and delivers an exhortation to the candidate concerning the office of a deacon.—The deacon prostrates himself in the same manner as the sub-deacon, while the priests and congregation are singing the litanies; and then the bishop gives him the Holy Ghost, by laying his hand only upon his head, thereby intimating, that he does not receive it so fully as if he had been ordained a priest. The bishop being seated, the candidate kneels before him, and receives the stole on his left shoulder, which an acolyte fixes round the left side of his neck, in such manner, that the extremities hang under the right arm, and then he receives the Dalmatica. The ordination being ended, the bishop presents him with the book of the gospels, and the whole ceremony concludes with prayers and anthems suitable to the occasion.

The next is the order of priesthood, which is superior to all those we have hitherto mentioned; because a priest receives power and authority to make and consecrate the body and blood of our Lord.—The candidate for priest's orders, presents himself before the bishop, in the habit of a deacon, with a lighted taper in his right hand, and the chasuble, or deacon's robe, folded over his left arm. The arch-deacon delivers to the bishop a written character of the candidate, and the bishop having made an exhortation to the people, the litanies are sang, while the candidate remains prostrate on the ground, as a token of his humility. He then rises up and presents himself to the bishop, who lays both his hands upon him, and all the priests who are present do the same; for although the second canon enjoins, that a priest shall be ordained by one bishop, yet the church of Rome has never taken the advantage of this injunction.

This part of the ceremony being over, the bishop takes the stole, which hangs from one shoulder only of the candidate, and puts it upon both, in such a manner that it falls cross-ways on his breast. At the same time, the bishop says to him, "Receive the yoke of the Lord." He then puts upon the priest the vestment peculiar to his order, telling him at the same time, that he has received full power and authority to consecrate every thing which the church admits of. The last words the bishop makes use of are, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," and then the choir, with the whole congregation, join together in praying for the person who has been ordained.

The last order to be taken notice of, is that of bishops, who in many countries are considered as superior to all other degrees of clergymen. The name itself signifies a pastor or shepherd, and by an easy transition, bishops are called fathers. We have already taken notice in the former part of this work, that bishops were elected by the people at large, who were members of the congregation; but no sooner had the clergy acquired power, than things took a very different turn. Emperors, princes, and even private subjects, who had the means in their power, founded and endowed bishoprics, and their successors, claimed the privilege of presenting to them. This practice, however, did not continue long; for the popes having begun to establish their grandeur, claimed the privilege of presenting bishops. This did not please many Christian princes, so that a continual flame of contention was kept up till very lately, in some Roman Catholic countries.

When a priest hears that the pope has raised him to the episcopal dignity, he must enlarge his shaven crown, and dress himself in purple, and if he happens to be at that time in Rome, he must go and salute his holiness, and receive from him the rochet. He must be ordained within three months after his election or appointment, and that must be either on a Sunday, or some public holiday, in memory of the apostles, and he is to fast the eve before. The altar must be adorned with flowers, and a carpet spread on the steps before it. The pontifical ornaments must be laid upon the altar, with the holy water, chalice, oil, pyx, sandals, ring, pastoral staff, mitre, and gloves. There are likewise placed within the rails of the altar, two barrels of wine and two loaves, one of them varnished over with gold, and the other with silver, having upon each of them arms of the family, arms of the bishop who presides at the ordination, and two lighted tapers, each weighing at least four pounds; all ceremonies being conducted by tapers.

Some acolytes stand beside the consecrating bishop, and the person to be consecrated, places himself between two of the assistants, opposite to the officiating prelate, who sits on a throne near the middle of the altar. Then one of the assistants addresses himself to the officiating prelate, telling him that the holy Catholic church requires that such an one (naming the candidate) should be advanced to the dignity of a bishop. The officiating bishop demands the apostolical mandate, which he gives to a notary to be entered in a record, and then he says, "God be praised." This part of the ceremony is followed by the oath of the candidate, which he takes on his knees before the officiating bishop, and by it he swears to be obedient to St. Peter, to the holy Roman church, and to the pope; to defend them to the utmost of his power, and not reveal any secrets he shall be entrusted with.

After the candidate is sworn in this manner, he is asked several questions, particularly whether he will in all things submit his judgment to the pope and the church. This he promises, and kneeling down on his knees, kisses the hand of the officiating prelate. While mass is singing in the choir, the acolytes assist the candidate in putting on the robes of his office, and they give him the pastoral staff, with the sandals. The officiating bishop repeats aloud, "The duty of a bishop is to judge, interpret, consecrate, confer orders, sacrifice, baptize and confirm." After the repeating of these words, and a short prayer, the officiating prelate, with the assistants, all kneel down, except the candidate bishop, who prostrates himself, and continues in that posture till each of the bishops has made the sign of the cross upon him with the pastoral staff. The officiating bishop lays the book of the gospel upon the shoulders of the candidate, and then laying all their hands upon his head, says unto him, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost." One of the assistants puts a napkin round the neck of the candidate, and the officiating bishop anoints him with oil. The anointing is performed in the form of a cross on his shaven head, and holding his hands cross-ways, they are also anointed from the thumb of the right hand to the fore finger of the left, and from the thumb of the left to the fore finger of the right. After this the officiating prelate proceeds to anoint the palms of the candidate's hands, and blesses the pastoral staff by sprinkling it with holy water. The pastoral ring is given to him at the same time, and several prayers are repeated by the officiating bishop. The gospel is given him shut, with an exhortation that he may go and preach it to every creature, and then all the bishops present give him the kiss of peace.

These ceremonies end with the religious offerings of the new made bishop, which are two lighted torches, two loaves, and two glasses of wine, and then he receives the communion from the hands of the officiating bishop. The communion being ended, the officiating bishop blesses the mitre, by sprinkling it with holy water, and puts it upon the head of the new made bishop, saying unto him "This helmet of defence and salvation, the strings whereof, like the horns of the two Testaments, shall make you appear formidable to the enemies of truth." The gloves are then given him, to represent the purity of the new man: and lastly, he is seated on the episcopal throne, where the officiating bishop sat before. Having sat there only a few minutes, the assistant bishops lead him through the church, and as he walks along, he blesses the people. This ceremony concludes with an anthem, and blessing the people a second time; after which, all the bishops retire to the vestry to put off their robes. All these ceremonies must be exactly performed, for the least deviation

from the smallest of them, would spoil the whole; so that it must cost a man much trouble to acquire a perfect knowledge of them, and many of the bishops, as well as the priests, are obliged to hold the ritual in their hands.

When an abess is elected, she takes an oath of fidelity to the church, and the bishop who receives her, gives her his blessing, by laying both his hands on her head. He then gives her the rule of her order, blesses the white veil and puts it on her head, in such a manner as to let it hang down over her breast and shoulders. the rest of the ceremony has nothing particular in it, only that the bishop places her on a seat in the middle of her nuns.

When a nun is to take the veil, her habit and ring are carried to the altar, and she herself, conducted by her nearest relations, is presented to the bishop. She walks between two aged nuns, and the bishop says mass, attended by several priests. The candidate and her attendants are veiled, and the priest says aloud, "Let your lamps be lighted, because the bridegroom is coming to meet you." The same priest presents them to the bishop, when they kneel down, and the candidate receives an exhortation, concerning the duties of a religious life. After this the candidate, with the two nuns, kiss his hand and lie prostrate before him, while the litanies are sung in the choir. The bishop with the crosier in his hand, blesses the habit, which he tells them denotes contempt of the world, and the humility of their hearts. A little holy water is sprinkled upon the candidate, who retires and puts on the habit.

The veil and ring are blessed in the same manner, and then the candidate presents herself a second time to the bishop, singing the following words, "I am the servant of Christ, receive me O Lord, according to thy holy word." The bishop answers, "Come, O spouse of Christ, and receive the crown." At these words she receives the veil, and the bishop puts the ring on her finger, telling her that she is married to Jesus Christ; and lastly, he puts a crown on her head, as a token of her virginity.

Being thus crowned, an anathema is pronounced against all those who shall attempt to persuade her to break her vow, in what manner soever, or shall seize upon any part of that estate, which she has dedicated to the church. After this the newly professed nun, with her attendants, walk up to the altar, holding lighted tapers in their hands, and there they receive the communion from the hands of the bishop. Every nun, upon her admission, receives a breviary from the bishop, containing such prayers and lessons as are appointed to be read at the canonical hours: for in most convents, the nuns read these devotions in their turn. These ceremonies being ended, the prelate gives up the nun to the care of the abbess, saying to her, "Take care to preserve pure and spot-



less this young woman whom God has consecrated to himself."

Some of these women shut themselves up in the heat of passion in these convents, having been disappointed in love, or seduced by false promises; others are shut up by their parents, sometimes from motives of superstition: but most commonly to prevent them from marrying below their rank. This practice is, however, very unnatural, and must make young women extremely miserable; and, as it would be a very dangerous thing for any person to attempt to seduce them, so it is too much to be feared, that many are led to commit sins not to be mentioned.

In 1749, while the late general Blakeney was governor of Minorca, two young gentlemen, officers in the twenty-second regiment of foot, prevailed upon two nuns to make an elopement from their convent, and about midnight they went to the wall of the convent, attended by a third officer, and several soldiers carrying a ladder. The two nuns were received by the officers, but just as they were about to remove the ladder, a third came to the window and was conducted along with the others to Fort St. Philip, where they were all married the same night to the three officers by the chaplain of the garrison. As these young ladies were of good families in the island, the affair made a considerable noise, and the vicar-general sent a letter to general Blakeney, demanding the three runaway nuns, that they might be punished according to the laws of the church. General Blakeney returned for answer, that the young ladies were married to three of his Majesty's officers, and therefore he could by no means comply with the request, especially as they had embraced the Protestant religion in presence of a clergyman of the church of England. But the general, consistent with the character of a man of prudence, told the vicar-general that he would give strict orders to all those under his command, not to offend in the like manner again. It is probable, this affair might have been attended with serious consequences, but the regiment soon after embarked for England, and such was the bigotry of the people, that the three young ladies would have been murdered, had they not been escorted by an armed force to the ship.

It may not be improper, before we conclude this article, to say something concerning Anti-christ, or the man of sin so often mentioned in the New Testament; and, that the reader may be enabled to form a just notion of this extraordinary person, we shall first set down what has been said by different writers, and then with humility, deliver our own opinion, which we hope will be found consistent with his character.

The prophet Daniel is said to foretel Anti-christ

under the form of a horn, that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things; that made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, till the ancient of days came. And in another place, under that of a little horn, that attacked the heavens itself, and beat down and trampled on the stars. St. John, in the Revelations, describes Anti-christ as a beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, and maketh war with the saints: as a beast rising out of the sea, with ten horns, and ten crowns upon his horns, and upon his head the name of blasphemy. In another place he speaks of the number of the beast, and says, it is six hundred threescore and six. The explication of this number has greatly puzzled the commentators: some take it to be that of the letters in the word Anti-christ, set down according to their numerical value; others discover this number in several other names, as in Dioclesian, Julian the Apostate, and Napoleon, the present emperor of France.

The terrible picture of Anti-christ, drawn by St. Paul, seemed so like the emperor Nero, that many of the ancients believed that prince was Anti-christ, or at least his fore-runner. Others were of opinion that Nero will rise again, and accomplish all that is said of Anti-christ in the scriptures: and St. Austin assures us, there were others who maintained that Nero was not dead, but still living in some unknown and inaccessible place, and that the effects his cruelty would one day be felt by God's faithful servants. It is well known that some Protestants have ascribed the character, given of Anti-christ by St. Paul, to the pope, or bishop of Rome, who, in regard to his pretences of infallibility, may be said, in the language of the apostle, to sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.

Nor are Christians better agreed as to the time when Anti-christ will make his appearance. We only know, in general, that he will precede the second coming of Christ. Judas Syrus, who lived in the reign of the emperor Severus, asserted, that Anti-christ would soon appear, because the persecution was then carrying on with great heat against the church. Tertullian, who lived about the same time, and St. Cyprian, who flourished soon after, believed the coming of Anti-christ was very near. St. Hillary was of opinion that the progress of Arianism was a forerunner of Anti-christ. Abbot Joachim, who lived in the twelfth century, pretended that Anti-christ was to appear in the sixtieth year of his time. Arnaude de Villeneuve said he would come in 1326; Peter Daille in 1789; Cardinal de Cusa, in 1730; John Picus of Mirandola in 1594; Jerome Cardan in the 1800; and Vincent Ferrier, who lived in the fifteenth century, wrote to Pope Benedict XIII. that Anti-christ would appear in a very short time; and that an holy hermit had







(S) The Procession of the (S) late St. Peter for the burning of Heretics

informed him nine years before, that this enemy of God was then born.

There is likewise a difference among authors as to the manner of the birth of Anti-christ. Some say he will be begot by a devil upon some very corrupt woman; others tell us, that Anti-christ will be a devil incarnate, and not a man: that as Jesus Christ was born of a pure virgin, Anti-christ will pretend to the same: but, whereas the Son of God assumed real flesh, Anti-christ will take only the phantom and appearance of flesh. There was a tradition received among the ancients, that he should be born of some Jewish family and proceed from the tribe of Dan; which is the reason, they say, why St. John, in enumerating the tribes of Israel, omits the name of Dan. See Rev. vii. 5.

As to the dominion or kingdom of Anti-christ, he is to lay the foundation of his empire in Babylonia, where he will be born, and the Jews will mistake him for the Messiah, and be first to declare for him. He will begin with attacking the Roman empire, which will then be divided among ten kings, according to the prophecy of Daniel, and after he has subdued Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya, he will conquer Jerusalem, and fix there the seat of his empire.—Then, finding himself master of the Eastern and Western empires, he will apply himself to the destruction of Christ's kingdom. Some of the ancients believe he will be seated in the churches of the Christians, and there receive the adorations of numberless apostates from the Christian faith. The righteous, under the persecution of Anti-christ, will retire to the mount of Olives, where they will be attacked by this enemy of God, and then Jesus Christ will descend from heaven, attended by his angels, and preceded by a flame, which nothing will be able to extinguish. The angels will make such a slaughter of the army of Anti-christ, that their blood shall flow like a torrent in the valley, and Anti-christ himself will come to the top of mount Olivet, where he will be put to death in his own tent, and upon his own throne.

But whatever truth there may be in some of these notions, yet we are of opinion that none of them will amount to a probability. Anti-christ, as prophesied of by St. Paul, (see 2. Thess. ii.) was to exalt himself above all that was called god, and to whom can this be more properly applied, than to the popes, who have, in the most presumptuous manner, set their own decrees up in opposition to the word of God. Anti-christ was to sit in the temple of God, and it is well known, that the pope is the nominal head of the church. Thus he may be said to sit in the temple of God, in the same manner as any of the wicked priests of the Jews sat in Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. His coming was to be with power and signs, and lying wonders; and surely this, in the very words, apply to the pope. He had, for many ages, the civil power to support him, he pretended to give signs of divine mission, and his lying miracles are believed by all those who follow his institutions. And it was said of the people who were to be the followers of Anti-christ, that God should send them strong delusions. The meaning is, God for their many wickednesses should suffer them to be deluded by impostors, and where can we look for this but in the church of Rome? Their faith, worship, discipline and government, are founded on deception, and were we not convinced of the truth of it, we could scarcely believe, that ever human nature could have sunk so low as to embrace the grossest nonsense. And yet this is the case, as experience and history will prove. Upon the whole, we will venture to affirm, that if any unprejudiced person will attend to the marks here laid down, he will be forced to acknowledge that the character of Anti-christ can apply to none but the pope; and therefore there is good reason to believe, that as the papal power is daily vanishing away in those countries where popery is established, and at the same time caressed in Protestant countries, so we may expect some important changes during the present age.

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## HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

WHILE the Lord Jesus Christ was on earth with his disciples, he frequently told them that his kingdom was not of this world, and that all they had to expect from men, was persecution; but they did not, till after his ascension, understand the meaning of what he told them. The Christian re-

ligion increased in proportion to the opposition it met with from men, nor was the whole force of the Roman empire able to crush it, much less to abolish it totally. During the space of three hundred years it grew under persecution, and it was common for the heathens to say of the Christians, "See how



they love each other." And this love continued while they suffered persecution, but here let us mark the change.

Having received rich livings from the emperor Constantine the Great, the bishops, with the rest of the clergy, met together in synods, and compiled creeds which they sought to impose upon all their brethren. And although some of these creeds did not contain any thing contrary to the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, yet as they were no more than human compositions, consequently many pious men refused to subscribe them. This created much dissention in the church, for the bishops wrote against each other, and as many heresies sprung up about the same time, the primitive spirit of charity was lost. But still they did not think of calling in the aid of the civil power, to assist them in punishing those who differed from them in opinion. It is true, they begun very soon afterwards, to look towards the civil power, but it does not appear that any of the emperors made sanguinary laws against those called heretics before Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century; but trifling indeed were these laws, with what we are now going to mention.

The popes increasing in power, and finding many people very unwilling to submit to their decrees resolved to publish a crusade against heretics of all sorts: and the persons employed to carry this diabolical scheme into execution, were the monks of the order of St. Dominic. At first it was designed to carry on the persecution against those people called Waldenses, &c, but of these we shall treat in a separate article. It was about the beginning of the thirteenth century, that pope Innocent III. sent the Dominican friars into most of the Roman Catholic countries to enquire how many heretics were to be found, and from that circumstance, they obtained the name of inquisitors, and their office, where they try criminals, the inquisition.

This formidable tribunal gained much strength in a short time, for all Spain and Portugal received it, and it was established in every city in Italy, except Naples: it was afterwards established in Flanders, and the duke de Alva attempted to establish it in Holland, which was in some measure, the occasion of establishing the government of the seven United Provinces.

This tribunal takes cognizance of heresy, by which is meant the doctrines embraced by Protestants of every denomination, Judaism, Mahometanism, Sodomy, Polygamy, with all sorts of crimes, opinions, or words, that are opposite to the papal decrees, naturally come before this court. It would seem incredible, were there not most positive proof of it, that the people where it is established, are so much afraid of incurring the displeasure of the holy office,

as the inquisition is called, that they must give up their nearest relations, and even become evidences against them; for were they to conceal them, or speak in their favour, they would be taken into custody, and punished in the same manner.

This horrid and unnatural sentiment, is carried to such a length, that if the nearest and dearest relation should shed tears for the sufferer, he would be considered as the favourer of heresy. It is intimated in some of our historians, that queen Mary I. had an intention of establishing the inquisition in England, which is not at all improbable, when we consider her bigotry, her bloody-minded disposition, and above all, her marriage with Philip of Spain, one of the most cruel persecutors that ever lived. But whatever intentions she might have had of that nature, yet we have so good an opinion of our ancestors, even in that dark age, to believe that they never would have submitted to such an ignoble, such an unnatural, such a barbarous institution.

It is much to the honour of the French, that it was never established in that kingdom, and although there is a court of inquisition at Venice, yet we do not find that it takes notice of any-crimes but those of a civil nature. The Portuguese, not content with having it established in their own kingdom, actually sent over a great number of Dominicans to Goa in the East Indies, who formed themselves into a court of inquisition, and punished as heretics those heathens who refused to embrace their doctrines.

In Germany, Poland, Hungary and Switzerland, the inquisition was never established; which may serve to shew, that dark and ignorant as men were in that age, yet they had not so far forgot the dignity of their characters, as to sink beneath the degree of beasts that perish. In Sweden, in Denmark, in Scotland, and in Ireland, before the Reformation, the whole power of Rome was not able to establish it, so we find this infernal, unnatural tribunal was confined to those nations, who have, for many ages, been remarkable for their effeminacy of manners, and their slavish notions of obedience.

Before we describe the particulars relating to the inquisition, it may not be improper to observe, that for some years past, its power has been much upon the decline, even in those countries where it was once slavishly submitted to. At Rome, the highest tribunal of all, self-interest has taught the pope and his council, that nothing can be more impolitic than that of persecuting Protestants, who visit that celebrated city from motives of curiosity. It is true, no place of worship is tolerated among them for Protestants; but this is no hardship to the natives who enjoy their ignorance, never having learned any thing but what they see and hear in their churches: And as for Protestants who resort thither, they are either

too volatile in their tempers to pay much regard to religion, or they are men endowed with such knowledge, that they can worship God in Rome, as well as in London.

Another circumstance has contributed much towards depressing the power of the inquisition in Portugal, where it used to reign in all its horrid forms. On the first of November 1755, a dreadful earthquake happened in Lisbon, which demolished great part of that city; and although this might, and undoubtedly did proceed from natural causes, yet we find that divine wisdom made it to answer a salutary purpose. The inquisition had condemned several unhappy persons to be burnt, and these were to have suffered on the day following; but such was the terror that all ranks of people laboured under, the poor criminals escaped. This had such an effect on the minds of the people, who were under the dominion of superstition, that they looked upon it as done by the immediate hand of God to punish them for their cruelty, and from that time the inquisition has been but little regarded in that nation. Happy if this awful circumstance had led them to embrace the truth; but they are still deprived of the means, and how can they believe without having a preacher?

Having said thus much concerning the inquisition in general, we shall now proceed to its particular parts, its methods of proceeding against persons accused from the time of their being first apprehended, until the judgment of the court is executed. Persons become objects of resentment to the inquisition in general, four different ways: First, by public report, by which a person is said to be guilty of the crimes of which this tribunal takes cognizance. Secondly, by the depositions of those witnesses by whom he is impeached. Thirdly, by discoveries made by the spies employed by the judges of the inquisition. And lastly, by the confession of the criminals themselves, who, in order to avoid the torture, often accuse themselves.

When the inquisitors have discovered a criminal by any of the above-mentioned means, and he has the good fortune to make his escape, he is then summoned three times by proclamation, to make his appearance before the holy office, and if he still refuses, he is at last excommunicated, and his effects seized; but this does not exempt him from capital punishment, if he should be taken afterwards. Indeed, it is almost impossible for a person who has been once impeached, to make his escape; for the inquisitors raise such a pursuit after him, that he is generally taken before he gets out of his own neighbourhood. As for those who break out of prison, if ever they are taken, there is no mercy shewn them; for, was even a prince to intercede for them, his request would not be granted. In Spain, they have in every city and town, societies established for the

purpose of apprehending such persons as have been accused to the inquisition, and so much are the Spanish nobility sunk beneath the dignity of their ancestors, that many of the dons, who in other respects consider themselves as equal to princes, become the common lackeys of time-serving monks, and even their informers. When a stranger puts up at an inn, some of these spies thrust themselves into his company, and if by any means whatever, they can form the least notion that he is attempting to make his escape, they immediately get him apprehended and thrown into a dungeon. Nay, it has happened that some accused persons have got on board a ship, and made their escape as far as Constantinople; and although they considered themselves safe, as being out of the reach of their enemies, yet the sailors on board of another ship had them kidnapped and sent to Spain, where no mercy was shewn.

In most cases, when a person is accused to the inquisition, and they have any suspicions that he will attempt to make his escape, they cause him to be arrested immediately: no place, even the most sacred, being able to afford him an asylum. It is surprising to consider the forlorn condition of a person who is so unfortunate as to be arrested in this manner. He is seized, in the midst of his friends, and in the very bosom of his family; a father standing by the side of his son, a son in the company of his father, and a wife in that of her husband, without any person present being permitted to intercede for them.

As soon as he is brought before the inquisitors, they cause him to be searched, in order to try if they can find any thing about him that may serve to convict him, and likewise for any instrument with which he may murder himself, in order to escape the tortures of the inquisition. There are many instances of poor unfortunate wretches who have been confined in the inquisition, dashing out their brains against the walls of their cells, rather than be put to the torture. When they have got the accused person into prison, the chief inquisitor, attended by his officers, goes to his house, and secures his books, papers, and every thing they can find, nor dare any person oppose them. If the person has a real estate, or any personal property of value, an inventory is then taken, and part is sold to defray the expense of the prosecution. This practice of making the accused person pay his prosecutors for their trouble, is of such a diabolical nature, that so far as we could ever yet learn, it is not to be met with in any court of the world besides the inquisition; but indeed we shall meet with some other singularities.

Things being carried thus far, the prosecution immediately begins, but is carried on very slowly;

for a criminal is frequently imprisoned several months before he is brought before the judges, or so much as knows what is the accusation preferred against him. The prisons are dreadful, and nothing is more capable of striking the mind of a person with horror. These dungeons are all under ground, and so situated that none but the keepers can get admittance. The way to them is by a great many turnings and windings, lest the cries of the miserable creatures should be heard, and move any person with compassion; but in that case, compassion would avail nothing, while none are permitted to give them assistance. Day-light is for ever shut out from those gloomy habitations, to hinder those who are in prison from reading, or any other employment besides that of reflecting on their unhappy condition, and the punishment that is preparing for them.

Although it should happen that their cells are so near each other that the prisoners could converse together, yet they are not permitted to do it; for if they are heard either speaking to one another, or even to themselves, the keepers rush in and beat them most unmercifully. Such poor creatures as have been long confined, invent a method of speaking to each other with their fingers, by striking them a certain number of times upon the wall, according to the number of letters in the alphabet.

After a criminal has spent several months in this miserable condition, the jailor tells him, that he may, if he chuses, petition for an audience: but he must not be told that the judges desire him to do so; for it is an invariable rule in the inquisition, that nothing shall be granted a prisoner, unless he petitions for it. The first time the prisoner appears before the judges, they pretend not to know him, and to be utterly ignorant of any crimes he is charged with. They ask him who he is, or what he wants, and if he has any thing to say? In such cases the prisoner seldom knows what to say, because he does not know what has been sworn against him, nor who are his accusers.

If it happens that he pleads not guilty, and they find that they have not sufficient proof to convict him, he is acquitted upon paying the expense of the prosecution; but they order two of their spies, whom they call familiars, to watch him wherever he goes, observe every step he takes, all he says or does, nothing can escape them, and they generally pretend to be his friends, and set every engine at work to insinuate themselves into his confidence, in order to find, if possible, an opportunity of accusing him. And here we find, that the design of the inquisition is not so much to prevent guilt, or to punish the guilty, as to lay stumbling-blocks before such persons as they have devoted to destruction.

Those who have read the history of England, must remember the account of Mark Anthony de Do-

minis. This great man was the son of a noble Venetian, and having been brought up to the church, he was ordained bishop of Segni, and afterwards archbishop of Spalatro, and primate of Dalmatia. This dignity, though very great in itself, was not what gained him universal respect, both in church and state. He was considered as one of the most learned men of that age, particularly in divinity and history, both sacred and profane; few had read more, or forgot less. He was consulted on all subjects, and those who heard him discourse upon one, found him so well acquainted with it, that they could not imagine when he could find time to learn any other.

His learning made him inquisitive, and it was discovered, that he had embraced several sentiments of the Protestant religion. Having wrote a large work on the subject of the Christian church, he had a strong desire of seeing it published in his life-time, but that he knew could not be done in Italy. Sir Henry Wotton was at that time the English ambassador at the Republic of Venice, and he gave Dominis a letter from James I. king of Britain, begging of him to come and settled in England, which request he complied with, in order to have an opportunity of publishing his book. The king who was himself a man of learning, gave him every encouragement, treated him as his friend, and settled a pension upon him, suitable to his dignity. Happy, had he continued in England; but the Spanish ambassador made him such vast offers as first shook his resolution, and then prevailed on him to accept of them. The unhappy prelate forgot, on this occasion, what he had often repeated in his works, namely, that the court of Rome never forgets, or forgives an affront.

He set out for Rome, in spite of all the arguments of his friends in England to the contrary, who represented to him the danger before him, and that it would be in a manner impossible for him to escape. The event was such as might have been expected; for as soon as he arrived in Italy, he was arrested, and sent to the prison of the inquisition at Rome. His trial went on very slowly, and at last he died in prison, but in what manner is not certainly known.

When a person who has been once acquitted, is arrested a second time, he remains in prison several months, and then it is again insinuated to him, that he must petition the judges to be heard. When he makes his appearance, the inquisitors tell him, the gaoler had informed them that he desired to be heard. The prisoner answers, that he desires to be heard, in order that he may be cleared, if he be found innocent. Upon this the inquisitors press him earnestly to confess his crime. If he refuses, they demand him back to prison, telling him that they do it in order that he may have time to recollect every circumstance. After he has been a considerable time



in prison, a second time, he is again brought before the inquisitors, and if he still persists in his innocence, they make him swear upon the crucifix, and the holy gospel, that he will speak the truth to all the questions they shall put to him. If he refuses to swear, they immediately pronounce sentence on him, without any other formality; because by this they suppose, that either he is not a Christian, seeing he refuses to take a lawful oath, or that he is guilty of all he has been accused of.

But in case he takes the oath, they ask him many questions concerning his past life, and even many things concerning his ancestors, in order to sift out of him, whether some of them have not been under the censures of the inquisition. Though crimes of this nature are merely personal, yet they serve to prejudice the judges against him; for they suppose he has imbibed the notions of his progenitors with their blood, and that as he had been educated by them, it was impossible but he must be of the same sentiments. Hitherto, he is not suffered to know what is his crime, or who are his accusers; for they are all this time endeavouring to find something out of him, in order to authorize them to pronounce upon him sentence of condemnation. This snare is laid with prodigious cunning, and can hardly be escaped; for as people are often apprehended on bare suspicion, so it frequently happens that the terror of being put to the torture, makes the unhappy prisoners drop some expression which serve to convict them.

When the prisoner is too cunning to fall into the snare laid for him, and still continues to deny that he has been guilty of any thing, then his accusation is read, containing many crimes, besides those with which he was accused by the person who swore against him. This composition of truth and falsehood is another trap for the unhappy prisoner, for as he seldom fails to exclaim against the horrible crimes they lay to his charge, so they take occasion from thence to conclude, that those of which he makes but little complaints are true.

After having given him his accusation, which he receives in writing; when the clerk has read it, they order three or four counsellors to wait upon him, and out of those he is to make choice of one to plead his cause. This counsellor does but very little service; for he is not only forbid to give the prisoner any advice, but he is not even allowed to speak to him, except in presence of the register of the inquisition.

Some days after they have given the prisoner a copy of his accusation, he is brought before the tribunal, along with his counsellor, but he might as well be without him, since he is not allowed to speak till he has consulted with the inquisitors what he is to say. It is in vain for the counsellor to ask the names

of the accusers, for he is kept in the dark in that respect; all they allow him is to guess if they are not such and such persons, but to this they never give a direct answer, although he happens to guess right. At last, after having tormented the poor creature for years together with anxiety, by being carried from the prison to the court, and from the court to prison, his trial is prepared for in good earnest. It begins by making his appearance again before the inquisitors, who give copies of what has been sworn against him, but they still conceal the names of witnesses. The prisoner having read the depositions, he is asked, whether he has any thing to object against them, and then he is allowed three or four days to give in his answers. During this time the prisoner studies to find whether he can discover who the persons are by whom he is accused, for they still refuse to tell him their names; when the time which had been allowed for discovering the witnesses is expired, he is again called before the inquisitors, and is heard in what he has to except against persons, whose names and qualities are equally concealed from him. If he happens to guess their names, and makes any just exceptions against them, it may perhaps be of service to him, but then the inquisitors will put what construction they please upon such favourable circumstances. All the prisoner can allege is of no service to him, unless he can prove that the witnesses are his professed enemies; and this is in a manner impossible, seeing he is not permitted to send for evidences. In this tribunal all witnesses are accepted of against the prisoner, because of the odious nature of heresy; and it is no matter from whence they come, or how black soever their characters are. Nay, even perjured persons are admitted as witnesses, which is contrary to the practice of all other courts in the world, even the most barbarous. Two witnesses, by hearsay are admitted, and upon their evidence, a prisoner may be put to the torture, and the vilest informers are received as witnesses.

After a prisoner has made his exceptions and given in his answers, if they are not satisfactory, or that his crime is not sufficiently proved, he is put to the torture, of which there are several sorts, but particularly, the rope, the water, and the fire. In the torture with the rope, the prisoner has his hands bound behind him with a rope; after which he is raised from the ground to the top of the ceiling by means of a pulley. In this manner he is left to hang for some time, and they let him fall down within half a foot of the ground, but with such sudden jerks as put all his limbs out of joint, and force him to cry out in a most dreadful manner. In this manner he is tortured for an hour, and sometimes more, just as the inquisitors, who are then present think proper to order.

But if this sort of torture does not prevail, then they have recourse to water, which is done in the following manner. They force the prisoner to swallow down a large quantity of water, after which he is laid along a form or bench, that has a cavity in it which shuts up, and squeezes at pleasure. A stick or peice of wood runs across this bench, which keeps the prisoner's body as it were suspended, and breaking his back bone, puts him to invincible pain.

But the most rigorous torture is that of fire; for a great fire being lighted, the soles of the prisoner's feet are rubbed with bacon, or some other greasy substance, which being done, he is laid on the ground with his feet turned to the fire, and held down in that posture, that he may thereby confess all the inquisitors want to know. These two last mentioned tortures continue an hour or upwards like the first.

When a prisoner is condemned to the torture, he is carried to the place appointed for that purpose, which is very properly called a place of torments. It is a subterraneous cavern, to which they go down by a great many turnings and windings, in order to prevent the cries of the unhappy creatures from being heard, which undoubtedly would be more dreadful than can be imagined.

In this place there are seats only for the inquisitors who are always present when any one is put to the torture, as is also the bishop of the diocese, or his deputy. The place has no other light, besides that of two torches, which burn but faintly, but, strong enough to let the unhappy prisoner see the instruments with which he is to be tortured; and the more than merciless executioners wear a habit resembling that of a penitent, and no sooner does the unhappy prisoner come into the dismal dungeon, than he is seized on by two or three of these blood-hounds, who strip him naked in every part of his body, except the privy members, over which they put a piece of coarse cloth. Before he is put to the torture the inquisitors exhort him to confess all he knows; but if he persists in declaring himself to be innocent, then he is put to the torture, according to one or other of the forms above mentioned, and this is sometimes so violent that it reduces the sufferer to the last gasp, on which occasions they send for the surgeon of the inquisition to know whether it will be possible for him to bear any more of the torture.

When by such cruel methods they have extorted a confession from the unhappy prisoner, of crimes he never committed, he expects to be set at liberty, but he finds himself wretchedly mistaken; for he must be put a second time to the torture, in order to induce him to confess why he concealed the crimes of which he now declares himself to be guilty.

Thus, after the violence of the torture, a prisoner has owned himself guilty of some crime, the commission of which arose from the weakness of human passions, yet he is put to the torture a third time, to force him to reveal who were his accomplices. But in case the violence of these tortures cannot extort any confession from him, he is then remanded back to prison, and some of the most infamous wretches are sent to visit him, in order to discover whether they can find any thing in his conversation that can tend towards a conviction, and in some cases they are too successful, which proves the ruin of the prisoner.

The inquisitors themselves second these inhuman artifices to the utmost of their power, by pretending to administer comfort to them, pretending to be touched with their misfortunes, and telling them that if they will confess, it may be the means of saving their lives. The result of all this is, that in case the prisoner stands convicted, either by the sentence of the inquisition, or by the evidence against him, or by his own confession, he is condemned, either to death, to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys. When the inquisitors are determined to put the prisoner to a more than ordinary cruel death, they hasten it on as soon as possible, after sentence is pronounced, because the poor creature's reflections on the torments he has to suffer, would be like so many deaths, which would weaken him to such a degree, that he might even die in prison, which would prevent the inquisitors from enjoying the pleasure of seeing a human sacrifice.

The general acts of the inquisition are considered as the execution of criminals, but in the places where it is established, looked upon as a religious ceremony, in which they pretend the most illustrious and public proof of pious zeal is shewn, and these are called acts of faith. In Spain these are generally exhibited at the accession of their monarchs to the throne, at their coming of age, their marriages, the birth of a successor, or such other public and solemn occasions. The following faithful relation of one of these feasts is presented to the reader.

On May the third 1680, Charles II. of Spain was married; and in the great square of Madrid, was a public act of faith celebrated with all the magnificence imaginable. A month before the general execution, the officers of the inquisition, preceded by their standard, rode with great solemnity from the palace of the holy office, to the open square, where in the presence of a vast number of people there assembled, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet and kettle drums, that on that day month, an act of faith, or general execution of the heretics, would be exhibited.

The proclamation being over, great preparations were made for this dreadful solemnity, this human

sacrifice, under pretence that it was in honour of the blessed Jesus, and his religion, the gospel of peace. Previous to this bloody solemnity, a scaffold, fifty feet in length, was erected in the great square, and raised to the same size in height, with a balcony upon it, for the king and royal family to sit in. At the end, and along the whole breadth of this scaffold, at the right hand of the king's balcony, an amphitheatre was raised, to which they ascended by twenty-five or thirty steps, and this was appointed for the council of the inquisition. Above these steps, and under a canopy, the great inquisitor's rostrum was placed, and at the left hand side of the scaffold, and balcony, a second amphitheatre was erected of the same extent with the former, for the criminals to stand on.

In the middle of the great scaffold, another very small one was built in an oblong form, which supported two little boxes made like cages, and open at the top, and in these the prisoners were to be placed while sentence of death was pronounced upon them. Three pulpits were also erected on the great scaffold, two whereof were for the use of those who read the sentence, and the third for the preacher, and lastly, an altar was erected not far from the altar where the several counsellors sat. The seats on which their Catholic majesties sat, were ranged in such a manner, that the queen was at the king's left hand, and at the right of the queen mother. The rest of the whole length of the balcony on each side, was filled with the ladies of honour of both queens; balconies were likewise erected for the foreign ambassadors, the lords and ladies of the court, and scaffolds for the people.

A month after proclamation had been made of the act of faith, the ceremony opened with a procession in the following order. The march was preceded by a hundred coal-merchants, all armed with pikes and muskets, and this was considered as binding on these people, because they furnished the wood and coals with which the criminals were to be burnt. They were followed by Dominican friars, before whom a white cross was carried. Behind them came the duke of Mendini-Celi, carrying the standard of the inquisition, a privilege hereditary in his family. The standard was of red damask, on one side of which was represented a drawn sword in a crown of laurels, and the arms of Spain on the other. Afterwards was brought forward, a green cross, covered with black crape, which was followed by several grandees and other persons of quality, familiars of the inquisition, with cloaks, marked with white and black crosses, edged with gold wire. The march was closed by fifty halbardiers or guards, belonging to the inquisition, clothed with black and white garments, and commanded by the Marquis of Pour,

hereditary protector of the inquisition in the province of Toledo.

The procession having marched in this order before the palace, proceeded to the square, when the standard and the green cross were placed on the scaffold, where none but the Dominicans remained, the rest having retired. These Dominican friars had spent the preceding night in singing psalms, and several masses were celebrated on the altar from day break till six in the morning. About an hour after, the king, queen, queen-mother, with all the royal family, the lords of the bed-chamber, the officers at court, and ladies made their appearance. At eight o'clock, the procession began in the same manner as the day before, preceded by the company of coal-merchants, who placed themselves on the left of the king's balcony, his guards standing on the right. Afterwards came thirty men, carrying images of pasteboard as big as life, some of which represented those who had died in prison, and whose bones were brought in trunks, with flames painted round them, and the rest represented those who had made their escape, and were outlawed.

These figures were placed at one end of the amphitheatre, and then came twelve men and women with ropes about their necks, torches in their hands, and pasteboards caps on their heads, three feet high, on which were written their crimes. These were followed by fifty others, having also torches in their hands, and clothed with yellow great coats, on which were crosses of St. Andrew X, behind and before. These were Jews who had repented of their crimes, and desired to be admitted into the church as believers in Jesus Christ. Next came twenty Jews of both sexes, who had relapsed thrice into their former errors, and were condemned to the flames. Those who had given some tokens of repentance, were to be strangled before they were burnt; but the rest, for having persisted in their errors, were to be burnt alive. These last wore linen garments, with devils and flames painted on them, and caps after the same manner. Five or six among them, who were more obstinate than the rest, were gagged, to prevent their uttering what the Roman Catholics call blasphemous tenets.

Such as were condemned to die, were surrounded each by four Dominicans, and two familiars of the inquisition. These unhappy creatures passed in the manner above related, under the king of Spain's balcony, and after having walked round the scaffold, were placed in the amphitheatre that stood on the left, and each of them surrounded by the monks and familiars who had attended them. Some of the grandees of Spain were among these familiars, and they, consistent with their usual national pride, seated themselves on high benches erected for the purpose.



The clergy of St. Martain's parish coming forward, placed themselves near the altar, the officers of the supreme council of the inquisition, the inquisitor, and several other persons of distinction, both regulars and seculars, all on horseback, with great solemnity, arrived afterwards, and placed themselves on the right hand of the amphitheatre, and on both sides of the rostrum which the grand inquisitor was to seat himself. The grand inquisitor came last, dressed in a purple habit, accompanied by the president of the council of Castile, and several other officers, who, on this occasion, would have been reckoned among the number of heretics, had they not become more than the obsequious slaves of the priest.

Then they began to celebrate mass, in the midst of which, the priest who officiated went down from the altar, and seated himself in a chair which had been placed for him. The grand inquisitor came down from his seat, and having saluted the altar, and put the mitre on his head, he advanced towards the king's balcony. There he went up the steps that stood at the end of the balcony, with several officers who carried the cross and gospels, and a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the Catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and to support the holy inquisition to the utmost of their power.

The king, standing up bear-headed, having on one side of him a grandee of Spain, holding the royal sword with the point upwards, swore to observe the oath which a counsellor of the inquisition had just read to him. The king continued in this posture till such time as the grand inquisitor was returned back to his seat, where he took off his pontifical vestments. Then one of the secretaries of the inquisition ascended a pulpit appointed for that purpose, and read an oath to the same purport, which he administered to all the grandees who were then present; and this part of the ceremony was followed by that of a Dominican going up into the pulpit, and delivering a sermon full of flattery in praise of the inquisition.

About two o'clock in the afternoon they began to read the sentences of the condemned criminals, and they began with those who had died in prison, or who had been out-lawed. Their figures in paste-board were carried up to the little scaffold, and put into the cages, and then they read the sentences to each of the criminals who were alive, and they were one by one put into the cages, in order that every person present might know them. There were in all twenty persons of both sexes condemned to the flames, and of these, six men and two women could not prevail upon either to confess or repent of their errors. A young woman was remanded to prison because she had always made the strongest protestations of her innocence, and therefore they

thought it would be proper to re-examine the evidence that had been produced against her. Lastly, they read the sentences of those who had been found guilty of bigamy or witchcraft, with several other crimes, and this lasted till about nine in the evening, when mass was finished.

Mass being finished, the grand inquisitor, clothed in his pontifical vestments, pronounced a solemn absolution on all those who would repent; and then the king being withdrawn, the criminals who had been condemned to be burnt, were delivered over to the civil power, and being mounted upon asses, were carried in this manner through the gate called Foncural. About three hundred paces from it they were chained to stakes, and executed a little after midnight. Those who persisted in their errors were burnt alive, but such as repented were first strangled before the fire was lighted. Those condemned to less punishments were remanded to prison, and the inquisitors returned home to their palace.

Besides these public executions of those whom they call heretics, they have also many private ones, and these are generally in the last week of lent; for it is a maxim among the Roman Catholics that they cannot give better proofs of their penitence, than by persecuting heretics. On such occasions all the magistrates are obliged to attend, for it may be justly said, that in Roman Catholic countries the priests trample upon the rights of the people, civil or sacred.

It is a fixed maxim in the inquisition, that no regard is to be paid to the characters of men, let them be ever so exalted in rank, or spotless in their reputation. We have already seen how they treated Dominis, an archbishop, and the most learned man of his age; but the inquisition of Castile went still further, for it attempted to arraign the memory of the emperor Charles V, and to condemn his last will and testament to the flames, as heretical, together with all those who had the greatest share in his confidence and favour.

As this is a most astonishing incident, the reader will undoubtedly be very well pleased to have it at full length; for which reason we shall give it from the most undoubted authority, and such as never hath yet been contradicted. The emperor Charles V resigned the kingdom of Spain, in favour of his son Philip II, and retired to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery. As many of the German princes, subject to him, were Protestants, he continued to correspond with them till his death, and some of their letters to him having been discovered by the Dominicans, they gave it out that his motives for retiring to a convent were, that he might have an opportunity of enjoying his own private opinions. It was said, that he could not forgive himself for the ill-treatment of those brave princes whom he had conquered. Their virtues, which so eminently shone

in their distress, tarnished all his laurels, and insensibly engaged him to have some esteem for these tenets. This esteem manifested itself by the choice he made of persons suspected of heresy, for his spiritual guides. After his death, the cell in the abbey of St. Justus, where he died, was found hung round with papers, written with his own hand, upon the subjects of justification and grace; and in terms that differed but very little from the notions of Protestants.

But nothing supported the notions the monks had formed against him, so much as his last will. He left but very few pious legacies, or foundations for masses, and the whole purport differed so widely from those made by zealous Catholics, that the inquisition considered it as subject to censure. However, they were obliged to conceal their intentions, till the arrival of Philip II, his son, because they did not know his natural disposition, nor with what spirit he might be actuated. But Philip, upon his arrival in Spain, having ordered all those to be put to death who favoured the new opinions, the inquisitors became so bold, that they openly accused his father's confessors of heresy; among whom was the archbishop of Toledo, the primate and metropolitan of Spain. The king having suffered all his father's confessors to be thrown into prison, the bigotted Spaniards looked upon it as a high mark of his zeal for the Christian faith; whereas the inhabitants of other nations, looked upon it with horror: who could have imagined, that a few Dominican monks, dignified with the title of Lords of the Inquisition, would have presumed to condemn to the flames the archbishop of Toledo, the bishop of Dresse, and Dr. Caecilia, at that time three of the most learned men in Spain. But they did so, and although Philip was a most relentless bigot, yet he had that much honour left in him, that he would not suffer those men to be burnt alive, who had been long connected with his father in the most intimate manner.

Hitherto we have only treated of the punishment of heretics in Spain, we shall now proceed to the account of this horrid tribunal in Portugal. At the time of the establishment of the inquisition, Spain and Portugal were so nearly connected, that frequently they formed but one kingdom. However, in 1557, while the two nations were disunited, a Dominican friar went to Portugal, where he produced a bull, which he pretended to have received from the pope, authorising him to establish the inquisition. Whether this bull was forged, or whether he received it from the pope, cannot be certainly known; but be that as it may, John III, at that time king of Portugal, ordered the friar to be condemned to the gallies for life.

This, however, did not hinder the inquisitors from carrying on their design; for such is the inflexible severity of the Roman Catholics, that nothing can

set bounds to their malice against those whom they call heretics. The king of Portugal, however, procured privately from Rome, a brief, containing a free pardon for all those who had been accused of Judaism, or any other crimes of which the inquisition took notice; and in consequence thereof, the prison doors were set open, and all those confined in them, restored to their former liberty. This was rather galling to the inquisitors, but they were obliged to submit, and dissemble their resentment till a more favourable opportunity offered.

The Duke of Braganza being raised to the throne of Portugal, under the title of John IV, would undoubtedly have abolished the inquisition in his dominions, had his reign been long and peaceable. That judicious prince was sensible of the many abuses committed by the inquisitors, who where all sworn to secrecy; and he was no stranger to the characters of many who sat as judges in that tribunal. Pride and avarice were their ruling motives, and under the stale pretence of promoting piety, they trampled upon civil right, and murdered their fellow creatures.

This prince issued a proclamation, ordering, that all such persons as should be convicted of heresy, should be referred to the civil power for judgment, and that their goods should not be seized on by the inquisitors, as had been formerly the practice. This declaration astonished and alarmed the inquisitors, because it tended towards taking from them the greatest part of their emoluments. This made them have recourse to every expedient, in order to set things upon their former footing; and they played their tricks so well, that they at last obtained a brief from the pope, unknown to the king, by which his holiness ordained, that all forfeitures should be paid into the inquisition in the same manner as they were before the king's declaration; and all those who refused to comply, were to be excommunicated. The inquisitors having prevailed thus far, waited in a body upon the king, just as he was returning from paschal communion, when one of them, in the name of the rest, besought him to give them leave to read the bull they had received from his holiness, and they desired further; that it might be read publicly in the hearing of the whole court.

The king having listened to them with the greatest attention, after a few minutes pause, asked them who was to enjoy the profits arising from the fines imposed upon heretics? They answered, "the king himself was to enjoy them." "Since it is so, (replied the king) there can be no manner of doubt but I have a right to dispose of my own in what manner I please; I shall therefore order that all sorts of goods seized from those persons called heretics, be immediately restored to their nearest relations."

It is not much to be wondered, that the inquisitors

were enraged at this order, but they were obliged to submit to it, and so long as this prince lived, all the goods seized from those persons called heretics, were restored to their relations; and from this circumstance we may learn, that when the reigning prince is a man of spirit, he will not suffer his subjects to be trampled on by the priests.

But no sooner was the king dead, than the inquisitors represented to the queen, his widow, that as the late king, her husband, had acted in direct opposition to the orders of the pope, he had thereby incurred the sentence of excommunication, with which all were threatened in the pope's brief, who opposed it. This queen, who was not endowed with so much fortitude and resolution as her husband, consented that the inquisitors should march in a body, clothed in their robes, and at the royal tomb, pronounce the sentence of excommunication: and it was to be done in the presence of the two king's sons. The reader will easily perceive, that the excommunication, pronounced upon the body of the late king, was no more than a trick to impose upon the grandees of the kingdom, and frighten the common people, and to support the authority of the inquisition in all its horrors. Their success was equal to their wishes, and in a short time, the power of the inquisition became so predominant in Portugal, that the civil magistrates were obliged to submit to it.

In 1672, one of the churches in Lisbon was robbed, and the thieves not only stole all the sacred vessels, but they even scattered the sacred wafers upon the pavement. This horrid act of sacrilege made great noise in Lisbon, and the priests insinuated that it must have been done by the new Christians, or heretics, names which they always give to Protestants. The magistrates of Lisbon immediately issued out an order for searching the houses of all such as could be suspected of guilt on this occasion; and this order was executed with so much severity, that the officers insisted upon knowing where such persons had been as were out of their own houses that night. A vast multitude of people of both sexes, were seized upon the most trifling suspicion, so that the prisons were crowded, and although the prisoners were examined with the greatest strictness, yet no discovery was made, although it furnished an opportunity for the inquisitors to prefer false accusations against the Jews and Protestants.

In this juncture, the inquisitors, who are the professed enemies of all those who differ from them in religious sentiments, seen to have suddenly suppressed their mock zeal; for when it was proposed, that all the Jews and Protestants in Lisbon should be banished, they petitioned against it. This was a deep laid scheme, and the reason they gave for such

extraordinary behaviour, which surprised every one, was, that they could not, in conscience, send into foreign countries, where every man lived just as he thought proper, persons who were weak and unstable in the faith, and who, because they would have no restraint laid upon them, would soon abandon the Christian profession. However, all men of sense plainly perceived, that the heads of the inquisition would not have acted in this manner, had they not been under apprehensions that their power would have sunk, and their importance been disregarded, if those people had been driven out of the kingdom. By such an event they would have lost the opportunity of satiating their abominable avarice, by seizing their goods, nor could their savage minds have been glutted with the blood of human sacrifices. The inquisitors gained their ends, and those persons whom they stigmatized as Jews and heretics, were permitted to remain in Lisbon; but it gave no small uneasiness to the inquisitors, to find that the civil magistrates were exerting themselves in order to discover the persons who had been guilty of the sacrilege.

Whilst the magistrates were thus employed in searching out for the wretch who had robbed the church, a thief, (and as good fortune would have it) a Roman Catholic, was apprehended in committing a robbery near Lisbon. He was immediately committed to prison, and upon searching him, they found the crucifix and some other things that had been stolen out of the church. Being examined how he came by these things, he confessed, that he alone was guilty of it, that he had thrown away the wafers but kept the crucifix, which led to his detection; and he was soon afterwards broke alive upon the wheel, and all those who had been taken up on suspicion were released from prison.

But the rage of the inquisitors did not stop here, for those Protestants whom the inquisitors had ordered to be set at liberty, were again apprehended on suspicion, and the nobility demeaned themselves so low, that they even became spies and informers against some of their own order. It was represented to the king, that if these heretics were permitted to go on in propagating their opinions, the whole kingdom would be over-run by heresy, and inevitable destruction would follow. Some of the Portuguese nobility, however, were of a different opinion; for they represented to the king, that the New Christians, or the Protestant, were good subjects, and therefore they ought not to be persecuted. The king was so struck with the reasons they advanced, that he commanded his ambassador at the court of Rome to solicit for a brief, to grant an indulgence to the Protestants, so far as that they should in all cases wherein they were accused, have an opportunity of being heard by council.



The pope complied with the king's request, and the New Christians were permitted to have council assigned them, both at Rome and in Portugal, to plead in their defence, with respect to any thing that might be alledged against them, by the inquisitors. Accordingly, the council drew up a memorial which they presented to the pope, praying that his holiness would order the records of some former judgments of the inquisition to be laid before him, that he might judge whether those who had been condemned to the flames, were guilty or not, and in case he found that any thing was wrong, he would apply suitable remedies for the future. His holiness listened attentively to their grievances, and seemed to be much affected with them, and, as a proof of his sincerity, sent an order to the inquisitors to transmit to him copies of all the records, relating to the ancient mode of prosecuting heretics. This was a most dreadful blow to the inquisitors, who, with good reason, imagined, that if they complied with the pope's orders, all their secrets would be laid open, and their pride demolished. At last, they resolved to obey the papal mandate, but his holiness, who seems to have been a most arrant hypocrite, first ordered the inquisitors to be excommunicated to save appearances, and then he absolved them as persons who had been wrongfully accused.

The methods used in proceeding against heretics in Portugal, differ in many respects from those used in Spain; for in Portugal they are more reserved, so that it is not an easy matter to discover all their secrets. All accusations are taken in such a secret manner, that the person accused knows nothing concerning it, till he is apprehended and committed to prison. When a person accused is apprehended, he is immediately treated as if he had been guilty; all his effects are seized, and his wife and children are turned out of doors, nor dare any persons whatever contribute towards their subsistence.

When a familiar, who is one of the spies of the inquisition, has apprehended a criminal, he orders him to follow him, and with that order he is obliged to comply. All the way as they go along, the officer does every thing in his power to induce the prisoner to confess his guilt, telling him, that if he will do so, the holy inquisition will have compassion upon him, and restore him to his family: but if he will not confess any thing, he is told, that he must lay many months in prison, and that at last he will be burned for a heretic.

The delinquent being brought to the inquisition, he is accosted by the secretary, who delivers him to the gaoler, who, with two of his followers, carry him to prison, and exhort him to make an unfeigned confession, as the only means to save him from being burnt alive. And here it is necessary to ob-

servation are so numerous, that the unwearied are easily led into snares; and multitudes accuse themselves when they are not guilty. When the prisoner is brought into his cell, he is searched, and every thing, whether gold, silver, or even images of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin, are taken from him.

All sorts of books are taken away from them, it being a maxim in the inquisition, that those who are suspected of heresy, shall neither enjoy temporal nor spiritual consolation. It is, however, allowed by the inquisition, that when the gaoler shall testify under his hand, that he believes a person's life to be in danger, then in such cases, a confessor is allowed to be sent for; and this may serve to shew, that the inquisitors in Portugal, are only solicitous to keep up the appearance of religion.

The secretary of the inquisition, having received the prisoner from the familiar at the gate, he delivers him to two of his deputies, who convey him to a dungeon. Here two strong doors are shut upon him, and he is confined to a room twelve feet long, and ten wide. This cell is very dark, there being no light to it, besides what comes in at a small crevice in the top; and it is so uncheering to the prisoner, that he spends the whole day in wishing for night, purely to enjoy the light of a dim lamp, which the inquisitors allow him. In these miserable dungeons, they are allowed three earthen pots to make water in, and another for the more necessary affairs of life; and as these are emptied only once a week, it may easily be supposed how abominable the smell of the place must be. In summer, during the warm season, worms are often found to crawl up the walls of the room; and if there are many prisoners, four or five are frequently thrust into one bed, where they have not an opportunity of laying together, so that they are obliged to stretch themselves out in the midst of the filth.

It is impossible to say, whether the prisoners are more happy in having company, or being alone. If they are alone their solitude is dreadful; and, in case they have company, they are under the necessity of bearing with all their ill humours, infirmities, and errors. But the most dangerous companion a prisoner can have, is one who has confessed himself: that is, one who has acknowledged his errors. Such a one is perpetually persuading others to do the same, by assuring them they have no other way left to save their lives. Adding, that they ought not to be ashamed to do what so many good people have done before them, and which they themselves, who give this advice, have also done. Nay, it frequently happens, that the person who gives this advice, is one employed by the inquisition, and who, in the end, becomes an informer, and an evidence. It is frequent, in Portugal, to remove prisoners from one cell to another, where they meet with new compa-

nions, of whom they had no former acquaintance, but who frequently laying hold of some unguarded expression, become evidences against them, and save themselves by condemning others; for it is a maxim in the inquisition, to make the life of every prisoner as miserable as possible, so that contrary to nature, they may even wish for death.

The prisoners in these miserable dungeons, have not the consolation of bewailing their misfortunes; for if any of them are heard to make the least noise, they are gagged, and whipped most cruelly. This is done to frighten the rest, who, while the prisoner is punished in this manner, a person is heard calling aloud, that the prisoner is whipped by order of the lords the inquisitors for having made a noise, or for having beat upon the walls of his cell. Many criminals have been whipped so cruelly for only bewailing their misery, that they had been lame ever after, and some have actually died without any notice having been taken of those who tormented them.—These punishments are inflicted on all sorts of persons, without the least distinction of age, sex, or quality, insomuch that they barbarously strip women of the strictest virtue, and whip them in the most cruel manner. But the most inhuman circumstance is, that when a person confined in a cell complains of his sufferings, or bewails his misery, then all those who are in the same cell, are to be punished along with him. In Portugal, all trials in the inquisition are to be carried on in the following manner: the prisoner, being brought before the secretary, is ordered to kneel down, and then he is asked his name, country, profession, place of abode, and religion, and a thousand other such trifling questions; all of which are set down in writing, and signed by the prisoner. Some prisoners, after having been called to the first audience, are remanded to prison, and sometimes confined two or three years. and others are brought to their trials within a few days.

To confine men so long, and leave them uncertain with respect to their fate, is certainly a very cruel circumstance, but it is done in order to extort a confession from the prisoner. But these uncertain delays frequently reduce a prisoner to despair; and so unhappy is his situation, that he often desires to become an evidence rather than undergo the severity of torture; nay, and frequently accuses himself of crimes which he never committed. But after a prisoner has made all these declarations, yet he is remanded to prison, under the pretence that some other crimes are laid to his charge, by persons with whom he is utterly unacquainted. Nay, it often happens that the prisoners hear things repeated with which they are so much unacquainted, that they do not know who had given information against them.

Being brought a third time before the inquisitors, he is commanded to take an oath that he will tell

nothing but the truth, and this he is to do in hopes of obtaining mercy. If he is suspected of Judaism, the two following questions are proposed to him: Did you leave the law of Christ, in order to follow that of Moses? or, Do you know any person who have done so? Have you, consistent with the law of Moses, abstained from swine's flesh, from that of hares, rabbits, or fish that have no shells? The unhappy prisoner having answered these questions in the negative, is immediately remanded back to prison, nor does he know when his fate will be determined. This is one of the maxims of the inquisition, "That it is much better for a man to die in prison than to be publicly executed;" and in consequence of this diabolical maxim, many poor miserable creatures are slowly murdered, and sometimes it is given out that they have laid violent hands on themselves. It sometimes happens, that all the force and severity of the tortures cannot extort a confession from the prisoner, who knows himself to be innocent, and even when a confession is extorted by torture, no mercy is to be expected from the inquisitors, although solemnly promised to the unhappy prisoner.

James de Mello, a native of Lisbon, a gentleman descended from a noble family, and a knight of the order of Christ, had served many years as a captain of horse, with great honour and distinction. He had various doubts in his mind concerning some of the tenets of popery; and therefore became almost a Protestant. His wife and two sons followed his example, but all of them continued to dissemble their sentiments, and always pretended to be much pleased when they heard of heretics being apprehended. Dissimulation, when we are convinced of the truth, is a most horrid crime indeed, and Divine Providence generally points out some way by which it is punished. Thus it happened to this James de Mello; for a relation of his being apprehended and committed to the prison of the inquisition, whether from motives of revenge, or the hopes of pardon, is not certainly known, but we find that he went and gave information against his friend.

Upon this they were all thrown into prison, and as the lady and her children had been tenderly brought up, and hitherto unacquainted with adversity, they soon became very uneasy under their confinement, and therefore, through the persuasions of the gaolers, resolved to make an open confession. Deluded by this advice, they all accused the person who was, by all the bonds of tenderness, the dearest to them in the world. The consequence was, that the captain was found guilty of hypocrisy and heresy, and at the next act of faith he was burnt alive, acknowledging with his last breath, that he was a sincere believer in Jesus Christ. But there are many other instances which could be mentioned, although the following may suffice.

Alphonse Nobre, a nobleman of high rank, who had served the king of Portugal many years as an officer of state, had the misfortune to be accused of heresy, and was committed to the prison of the inquisition. As the inquisitors are strangers to mercy, so we find that they tampered so much with the son and daughter of this nobleman, that, induced by false promises, they went and accused their father. The consequence was, the old nobleman was condemned, and as he was walking along with the other convicts in the procession, to what is called the act of faith, it happened that he passed close by his son. Here was an affecting scene indeed; for the conscience of the unhappy youth being wounded, he fell on his knees and implored pardon of his father, and his blessing. The father answered, "I pardon you for having brought me into this condition, through your baseness, because I hope that God will pardon you, but I cannot give you my blessing." When Christ lamented the condition of the Jews, he did not bless them. He prayed that God would forgive the unhappy young man, and then cheerfully embraced the stake.

At Torres Alvas, a city in Portugal, there was a laundress who had two sons, and these being accused of heresy, were committed to the prison of the inquisition in Lisbon. They both persisted in their innocence, for which they were declared obstinate, and their mother having been suspected, was put to the torture, and she and her two sons were burnt alive, in the midst of a vast concourse of people.—But Protestants and Jews are not the sole objects of persecution in the inquisition; even merit, when found in one of their own members, will render him obnoxious to them. That this is no more than truth, will appear from the following instances.

In the Franciscan convent at Lisbon, was a friar of the name of De Costa, whose father had been register of the inquisition. This man, though a professed Roman Catholic, yet, as a man of humanity, often lamented the unhappy condition of the poor afflicted Jews. This was taken notice of by some of his brethren, whom he had endeavoured to convert to the same sentiments of tenderness and compassion. Some of these gave information against him to the inquisition, and after he had been confined in prison upwards of a year, was burnt alive.

Francis de Alevido Cabras, a native of Elvas, in Portugal, and son of the chief magistrate of that city, became a most violent persecutor of the Protestants, and gave information against his own mother and aunt, who, in consequence thereof, were both burnt alive. Soon after this act of unnatural barbarity, the young gentleman had the impudence to visit his aged father, who, notwithstanding the dreadful consequences that might have happened, turned him out of doors. The young gentleman went into Spain,

where he finished his education; but having embraced the sentiments of the Jews, he was committed to the prison of the inquisition, and afterwards burnt alive; and thus we find Providence conducts the affairs of the lower world. There are many other instances that might be mentioned of persons being put to death who never were Protestants; but it always has been a rule in the proceedings of the inquisition, to brand those with the name of Jews, who are in reality Roman Catholics. Thus for these many years, when we read of any person condemned by the inquisition, they are called heretics or Jews, but none of them are ever mentioned as Roman Catholics. This, however, is a gross imposition upon the people, for there are many Roman Catholics who suffer death by the inquisition, and if they are rich, it is often done to seize upon their estates, and when once they have planned the destruction of the unhappy person, it is no difficult matter to get it accomplished.

When a reasonable thinking man reads the history of the inquisition, and, upon inquiry, finds that all that has been said concerning it is true, he will naturally conclude, that the inquisitors are the declared enemies of humanity, and that the church of Rome, by whose authority they act, must be not only anti-christian, but even the mother of harlots, and abomination of the earth. This will appear the more evident, when we consider, that they are not contented with confining its direful effects to those European countries where they reign in triumph; for wherever they can make settlements in the utmost extremity of the world, they carry along with them their persecuting notions, and their horrid practices.

The Portuguese having established a settlement at Goa in the East Indies, they sent there a whole cargo of priests, and amongst these a considerable number of Dominican friars. Hence an inquisition was established, and the heathens, who knew nothing of Christianity, were forbid to worship their idols, and so became Christians without knowing any thing of the gospel. This inquisition at Goa was founded on the same principles as those in Portugal, and all the prisoners were locked up in separate cells, so that four turnkeys were sufficient to secure two hundred. The prison of the inquisition at Goa is a most dreadful place indeed, for it is so constructed that the light never enters into it. Nay, the unhappy prisoners have no where to ease nature, but the ground upon which they lay, and this is the reason why so many of them die, merely on account of the nastiness, and the noxious steam arising from their own excrements. It is true, the Portuguese have now lost all their territories in that part of the world, but they have left behind them indelible marks of their cruelty. Of this we have a shocking



instance in the case of one Mr. Dellon, a French gentleman, who was apprehended and imprisoned by the inquisition at Goa, and lest it should be supposed that we attempt to mislead our readers, we shall here relate the whole particulars as written by himself. The whole of the narrative is so simple and artless, that it carries along with it all those marks of truth, which any reasonable person could desire.

"When I found," says he, "that I was kept a whole day and night in the cell, without being examined, I began to flatter myself that I might continue in it till my affair was concluded; but all my hopes vanished, when an officer of the inquisition came the 16th of January, at eight in the morning, and brought orders for carrying us to the Santa Casa, which was immediately executed. The irons with which I was loaded, were in walking very painful to me; however, we were obliged to walk on foot thus fettered, from the cell to the inquisition. I was helped in going up the stairs, when I entered with my companions the great hall, where several smiths knocked off our irons; which done, I was first called to audience.

After having crossed the hall, I went to an antichamber, and from thence into another apartment, where I found my judge. This place was called by the Portuguese, *Mesa do Santo Officio*, i. e. the table or tribunal of the holy office. It was hung with blue and yellow taffeta. At one end of it was a large crucifix in relief, placed against the hangings, and reached up almost to the ceiling. In the middle of the chamber was a large alcove, on which was fixed a table near fifteen feet long and four over. There was also over the alcove, two easy chairs, and several other seats round the table; and at the end, on one side of the crucifix, was the secretary seated on a folding chair. I was placed at the other end, opposite to the secretary: very near me, and at my right hand was seated, in one of these easy chairs, the great inquisitor of the Indies, Francisco Delgado e Matos, a secular priest about forty. He was alone, because then, of the two inquisitors who are generally in Goa, the second, who is always a Dominican friar, was embarked for Portugal a little while before, and the king had not yet nominated any person to succeed him.

At my coming into the hall of audience, I threw myself at the feet of my judge, imagining the supplicant posture I was in would move him to compassion; but he would not suffer me to continue in it, and therefore immediately ordered me to rise.—Then having asked me my name and my profession, he asked me whether I knew the reason why I had been imprisoned? whereupon he exhorted me to declare it immediately, and it was the only means left me to recover my liberty instantly. After having

answered these two first questions, I told him that I believed I knew the reason for my being imprisoned, and that in case he would be pleased to hear me, I would immediately accuse myself. I mingled tears with my intreaties, and thereupon I threw myself a second time at his feet; but my judge told me with great coolness, that I might take my time, for that matters were not urgent; that he had affairs upon his hands of much greater consequence than mine; that he would give me notice at a proper season, when immediately he rang a little bell for the alcaid, or turnkey of the prison. This officer came into the hall, and conducted me to a long gallery not far distant from it, whither we were followed by the secretary.

Here my trunk was brought, which was opened before me; upon which I was searched very narrowly, and every thing I had about me was taken away to the very buttons of my sleeves, and a ring which I wore on my finger; inasmuch that they left me nothing but my beads, my handkerchief, and a few pieces of gold which I had sewed up in a ribbon, and were lodged very carefully between leg and stocking, which they happened to overlook. A pretty exact inventory was immediately drawn up of all the rest; but all this was of no service to me, since nothing of value was afterwards restored to me, notwithstanding that the secretary assured me, and the inquisitor also, that all I had would be faithfully restored to me the instant I should be released.

The inventory being drawn up, the alcaid took me by the hand, and carried me to a dungeon ten feet square, where I was confined alone, nor did I see a living soul till the evening, when the supper was brought me. As I had not eat any thing either that or the preceding day, I eat what was given me very heartily, and slept better upon it. The turnkey coming the next morning with my breakfast, I desired to have my books, and combs; but they told me, that prisoners are never allowed to have books, not even a priest to have his breviary, though he be obliged to repeat divine service; and that as for my combs, I should not want them; and indeed this was very true, for they immediately cut off my hair, a custom observed with regard to both women and men, though of the greatest quality, the first or second day at farthest, of their imprisonment.

I had been told, when I was first imprisoned that when I should want any thing, I need do no more than knock gently at the door, in order to call the turnkeys, or to ask for what I wanted at meal-time; and that when I was desirous of going to the audience, I need only address myself to the alcaid, because the turnkeys never speak to the prisoners, without having some person along with them. I

had also been flattered with the hopes, that I should be set at liberty immediately after my confession, which made me continually importune my officers to let me be carried before my judges; but notwithstanding all my tears and intreaties, I was not indulged with it, till the last day of January 1674.

The alcaid, accompanied with a turnkey, came to me for that purpose about two in the afternoon. I dressed as he ordered me, and came out of my dungeon bare-legged and bare-footed, the gaoler going before, and the turnkey after me. In this order we walked to the gate of the chamber where audience is given. Here the alcaid advancing a little forward, and making a low bow, came out again, upon which I went in. Here I found the inquisitor and secretary as before. Immediately I fell upon my knees, but was ordered to rise and seat myself, upon which I sat down upon a bench which was placed at the end of the table, on the side where the judges sat. Just by me, and at the end of the table was a mass book, on which I was ordered to lay my hand, and to promise that I would swear to the truth, and to keep inviolable secrecy, which are two oaths required of all who appear before this tribunal, whether they come to give in their depositions, or to receive any orders.

I was afterwards asked, whether I knew the reason of my being imprisoned, and if I were resolved to declare it? to which I answered, That I was fully determined to do so. Upon which I made an exact declaration of all I had before related with regard to baptism and the worship of images; but did not mention any thing I had said with respect to the inquisition, they not occurring at that time to my memory. The judge having again asked me whether I had any more to say? and being told that I could not think of any thing else, was so far from setting me at liberty, as I had flattered myself I should be, that he concluded the audience with these words:

That I had done very well to accuse myself voluntarily, and that he exhorted me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to declare immediately the remainder of my information, in order that I might experience the goodness and mercy which that tribunal indulges to all who prove the sincerity of their repentance, by a genuine and voluntary confession. My declaration and the exhortation being ended and written down, it was read to me, and I signed it: which being done, the inquisitor rang a little bell to call the alcaid, who came and carried me back to prison in the same order I came.

I was carried a second time before the judge, with out my desiring it, on the 15th of February, which made me suppose that he intended to set me at liberty. Being come, I was again asked whether I had any more to say? I was exhorted not to disguise any circumstance, but on the contrary to make a

sincere confession of my faults. I answered, that after a very serious self-examination, I could not think of any fresh particulars. I then was asked my name, those of my father, my mother, brothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, godfathers and godmothers, whether I were a Christian of eight days standing; because children are not baptized in Portugal till the eighth day after their birth, nor are childbed women church'd till the fortieth day after their lying-in, though they had never so easy a delivery. The judge seemed to be surprised, when I told him that the custom of deferring the baptism of children a whole week was not practised in France; but that on the contrary, they were always christened as soon as convenience would permit. It is pretty evident by the observance of these mosaic ceremonies, that notwithstanding the Portuguese pretend to have the Jews in so much abhorrence, they yet are not so good Christians as they ought to be. But this is not the greatest evil which flows from the observance of these Jewish institutions; for from the former it happens but too frequently, that children die without being regenerated by the sacrament of baptism, and are by that means excluded heaven for ever; and in order not to violate the ceremony of purification, which ought to cease after the gospel dispensation, the Portuguese women do not, in the least, scruple to act in contempt to an injunction of the church, which obliges all Christians to assist every Sunday, and every festival, at the holy sacrifice of the mass, unless they happen to be prevented from so doing by some lawful cause.

I was further asked the name of the person who baptised me, in what diocese, what city, and lastly, whether I had ever been confirmed, and by what bishop? Having answered these several questions, I was ordered to kneel down, to make the sign of the cross, to repeat the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, the creed, the commandments of God and the church, and the *Salva Regina*. In fine, he concluded as before, with exhorting me by the bowels of Jesus, to confess immediately the several crimes and errors I had not yet revealed; which being written down and read before me, and signed by myself, I was remanded back to prison.

From the first moment of my confinement, I had always been in the deepest affliction, and shed incessant tears; but at my return from the second audience, I abandoned myself entirely to grief, when I found that I was required to confess such things as to me appeared impossible, since I could not recollect any such circumstances as I was ordered to confess. I therefore endeavoured to starve myself; not but I took all the sustenance that was brought me, because in case I had refused it, I should have been beat by the turnkeys, who always examine very carefully, upon their taking the plates back, whether the pri-

sowers eat enough to support nature; but my despair suggested methods to elude their vigilance in this particular. I spent whole days without taking a morsel, and used to throw part of what was given me into the basin, to prevent its being seen. This severe abstinence entirely prevented my sleeping and now I did nothing but macerate my body in this manner, and shed floods of tears. However, in these days of sorrow and lamentation, I revolved in my mind all the errors of my past life, and confessed that all my misery was a judgment from heaven upon me: I even persuaded myself, that God perhaps had employed these severe, but salutary methods to call me to himself; when being a little revived and comforted with these reflections, I sincerely implored the assistance of the holy virgin, who is equally the comforter of the afflicted, and the refuge and asylum of sinners; and indeed I have had so visible a demonstration of her protection, as well during my imprisonment, as on several other occasions, that I cannot forbear making this public testimony thereof.

In fine, after having made a more exact, or more happy recollection of all I had said or done during my residence at Damán, I remembered the several expressions I had used touching the inquisition, and the integrity thereof: upon which I immediately desired to be admitted to audience, but this however was not granted me till the 16th of March following. I made no doubt upon my appearance this time before the judge, but that I should then put an end to my unhappy affair, and after the confession I was going to make, be immediately set at liberty; but when I thought my wishes upon the point of being accomplished, I saw myself immediately fall from my most sanguine hopes; because that when I had declared every thing I had to say with regard to the inquisition, I was told that this was not what was expected from me; and having nothing else to say, I was immediately remanded back, nor would they so much as write down my confession. Despair having prompted M. Dellon to make away with himself, advice thereof was given to the inquisitors, who ordered him to be brought to audience; but he was so weak, that he was forced to be carried thither. I there, continues he, was laid along the floor, my extreme weakness not allowing me either to sit or stand.

Then the inquisitor reproached me several times; gave orders for my being carried away, and handcuffs to be put upon me, to prevent my forcing off the chains with which I was bound. This was immediately executed, and I was not only handcuffed, but an iron machine was clapt about my neck, which held to the handcuffs, and was locked with a padlock; so that it was now impossible for me to stir my arms. But this treatment only exasperated me

the more; I threw myself on the ground, and struck my head against the floor and the walls; and had I been bound but a little longer in that manner, I should infallibly have got my arms at liberty, and should have died with it: But as I was continually watched, they found by my actions, that severity was very unseasonable at this time, that it were better to employ gentle methods.

Upon this my irons were knocked off, endeavours were made to comfort me with delusive hopes. I was put into another cell, and had again a companion given me, who was ordered to watch me narrowly. This prisoner was a black, but much more unsocial than my former companion. Nevertheless heaven, who had preserved me from so great an evil, banished the despair which sat brooding over me, a circumstance in which I was more happy than many others, who frequently made away with themselves in their confinement in these dungeons, where no consolation is ever allowed to enter. This companion continued about two months with me; for as soon as I appeared to be easier in my mind, he was taken from me, notwithstanding my weakness was so great, that I could scarce walk from my bed to the door of my cell, when victuals were brought me. In fine, after having spent almost a year in this manner, I was seasoned to affliction, and providence afterwards ended me with so much patience, that I never made any more attempts upon my own life.

I had been about eighteen months in this confinement, when the judges, being informed that I was in a condition to speak, sent for me the fourth time to audience, where I was asked, whether I was not resolved to answer what was required of me? Having replied, that I could not recollect a single circumstance more, the proctor of the inquisition appeared with his declaration, in order to signify to me the several informations which had been exhibited against me.

In all the other examinations I had accused myself, and they were contented with hearing my deposition without descending to particulars, and had remanded me back to my cell the instant I protested I had no more to declare against myself; but in this fourth examination I was accused, and was allowed to defend myself. They read to me, in the informations which were exhibited against me, the several things wherein I had accused myself. These facts were true, and I had confessed them by my own proper impulse, consequently I had nothing to object against these facts; but then I flattered myself, that I could prove to the judges that they were not so criminal as they were thought to be. I therefore answered, with regard to what I had advanced on baptism, that I did not any ways intend to oppose the doctrine of the church; but that the passage,



Unless a man is born of water and of the spirit, he cannot inherit the kingdom of God, having appeared very express to me, I desired an explication of it. The chief inquisitor seemed surprized, that I should mention a passage that every one knows by heart, and his surprize raised my astonishment. He asked me where that passage was to be found; I answered in the Gospel according to St. John, chapter 3, verse 5. He then ordered the New Testament to be brought, looked out the place, read it, but did not explain it to me. However, he was very glad to inform me, that it was sufficiently explained by tradition; because the church has always looked upon as baptized, not only all those who died for our Lord Jesus Christ, without having received the ordinary form of baptism, but also those who desiring to be baptized, and repenting of their sins, have died suddenly unbaptized.

It is really surprizing that persons who are established judges over others in matters of faith, should be profoundly ignorant; and I must confess, that I could scarce believe this circumstance myself, though I had been an eye-witness to it, and have it perfectly fresh in my memory, had I not found in Tavernier's Voyages, that how reserved soever father Ephraim of Nevers may be on matters relating to the inquisitors, who tortured him so cruelly, he yet breaks out in the following expression: That nothing shocked him so much as the stupid ignorance of those inquisitors.

The proctor, when he read the informations, had said that besides what I myself had confessed, I was moreover accused and clearly convicted of having spoke with contempt of the inquisition and its ministers, and of having spoke with great disrespect of the pope and his authority. He concluded that the stubbornness I had hitherto shewn in slighting so much charitable advice which had been given me, being a manifest proof that I concealed very pernicious designs; and that having designed to teach and foment heresy, I consequently was become obnoxious to the major excommunication; that my goods and chattels ought to be forfeited to the king, and myself delivered over to the executioner, in order to be consumed in the flames.

I leave the reader to judge the tortures which these conclusions of the proctor raised in my breast; notwithstanding, I can truly affirm, that how dreadful soever those words may be, yet death would have been more welcome than imprisonment. Thus, in spite of the terror with which I was seized, I had yet spirits enough left to answer the accusations which were then exhibited against me, in saying that I never had harboured any sinister intentions; that I had ever continued a true Catholic: that all those I had conversed with in India, would vouch the truth thereof, particularly Father Ambrose and

Father Ives, both French capuchins, who had frequently heard my confessions. (I knew after I was set at liberty, that Father Ives was actually at Goa at the very time when I called upon his testimony.) That I had sometimes gone fifty miles to celebrate Easter; that if I had been any ways inclined to entertain heretical principles, I might easily have settled in those countries in the Indies, where a full liberty of speaking is allowed; and consequently, that I should not, had matters stood thus, have settled in the dominions of the king of Portugal; that so far from disputing against religion, I had, on the contrary, often argued with heretics in defence of it; that indeed I remembered I had spoke with too much freedom, when I was before the inquisitor; but that I was greatly surprized they would impute that very thing to me as a heinous crime, which they had looked upon as a trifle, when I offered to declare it about a year and a half ago: that as to the particulars which related to his holiness, I could not recollect that I had expressed myself in the manner laid to my charge; but nevertheless, if they would please to descend to particulars, I would sincerely confess the truth.

Then the inquisitor told me, that I was allowed time to consider of those articles which related to his holiness; but that he could not sufficiently admire my impudence, in affirming that I had made confession with regard to the inquisition, since it was very certain that I had not opened my mouth upon that head: and that in case I had made my declaration upon that article, when I said I had done it, I should not have been kept so long in prison.

I remembered so perfectly every thing I had advanced, and the answers that had been made to me, and was so transported with rage to see myself mocked in that manner, that if I had been immediately ordered to withdraw, upon signing of my deposition, it would have been impossible for me to refrain from opprobrious expressions before the judge: and had I had strength and liberty equal to the courage with which my passion fired me, I perhaps should have gone further than injurious terms.

I was called three or four times to audience in a month, where I was urged to confess those particulars I had advanced with respect to the pope. A new proof was then declared to me, which the proctor pretended was drawn up against me on that head, but which did not differ in a single circumstance from what had been before urged against me. But a proof that the whole was a false accusation, and invented merely to force me to speak, is, that they would not declare to me the particulars which they pretended I had advanced. At last, finding they could get no more out of me, they said no more; and this article was not inserted in my indictment, when it was read publicly in the act of faith.

They therefore attempted again in these last audiences, to oblige me to confess, that in the several facts I agreed upon, I really intended to defend heresy; but this I was resolved never to own, since it was a falsehood. During November and December, my ears were wounded with the cries of prisoners who were put to the torture, which is so severe that I have known several persons of both sexes, who were lame all their lifetime after; and among the rest, the first companion I had in my confinement. In this holy tribunal no regard is had to age, sex, or condition, but all are treated with the same severity, and they are indiscriminately tortured, and stripped almost naked whenever the bloody-minded inquisitors are pleased to order it.

I remembered I had heard before my imprisonment, that the act of faith was generally solemnized the first Sunday in Advent, because that passage of scripture which relates to the last judgment, is read on that day in the churches, the inquisitors then pretending to exhibit a lively representation thereof.—I moreover observed, that there were a great number of persons confined in the prison, the deep silence which reigns in the house giving me an opportunity to count the number of doors which were daily opened at the stated times of eating. I was besides almost sure that a new archbishop arrived at Goa in October, the see having been vacant for almost thirty years. At least I thought so, because the bells of the cathedral had rung in an extraordinary manner for nine days together, at a time when neither the universal church, nor that of Goa in particular, solemnized any remarkable festival. I knew that this prelate was expected even before my confinement.

These several reasons made me flatter myself that I might gain my liberty in the beginning of December; but when the first and second Sunday in Advent were past, I did not doubt but either my liberty or confinement was postponed for at least twelve months. As I fancied the act of faith was never solemnized but in the beginning of the month of December, finding it elapse without the least sign of any preparation for that dreadful ceremony, I resolved to submit another year to my afflictions; nevertheless I found at a time when I least expected it, that I was likely to be set at liberty.

I observed that Saturday the 11th January, 1667, intending after dinner to give my linen to the turnkeys in order to get it washed, as was the custom, they refused to take it, and put it off till the next day. I could not but revolve a thousand thoughts on the occasion of this extraordinary refusal, but not finding one satisfactory, I at last concluded, that possibly the act of faith might be solemnized the next day; but I was more strongly confirmed in my opinion, or rather looked upon it as certain, when, after hearing the ringing for vespers at the cathedral,

matins were rung immediately after, which had never been done since my confinement, the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi excepted, which is always solemnized in India, the Thursday immediately following Low-Sunday, because of the continual rains which fall at the time of its celebration in Europe. One would have thought that my heart was going to be filled with joy, since I thought I should soon be set at liberty, and that I should come out of the grave, as it were, in which I had been buried for near two years; nevertheless, the dread with which the fatal conclusion of the proctor had filled me, and the uncertainty of my destiny, heightened my affliction to that degree, that I spent the remainder of that day, and part of the night, in such a condition as would have moved the hardest heart, those excepted under whose cruelty I suffered.

Supper was brought me, which I refused, and contrary to the custom, it was not urged upon me; but no sooner were the doors shut, than I gave myself up to grief and despair. At last, after having deplored my hard fate with sighs and tears, oppressed with the most piercing anguish, I began to dose about eleven at night. I had not been long asleep, when I was on a sudden awakened by the noise which the turnkeys made in opening the doors of my cell; and as this was unusual, I was surprised to see people enter into it with a light, and my fears were not a little increased by the lateness of the hour.

Then the alcaid gave me clothes which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to leave my cell when he should call me for that purpose; then he went away, leaving a lighted lamp in the dungeon. I now had neither strength enough to rise nor to answer; and the moment the turnkeys left me I was seized with such a trembling, that for above an hour I could not so much as cast my eyes upon the clothes which were left me. At last I rose, and falling prostrate upon the earth before a cross which I had drawn upon the wall, I recommended myself to heaven, and resigned myself wholly to Providence: after which I put on the suit, which consisted of a waistcoat, the sleeves whereof reached to the wrist, and a pair of drawers that reached to the heels; the whole made of black and white striped linen.

I did not wait long after the dress was brought me, for the turnkeys came about two in the morning into my cell, whence I was carried into a long gallery, where I found a great number of my fellow sufferers standing against the walls. Here I placed myself, and several did the same after me. Notwithstanding there were upwards of two hundred more in this gallery, there were not above a dozen whites among them, who could scarce be distinguished from the rest, and that all were clothed in the same dress with myself; yet as all of them were silent, they might easily have been taken for so many statues fixed

against the wall, had not the motion of their eyes (which was the only liberty allowed them) shewed them to be living creatures.

The gallery in which we stood had so few lamps in it, and the light of them was so very faint and weak, that this circumstance, added to the crowd of black and sorrowful objects, seemed to make the whole like a burial.

The women, who were clothed in the same linen as the men, were placed in an adjacent gallery, where we could see them; but I observed, that in a dormitory not far from the place where we stood, there were also prisoners clothed in a suit which descended very low, who walked up and down from time to time. I did not then know what this meant, but was informed a few hours after, that they were those who were to be burnt, and were walking up and down with their confessors.

As I was unacquainted with the formalities of the holy office, how heartily soever I might formerly have wished to die, I then was under dreadful apprehensions lest I should be one of those who were condemned to the flames. However, I cheered myself a little, when I considered my dress was not different from the rest, and that it was not likely such a number of people would be burnt as were there present.

After we were all placed against the wall, a yellow wax taper was given to each of us; after which clothes were brought us made like tunics, or large scapularies; they were of yellow cloth, with red St. Andrew's crosses painted before and behind. Such as are branded with these stigmas, are those who have been, or are supposed to be, guilty of crimes against the faith of Christ, whether they be Jews, Mahometans, wizards, or heretics, who have left the Catholic religion. These large scapularies with large St. Andrew's crosses are called San-benitos.

Those who are looked upon as convicts, and persist in declaring their innocence, or have relapsed, wore another kind of scapulary called Samara, the ground whereof is grey; the criminal is drawn thereon, both before and behind, standing on fire-brands, with flames mounting upwards, and devils around them. At the bottom of the portrait the crime and name of the prisoner are written. But such as accuse themselves after sentence has been pronounced upon them before their release, and have not relapsed, have flames pointing downwards on their Samaras, and this is called Reversed Fire.

San-benitos were given to twenty blacks accused of magic, and to a Portuguese convicted of the same crime, and who was moreover a new Christian; and as they were resolved not to revenge themselves by halves, but to insult me to the utmost, they forced me to put on a dress like to that of the wizards and heretics, though I had always confessed the Catholic

religion. This the judges might easily have known from a great many people, both Frenchmen and others, with whom I had lived in several parts of India. My terror was increased when I saw myself in this habit, because I thought that as there were not, among so great a number of criminals, but twenty-two persons who were dressed with these ignominious San-benitos, it was very possible that these only were those who were not to be pardoned.

After the San-benitos, five pasteboard caps were brought, shaped like a sugar-loaf, having devils and flames painted on them, with the word Wizard round them. These caps are called carochas, and were put on the heads of the five most guilty of the criminals, among those who were accused of magic: and as they stood pretty near me, I expected to have one also; however I was mistaken. I then almost doubted no more but that these miserable wretches were to be really burnt, and as they were not better acquainted than myself with the formalities of the inquisition, they have since told me, that they thought their ruin inevitable.

Every one being habited according to his imputed crime, we were allowed to sit upon the ground till farther orders. About four in the morning several domestics belonging to the prison came after the turnkeys, to give bread and figs to such as would eat; but for my part, though I had not supped the night before, I had so little appetite, that I should have taken nothing, had not one of the turnkeys come up to me, and said, take the bread that is offered you; and if you cannot eat it now, put it into your pocket, for depend upon it, you will be hungry before you come back. These words gave me the highest consolation, and dispelled all my fears, since he talked of my returning back, which made me take his advice. At last, after having long waited, day began to break above five, when one might plainly behold in the face of all the prisoners, the various impulses of shame, grief, and fear, as those different passions raged in their bosoms; for notwithstanding that they were all flushed with joy, when they found they were going to be delivered from their dreadful and unsupportable captivity, yet the uncertainty of their fate very much diminished their transports.

The largest bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, to give notice to the people of the solemnization of the act of faith, which is, as it were, the triumph of the holy office. We at first marched out one by one, and I observed in passing out of the gallery into the great hall, that the inquisitor was sitting at the door, having a secretary standing near him; that the hall was crowded with the inhabitants of Goa, whose names were written in a list which the secretary held in his hand; and



at the same time that a prisoner was ordered out, he named one of those gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately went up to the prisoner, and attended him, in order to stand godfather to him in the act of faith. These godfathers answer for the persons they attend upon, and represent them when the festival is ended. The inquisitors pretend that it is a great honour for a person to be chosen godfather on these occasions.

The general of the Portuguese ships in India was my godfather, and therefore I came out along with him; and being got into the street, I found that the procession opened with the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege because St. Dominic, their founder, instituted the inquisition. Before them, the standard of the holy office was carried, in which the image of the founder was wrought in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand, and an olive branch in the other, with this inscription, Justice and Mercy. After these friars followed the prisoners, walking one after another, with each a wax taper in his hand. The least guilty walked first, and as I was not looked upon to be very innocent, above an hundred prisoners walked before me. Men and women walked together, for there was no other distinction than that of crimes: I, like the rest, was bareheaded and barefooted, but I suffered very much in the march, which lasted above an hour, because of the little kints with which the streets of Goa, are filled, so that my feet were all bloody.

We were carried through the principal streets, exposed to the sight of innumerable spectators, who were come from all parts of India, and lined the way as we walked; care being taken to give notice of the act of faith in sermon time, in the most distant churches, a long time before its solemnization. At last, oppressed with shame and confusion, and vastly fatigued with the march, we arrived at St. Francis's church, which was then appointed to prepare the celebration of the act of faith. The high altar was covered with black, and had on it six silver candlesticks, in which were six lighted wax tapers. On each side of the altar two seats like thrones were raised; that to the right for the inquisitor and his council, and the other for the viceroy and his court.

At some distance from them, and opposite to the high altar, a little towards the door, another altar had been raised, on which two mass-books lay open. From them to the church gate, a gallery was built about three feet wide, railed in on each side; and on each side forms were placed for the criminals to sit on, with their respective godfathers, who sat down as they came into the church, so those who came first into it, sat nearest to the altar. Being seated in my place, I began to consider the order which those who came after me were made to observe.

I found that those who wore the dreadful carochas above-mentioned, walked last in the procession; that immediately a large crucifix was carried, the face of which was turned to those who walked before it, and which was followed by two persons and four statues, that were carried, big as life, and representing so many men, each of them fixed upon a long pole, and accompanied with so many boxes, each carried by a man, which boxes were filled with the bones of those whom the statues represented.

By the face of the crucifix turned towards those who preceded it, the mercy that had been shewn them is denoted, by sparing their lives, though they had justly deserved to die; and by the said crucifix's being turned behind to those who followed it, is denoted, that those unhappy wretches are now lost to all hope; thus every thing that relates to the inquisition has a mysterious signification. The dress of these unhappy persons inspired equal horror and pity. The living criminals, and the statues, were clothed in Samaris, made of grey linen, painted full of devils, flames and firebrands, on which the criminal's head was painted, both before and behind, with the sentence written below, containing in few words, and in large letters, his name, that of his country, and the crime for which he was to suffer. They also wore the carochas, which, like the habit, were filled with flames and devils. The little trunks in which the bones of those who died, were laid, and who had been prosecuted before or after their decease, or before or after their imprisonment, in order that their goods and chattels might be confiscated, were also painted black, and covered with demons and flames.

We are here to observe, that the inquisitors do not confine their jurisdictions over the living only, or such as die in prison; but that they frequently prosecute people several years after their death, whenever they may be impeached of any considerable crime. In this case their bodies are dug up, and if they are found guilty, their bones are burnt in the act of faith; all their goods and chattels are confiscated, which are forcibly taken away from their heirs. I advance nothing in this place but what I myself know to be true; for among the statues that were carried in the act of faith, one of them represented a man dead many years before, who had been lately prosecuted, his coffin dug up, his goods confiscated, and his bones burnt, or perhaps those of some other person who had been buried in the same place.

These unhappy wretches being entered in the gloomy manner above described, and seated in the places appointed them near the church door, the inquisitor came, attended by his officers, and went and seated himself on the bench that stood to the right of the altar, during which, the viceroy and his

court seated themselves to the left. The crucifix was placed on the altar, betwixt the six candlesticks, when every one being seated in his place, and the church crowded with people, the provincial of the Austin-friars went up into the pulpit, and preached for half an hour. Notwithstanding my great anguish of heart, I observed he compared the inquisition to Noah's ark; but nevertheless that he found the difference between them, viz. That the beasts who entered into the ark, came from thence after the flood, with the very identical inclinations they had carried into it; but that the inquisition had this admirable property, to make so great a change with regard to those who were imprisoned in it, that many who were cruel as lions and tigers at their going in, came out from thence as meek and as gentle as lambs. Sermon being ended, two readers went alternately into the pulpit, where they read in public the trials of the several criminals, and also their respective sentences.

The prisoner whose sentence was read, was, while that was doing, conducted by the alcaid to the middle of the gallery, where he stood, with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, till his sentence was read. And as all the prisoners are supposed to have incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication, after their trial and sentence have been read, the prisoner is carried to the foot of the high altar, on which the mass-books are laid; and there being ordered to kneel, he lays his hands on the book, and continues in that posture till every criminal has a mass-book before him.

Then the reader laying aside the trials, reads aloud the confession of faith, having first briefly exhorted the prisoners to repeat it after him with their hearts as well as their mouths; and this being done, each prisoner returned back to his place, and the trials were again read.

I was called in my turn, when I found my impeachment consisted of three heads; The first, for having asserted the invalidity of infant baptism; the second, for having said that images are not to be worshipped, and for having blasphemed a crucifix, by saying, that one of ivory was no more than a piece of ivory; and thirdly, for having spoke with contempt of the inquisition and its ministers; but above all for the blackness of my intentions when I affirmed these several things: In consideration whereof I was declared excommunicate; and for reparation, my goods and chattels were confiscated to the king's use, and myself banished from the Indies, and condemned to row in the Portuguese galleys for five years, and also to fulfil the other penances which should be particularly enjoined me by the inquisition.

Of these punishments, none was so grievous to me as my being forced to leave the Indies, where I

had made a resolution of travelling several years longer: However, this reflection was sweetened, when I considered that I was going to be released out of the clutches of the inquisitors. My confession of faith being read, I returned to my place, and made my advantage of the advice my turnkey had given me, not to refuse the bread which was offered me; for as the ceremony lasted the whole day, none of the criminals eat any thing that day but in the church.

After the trials of those who were pardoned were read, the inquisitor left his seat, in order to put on the albe and the stole; when being accompanied with about twenty priests, each having a switch in his hand, he came into the middle of the church, where, after having said several prayers, we were absolved from the excommunication, which it was pretended we had incurred, by virtue of a stroke on the back, which these priests gave to each of us with the switch.

I cannot forbear relating a circumstance, to show how grossly superstitious the Portuguese are with regard to every thing which relates to the inquisition: which is, that during the procession, and all the time I continued in the church, my godfather would never answer me, though I spoke several times to him, and besought him to give me a pinch of snuff, which he refused me for fear of being involved in the same censure as myself; but as soon as I was absolved, he embraced me, gave me snuff, and told me he then looked upon me as his brother, since the church had loosed me.

The ceremony being ended, and the inquisitor returned to his seat, the prisoners who were to be burnt were made to advance forward. There were a man, a woman, and the images of four men deceased, with the boxes in which their bones were laid: The man and woman were black Indians, and Christians, accused of magic, and condemned as relapsed; but in reality were no more wizards than those who condemned them.

Of the four images, two represented men convicted of magic, and the other two, two men both new Christians, accused of turning Jews; one whereof died in the inquisition, and the other in his own house, and had been buried many years before in his parish church. However, being accused after his death of embracing the Jewish principles, as he died very rich, the inquisitors had caused his body to be taken out of the grave, in order to burn his bones in the act of faith. Hence it is plain, that the inquisitors, like our Saviour himself, exercise a power over the living and the dead.

The trials of these unhappy persons were read, which all ended in these words: viz. That it not being in the power of the holy office to pardon them, because of their relapsing into their errors or

their impenitence, and being indispensibly obliged to punish them to the utmost rigour of the laws, they therefore delivered them over to the flames.

While these last words were pronouncing, a sergeant from the secular power advanced forward, and took possession of these unfortunate persons, who before had been struck gently on the breast by the alcaid, to shew they were abandoned by the inquisitors. In this manner the act of faith ended, and whilst the condemned criminals were carried to the river side, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the piles on which they were to be burnt, had been prepared the day before; while these things, I say, were doing, we were carried back to prison, but without observing any order as we walked.

Though I did not see them executed, yet as I had a full account of it from persons who had been present at several of these executions, I shall give a description thereof in few words. When the condemned prisoners are coming to the place where the lay-judges are assembled, they are asked what religion they chuse to profess at leaving the world? But they do not make the least mention of their trial, which is supposed to have been fair, and that they were justly condemned, the inquisition being looked upon as infallible.

Having answered this only question that is asked them, the executioners lay hold of them, and tie them to stakes; where they are first strangled in case they die Christians; but if they persist in professing Judaism or heresy, they are burnt alive; However this happens so rarely, that there is scarce one instance of it in four acts of faith, though several persons generally suffer on those occasions. The day after the execution, the pictures of the executed criminals are carried to the church of the Dominicans. Their heads only are to be represented to the life, with firebrands under them, with their names, those of their father's, and their country, and the crimes for which they suffered, with the day of the month and year of their execution.

In case the criminal had relapsed into his guilt, these words are written under his picture, He was burnt as an heretic relapsed. If he persevered in his error, after having been accused but once, the words, Continuing in heresy, are written under his picture; but there are very few of these. In fine, if after having been accused but once, by a sufficient number of witnesses, he persists in asserting his innocence, and dies in professing the Christian religion, then there is under his picture, He was burnt as an heretic convict; but did not confess. And of the latter there are great numbers. Now it is certain, that out of an hundred who die as negatives, ninety-nine are not only innocent of the crime imputed to them,

but chuse to die, rather than falsely confess themselves guilty of a crime. For it is not natural to suppose, that was a man sure to be pardoned in case he would confess, would persist in his innocence, and chuse rather to be burnt than to own a truth, the confession of which would save him.

These terrible portraits are hung up in the nave, and over the great gate of the church, as so many illustrious trophies sacred to the glory of the holy office; and when the side of the church is filled, they also crowd the wings near the gate with them. In the great church of the Dominicans at Lisbon, which is not far from the inquisition, there are several hundreds of these melancholy paintings.

I was so wearied and dejected at my return from the act of faith, that I was almost as desirous of going back to my cell, as I had been a little before to come out of it. My godfather accompanied me to the hall, and the alcaid having carried me into the gallery, I went and shut myself up whilst he was looking after the rest. Being got in, I threw myself upon the bed till my supper should be brought me, which consisted only of bread and figs, the hurry of the day not allowing the officers to get any thing else. I slept however much better this night than I had done for a considerable time before, but the moment day appeared, I was impatient to know my fate. About six, the alcaid bid me give him back the dress I had worn in the procession, which I willingly returned him; and at the same time offered him the San-benito, but he would not receive it, I being to wear it on all Sundays and festivals till I had completed my sentence.

About seven breakfast was brought me, and a little after, I was ordered to pack up my things, and to be in readiness against my being called out. I obeyed this last order with all possible care and dispatch; when about nine, a turnkey opened my door, ordered me to take up my bundle upon my shoulders, and follow him to the great hall, whither the greatest part of the prisoners were already come.— Having staid some time here, I saw about twenty of my fellow prisoners, who had been sentenced to be whipped the day before, which had just then been executed upon them by the hands of the common hangman, through all the streets of the city. Being thus assembled, the inquisitor came in, when we all fell on our knees to receive his blessing, after having kissed the ground he walked upon. Orders were afterwards given to such blacks as had few or no clothes, to carry those of the whites. Such of the prisoners as were not Christians, were immediately sent to the places whither they had been condemned; some of them into banishment, others to the gallics, or the house where powder is made, called Casa da Polvera; and the Christians, whether blacks



or whites, were carried to a house hired for that purpose in the city, there to be instructed for some time.

The blacks lay in the parlours and galleries, and the whites were put into a separate apartment, where we were confined all night, but had liberty to range the whole house over in the day-time, and to speak with any body. The whites and blacks were catechised separately every day, and mass was daily celebrated, at which we all assisted, as also at morning and evening prayers. During my stay in this house, I was visited by a religious Dominican, my friend, whom I had known at Daman, where he was prior. The good father, who was oppressed with years and sickness, no sooner heard of my being set at liberty, but he immediately visited me in a sedan. He bewailed my ill fate with tears and embraces, telling me that he had been in great terror for my sake; that he had often inquired into the state of my health, and my affairs, of the Father Procurator of the prisoners, his friend, and of the same order; that he could obtain no answer for a considerable time; and that at last, after many entreaties, all he could get out of him, was, that I was still alive. The sight of this good friar gave me great consolation, and the necessity I was under of leaving the Indies was a trouble to us both. He had the humanity to visit me several times, when he requested me to return to the Indies as soon as I should be set at liberty, and sent me provisions of various kinds for a voyage, which otherwise I could never have procured.

After I had lived in this house till the twenty-third of January, we were again conducted into the hall of the inquisition, when each of us was called in his turn to the board of the holy office, there to receive from the hands of the inquisitor, a paper containing the penances to which we were respectively sentenced. I went thither in my turn, when laying my hands on the gospels, I was ordered to kneel down, and to promise not to reveal any of those particulars which had happened in the inquisition during my imprisonment. The judge afterwards gave me a paper signed by himself, containing the penance enjoined; and as it is short I shall transcribe it word for word.

List of the penances enjoined, &c. 1. During the three years to come, he shall confess and communicate: The first year, every month; and the two following, at Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and the Assumption of our Lady. 2. He shall assist at mass all Sundays and festivals, in case he has opportunity for so doing. 3. During the said three years, he shall daily repeat five times, the *Pater-noster* and *Ave Maria*, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour Christ. 4. He shall not engage in friendship with heretics, or persons whose faith is in

the least suspected, which may in any manner prejudice his salvation. 5. He shall keep inviolably secret, all that he has either seen, said, or heard; as also whatever has been transacted with himself, either at the board, or other places of the holy office.

Francisco Delgado e Matos."

It is really amazing for a reasonable man to reflect, that sovereign princes will degrade themselves so low as to suffer a few Dominican priests to trample on their privileges, to despise their dignity, and injure their subjects. Ignorance among the vulgar may induce them to submit to the inquisition, and self-preservation obliges them to be on their guard; but for a sovereign prince to see his dignity trampled on, and his subjects persecuted, is the worst of policy that any person can form the least notion of. There have been undoubtedly many excesses, committed by religious persons of all denominations, and it is much to the honour of the civil power to check them in the bud. Every man who fears God and honours religion, will treat the clergy with proper respect; but this must be, and always will take place, in consequence of the clergy having done their duty; for our Lord never interfered in political affairs while he was here on earth, so it is not the duty of his more immediate servants to do so. Christ could have prayed to his father, and would have sent him twelve legions of angels, one of whom (by divine permission) could have in a moment destroyed the whole universe, though he did not.

But if it is inconsistent with the religion of Jesus, for one body of Christians to persecute another, how much more horrid must it be to find courts erected, composed of divines, whose sole business it is to put all those to death, who differ from them in sentiments. However it is not simply the putting them to death, that we would here take notice of. Great as that crime may appear in the sight of God, and however severely it ought to be punished by men, yet it is even trifling when compared with the inquisition. All the circumstances of aggravated cruelty are found united in that court, all sentiments of benevolence and humanity are attempted to be eradicated, natural feelings are laughed at, and conjugal as well as filial duty despised. And what is all this for? Is it in compliance with any rule of scripture? Every one who has read the bible, knows the contrary. Is it to punish criminals for any breaches of divine or human laws? Quite the contrary; for the objects of its indignation, even those who are Roman Catholics, are in general the most peaceable and loyal subjects, in those countries where they reside.

Again, let us attend to the sentiments as em-

braced by those who are witnesses of the public executions of those injured people, who are prosecuted in the inquisition. It is natural for men to pity the unhappy creature who suffers for crimes; for we may detest the crime without hating the criminal. Nay, it is but reasonable we do so; especially if we know any thing at all of our own weakness. It is remarkable of Mr. Bradford, who was burnt alive for the gospel, that whenever he heard of a man committing a crime, or saw a criminal going to suffer, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said; "I should have done so, but for restraining grace." And we are told of the great lord chief justice Hale, that when he pronounced sentence of death upon prisoners, he declared, that "he felt much for them, but much more for his injured country."

Such sentiments as these are honourable to men of any denomination whatever: but how different in those countries, where the inquisition is not only tolerated, but even supported by human laws! The day set apart for the public execution of those who are called heretics, is considered by all ranks of people as a solemn festival. The sovereign forgets his dignity, the ladies divest themselves of the softness peculiar to their sex, and the multitude rejoice in what may justly be called a human sacrifice.

On such melancholy occasions, the people sit on scaffolds erected for the purpose, and so far are they from being affected with the unhappy condition of the sufferers, that they seem to enjoy a savage pleasure in beholding their torments. To sit in such a manner and see an animal tortured to death, is in all respects inconsistent with our characters as men, but in levity to behold the sufferings of our fellow-creatures is truly diabolical. All men cannot comprehend the same notions, and when they are required, nay, even commanded to embrace such as they do not believe, it is laying a foundation for the most horrid perjury, or it is to have men punished in a wantonly cruel manner. Every man is to answer to God for the truth of his sentiments, and then what man is to be judge? It is generous to bear with what we consider as weakness, in our fellow-creatures, because it is a proof that we are convinced of our own imperfection; but to impose our own notions upon every one who is not of the same opinion with ourselves, is to change the whole rational faculties, which must be equally as difficult as to make all men have the same features, and the same countenances. But here let us acknowledge in candour, that what we have said concerning the inquisition, does not apply, nor cannot be applied to the whole body of the Roman Catholics at large, nor are the Dominican friars to have this charge brought against them, without particular exceptions.

There are many Roman Catholics in Britain, who hold the proceedings carried on in the inquisition in the utmost abhorrence, and to this may be added, that there are many nations where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, that would never yet admit the inquisition. The author of this, in conversation with a learned Roman Catholic priest, now alive, once mentioned this circumstance to him, and as he (the priest) had been brought up in Spain, desired to know whether or not he approved of the inquisition? As near as can at a considerable distance of time, be remembered, the answer was in words to the following import:

"The establishment of the inquisition was originally of a political nature, or at least it was pretended to be so by the kings of France, who imagined that the Waldenses and Albigenses were enemies to the royal government. Now there is no doubt these men were heretics, who had denied the faith as it is in Christ Jesus, and yet I will freely acknowledge to you, that the church had no authority for meddling with them. It was represented to the civil power, that they were followers of that ancient sect of heretics, called Manicheans: and you know that the sentiments of those heretics were subversive of all the laws enacted for the benefit of society. That the Dominicans had some share in persecuting those people, cannot be denied: but these were dark and barbarous times, when men had not so much as considered the meekness of the gospel, nor distinguished between human and divine laws.

"From this time, which was in the thirteenth century, few persons were brought into trouble on account of their religious sentiments, till towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, when Ferdinand of Spain, in conjunction with his queen Isabella established the inquisition, not for the punishment of heretics, so much as for the extirpation of the Moors, who then inhabited the greatest part of that kingdom. There was a necessity for this measure, consistent with sound policy, because it was at that time difficult to distinguish a native Spaniard from a Moor. But unhappily circumstances took a very different turn, and Ferdinand and his queen Isabella, became the persecutors of Protestants as well as of Mahometans. I will freely acknowledge that I hate persecution, nor am I much in love with the character of Ferdinand, and much less with that of his queen. Ferdinand was a very weak man, and as for Isabella, if we may believe a celebrated French author, she was destitute of human passions. Her pride and her bigotry went hand in hand together, and she trampled upon the privileges of humanity, under the steele pretence that she was doing God good service."

It may be added further, that Mr. Fleury, and Dr. Dupin, two learned Frenchmen, and in every

respect members of the church of Rome, have in their ecclesiastical histories condemned the inquisition as totally opposite to every principle of Christianity. But the great Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, has carried the idea much farther; and asserts, that persecution in religious matters is inconsistent with sound policy, by tending to rob a sovereign of those subjects, whose industry is the source of his wealth and the support of his regal dignity.

But let the proceedings in the inquisitions be considered in whatever light the reader pleases, thus much is certain, that 'it is wrong to appoint those men to be judges who have entered into the clerical order. In all those countries where the Roman Catholic religion is professed, the clergy are prohibited from marrying, and whatever may be their passions in other respects, any man who knows any thing of the world, will acknowledge that they cannot have the same tender feelings, as a father or a husband. This is a most shocking consideration, and yet not more shocking than true; and therefore it becomes a duty incumbent upon all the princes in the Roman Catholic countries, to prevent as far as lays in their power, the clergy from sitting in courts of civil judicature. All those who are to judge in human actions, ought at least, to have human passions; for we mortals are such a composition

of flesh and blood, that there is no other way of dealing with us.

We have been the more explicit on this subject, because many persons are apt to believe, that all the Roman Catholics are friends to the inquisition, whereas there are many worthy persons among them who abhor the thought. It is, however, a duty incumbent upon those who live in England, to convince Protestants, that they are not persecutors; for as they have lately obtained a more than ordinary indulgence from the civil power, so gratitude should teach them to make a proper use of it. And thus we hope we have treated of the inquisition with candour, nor do we desire to dwell upon the vices, and much less on the weaknesses of our fellow creatures. We are often blinded by an improper use of our rational faculties, and this should teach us to look towards Divine Revelation. Here we find the veil drawn aside, and the way to everlasting happiness pointed out in so clear a manner, that even fools cannot, unless wilfully perverse, mistake their way. Carnal religion is devilish, but "the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, full of gentleness, and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." James iii. 17.

## HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

IT was said by our Saviour, that he would build his church upon a rock, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it; by which we must understand, that from the time of his sending the Holy Ghost upon his disciples, there were to be always some in the world who were to keep his commandments without being tainted with idolatry, or led away by errors. The learned Dr. Newton, bishop of Bristol, has attended to this in his Dissertations on the Prophecies, and his lordship has made it appear, that even in the darkest times there have been some persons who were not led away by the general corruption of sentiments, and profligacy of manners. This may seem rather a paradox to those who have not had an opportunity of studying history, which is frequently the case, it being a subject that requires great judgment, universal reading, and serious reflections from time to time.

That an almost universal darkness overspread the nations, where the name of Christ was mentioned, cannot be denied, and this sable cloud continued to

become more and more gloomy, from the sixth, down to the sixteenth century, where the glorious light of the Reformation dispelled the darkness that long bound, as it were with fetters, the children of men, and laid open to them the mystery of the everlasting gospel. We read in 1 Kings xxix. that Elijah the prophet was called upon by the still small voice in the wilderness, he answered, that he only was left in Israel to worship the true God. But let us remember the answer; "I have seven thousand in Israel, who have not bowed the knees unto Baal, and the mouths that have not kissed him." If then it was so under a law of carnal ordinances? And did God take so much care of a church, which in all its ceremonies was only a type of the gospel dispensation? And shall he not have regard to the things typified? Did his Almighty power, his infinite wisdom, and his more than universal benevolence, extend to a dispensation that was to be abolished, and shall not the same glorious attributes be exerted in favour of the gospel of Christ, that was proph-



sied of, even from the fall of man till the fulness of time came, when God sent forth his son, born of a woman, made under the law, that he might make an atonement for sinners, and become the Saviour of his people?

Yes: it is impossible, that God could leave himself without a witness under the gospel, especially as the son of his love had, by his merits and sufferings, laid the foundation of such a glorious fabric. Christ himself, while he told that many of his disciples would forsake him, and that when he came again, he would hardly find faith on the earth, never intimated that he was to be totally forgotten, otherwise the famous prophecy would have been rendered void, "That God should set up an everlasting kingdom, of which there should be no end." And the apostles, when they foretold the rise, reign, and downfall of anti-christ, always declared that, to the end of the world, some would be found to profess the gospel in purity, and practise its duties in sincerity. Not that all these witnesses were to agree in non-essentials, but only, that in all things of a fundamental nature they were to be united. That is, they were to look for salvation only in the word of God, and through the merits of Christ, without paying any regard to those smaller peculiarities, which cannot make men either better or worse.

It is therefore proper, that we should inquire where we must look for those professors of true Christianity, whom we have intimated were to be found in the world, when all the rest of the professors of our holy religion knew no more than the name? To this we would answer, that there have not only been individuals who rejected the errors of popery in all ages, but there have been likewise whole communities, who, rather than defile their consciences, have retired to the most inhospitable deserts, and worshipped God in purity.

The first of these who claim our notice, are the Waldenses, so called from Peter Waldo, or Waldius, a man of some repute in France, in the twelfth century, who distinguished himself by opposing the doctrines of the church of Rome, and maintaining many of the pure principles of Christianity. They became so numerous, that a crusade was raised against them by order of the pope, who charged them with holding sentiments entirely subversive of Christianity, such as the following, with many others, for it is remarkable of popery, that it knows no bounds for its malice, and the papists have assigned a reason for the origin of these people, which, with the rest of the false charges, is here set down.

It happened, at Lyons, in a great concourse of people, one of them fell down on a sudden dead: at which all that were present were extremely terrified, in particular one Peter Waldius, who immediately sold his goods, divided them amongst the

poor, and retired. Great multitudes presently flocking upon him, he, being something of a scholar, read and explained to them the New Testament in their own tongue, and instructed them in the true principles of the Christian religion. The number of his disciples increasing greatly, this sect spread, and prevailed every where.

The charges against them were. 1. That they acknowledged two principles, the one good, the other evil; the first, creator of all things invisible and spiritual; the second creator of bodies, and guardian of the Old Testament. 2. That they admitted also two Christs; the one wicked, who was he that appeared on earth; the other good, who was not yet come. 3. That they denied the resurrection of the body, and believed that the souls of men are demons sent into their bodies for the punishment of their sins. 4. That they condemned all the sacraments of the church, and believed marriage to be unlawful. As to their manner of life, there were said to be two sorts of people amongst them, the perfect, and the believers. The perfect boasted of their living in continence, of eating neither flesh, nor eggs, nor cheese. The believers lived like other men, and were even loose in their morals; but they were persuaded they should be saved by the faith of the perfect, and that none were damned, who received imposition of hands from them.

But this charge against them was only calumny: for Æneas Sylvius, giving an account of them, says, that this sect had a great appearance of piety; that they lived justly before men, and believed all the articles of the creed: and they only blasphemed the church of Rome and the clergy. But it was their opposing the received doctrines of that church, and the corrupt manners of the ecclesiastics, that drew upon them the storm, which ended in their persecution.

However, that these were gross falsehoods, will appear evident from those writers who lived near their times, for it is well known these people were the descendants of those who had never forsaken the gospel, but sought to maintain it in its primitive purity. Nay, the very articles they embraced are in substance the same with the sentiments of Protestants, as will appear from the following abstract:—

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism. 2. That all such prayers are superstitious and vain, which are made over the oil, salt, wax, incense, boughs of olives and palms, ecclesiastical garments, chalices, church yards, and such like things. 3. That time is spent in vain, in ecclesiastical singings and saying the canonical hours. 4. That flesh and eggs may be eaten in Lent; and that there is no merit in abstinence at such times. 5. That when necessity requires, all sorts of persons may marry,

ministers as well as others. 6. That anicular confession is not necessary. 7. That confirmation is not a sacrament. 8. That obedience is not to be performed to the pope. 9. That ministers should live upon tithes and offerings. 10. That there is no difference between a bishop and a minister. 11. That it is not the dignity, but deserts of a Presbyter, that make him a better man. 12. That they administer the sacrament, without the accustomed form of the Roman church. 13. They said that the images were to be taken out of the churches, and that to adore them was idolatry. 14. They condemned the pope's indulgences, and said, that they were of no virtue. 15. They refused to take any oath, whereby they should be forced to accuse themselves or their friends. 16. They maintained their ministers out of their own purses, thinking it unreasonable that such should be diverted from their studies, whilst they were forced to get their livings with their own hands. 17. They held, that the miracles done to the church of Rome, were false miracles. 18. That the religion of the Friar Mendicants was invented by the devil. 19. That the pope of Rome was not infallible. 20. That whoredom and stews were not to be permitted under pretence of avoiding adultery and rapes. 21. That there is no purgatory, wherein the souls of the deceased are to be purged before they be admitted into heaven. 22. That a Presbyter, falling into scandalous sin, ought to be suspended from his office, till he had sufficiently testified his repentance. 23. That the saints deceased, are not to be worshipped and prayed unto. 24. That it matters not for the place of their burial, whether it be holy or not. 25. They admitted of no extreme unction amongst the sacraments of the church. 26. They said, that masses, indulgences, and prayers, do not profit the dead. 27. They admitted no prayers but such as did correspond with the Lord's Prayer; which they made the rule of all their prayers. 28. Lastly, Though their adversaries charged them with holding, that every layman might freely preach to the people, yet they had bishops, and orders amongst themselves; as the order of Bulgary, the order of Druguia: and they who were their ministers, were ordained thereunto, though they were not of Romish institution; as Niculus Viguierins, and others report of them.

Waldo himself went into Dauphiny, conversing in the mountains of the same province, with certain rude persons, yet capable of receiving his doctrine: his disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called Picards. Against whom afterward king Philip (influenced by ecclesiastical persons) took up arms, and overthrew three hundred houses of gentlemen that followed them, and destroyed some

walled towns, pursuing them into Flanders, whither they fled, and causing many of them there to be burnt. This persecution caused many of them to fly into Germany and Alsatia, where they spread their doctrine; and shortly after, the bishops of Mayence and Strasburgh raised up a great persecution against them, causing five and thirty burgesses of Mayence, to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great constancy suffered death. At Strasburgh eighty were burnt, at the instance of the bishop; yet multitudes of people received such edification by the exhortations, constancy, and patience of these martyrs, that anno 1315, in the county of Passau, and about Bohemia, there were above eighty thousand persons that made profession of the same faith.

In 1160 some of them came into England, and at Oxford were punished in the most barbarous and cruel manner, as ever were any Christians for religion sake, before that time; and three years after in the council of Turon, or Tours, in France, pope Alexander III. made a decree, that these gossellers, and all their favourers, should be excommunicated; and that none should send them any thing, or buy any thing of them, according as it was prophesied, Revel. xiii. 17. But notwithstanding all these devices, they had goodly churches in Bulgary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

The same sentiments were embraced by the Albigenses, who were called from their first settling in Albi, a province subject to the popes. In Germany and in England they were called Lollards, a word not rightly understood by many writers; but it appears evident, from what has been written on this subject by lord Hales, that it was owing to their singing hymns in their own language, in opposition to the Roman Catholics, who chant their hitanies in latin. These people became very numerous about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and their sentiments were embraced by the famous John Wickliffe, of whom we have the following account:

John Wickliffe, was doctor and professor of divinity in the University of Oxford, and rector of Lutterworth, in Lincolnshire. He was in great esteem in the University when the contests which happened between the monks and the seculars, members of the University, engaged him to declare against the church of Rome. He began with attacking the jurisdiction of the pope and the bishops, and thereby drew several great men over to his side, particularly John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Henry lord Percy. Upon the clergy complaining of his doctrine, the archbishop of Canterbury summoned him to a council, which he held at London in 1377. Wickliffe came thither, accompanied by the duke of

Lancaster, who had at that time the greatest share in the government of the kingdom: there he defended himself, and was absolved.

Gregory XI being informed of the doctrine which Wickliffe spread over England, and of its dangerous tendency in promoting innovations of the church of Rome, condemned his tenets as heretical or erroneous. The doctrine may be reduced to four heads. 1 That God had not given temporal possessions to the church, to be employed by her for ever; and that princes might deprive her of them. 2 That the church could not make use of excommunications and censures, for exacting or preserving temporal revenues. 3 That every priest, lawfully ordained, had sufficient power to administer the sacraments, and consequently to absolve every contrite person from all sins whatsoever. 4 That ecclesiastics, and even the Roman pontiff might be rebuked and accused, even by laymen. Gregory's letter having been brought into England after king Edward's death, and delivered to the prelates of the kingdom, they held a council at Lambeth. Wickliffe was summoned to it, appeared at it, and avoided condemnation a second time, through the interposition of great men and the people, who declared themselves so vehemently for him, that the bishops durst not do any thing but enjoin him silence. The troubles, which happened in the kingdom under the minority of Richard II, gave Wickliffe free scope to spread his opinions, and to gain over many disciples.

William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, being desirous to put a stop to Wickliffe's farther attempts, assembled a council of eight bishops and several doctors, at London in May 1382; in which he condemned twenty-four propositions of Wickliffe and his disciples, viz. ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous, and contrary to the decisions of the church. The first ten were these. 1 That the substance of the material bread and wine remains in the eucharist after consecration. 2 That, in that sacrament, the accidents do not subsist without the subject. 3 That Jesus Christ is not there identically, truly, and really, by his proper corporeal presence. 4 That a priest or bishop, under deadly sin, can neither ordain, consecrate nor baptize. 5 That when a man is contrite as he ought to be, outward confession is useless. 6 That there is no foundation for the mass in the gospel of Jesus Christ. 7 That God is forced to obey the devil. 8 That if the pope be a reprobate or wicked man, and consequently a limb of the devil, he has no power over believers. 9 That no pope ought to be acknowledged since Urban VI, and that we ought to live like the Greeks, according to our own laws. 10 That it is contrary to the scriptures for any ecclesiastics to have any temporal possessions or revenues. The

erroneous propositions relate to excommunication, preaching, the revenues of the church, and religious orders.

Two divines, Wickliffe's disciples, being interrogated upon these propositions, answered, that they believed them to be heretical and erroneous in some sense. As to Wickliffe himself, he came to the council, and some historians tell us, he gave in a confession of faith, in which he retracted his errors, and acknowledged the real presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Be that as it will, the council condemned the heresies and errors of Wickliffe and his disciples, and obtained a declaration from king Richard, against such as should teach or preach their doctrine, by which the archbishops and bishops were allowed to seize them. In consequence of this edict, the archbishop of Canterbury, caused such Wickliffites to be put into prison, as taught or wrote with warmth. Wickliffe died soon after at Lutterworth, on the thirty-first of December, 1384, leaving behind him several writings in defence of his doctrines, and many disciples, who continued to teach them.

Thomas Arundal, who succeeded William Courtney in the archbishopric of Canterbury, held a provincial council at London in 1396, in which he condemned eighteen propositions drawn out of Wickliffe's works. These articles are, 1 Against the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the eucharist. 2 Concerning baptism; that the children of the righteous may be saved without being baptized. 3 Concerning confirmation; that priests may administer it. 4 Concerning orders; that there ought to be but two orders in the church, that of priests, and that of deacons. 5 Concerning marriage; that marriages between aged persons, the end whereof is not to have children, are not true marriages; that the impediments of consanguinity and affinity are human constitutions without foundation; and that in contracting marriages, it is not necessary to make use of terms before witnesses. 6 That it is not lawful for ecclesiastics to have temporal possessions. 7 That unction of the sick is not a sacrament. 8 That whatever happens, does necessarily happen. In fine, Thomas Arundal entirely proscribed the heresy of Wickliffe, by the constitutions which he made in the synod held at Oxford in 1408, published at London the next year, and confirmed by the king's authority. In 1413, pope John XXIII condemned Wickliffe's books in a council at Rome; and the English prelates, supported by the king's authority, used their utmost endeavours wholly to extirpate this heresy out of the kingdom, and to hinder it from being publicly established and preached; by which means it was entirely extinguished, or at least almost extinguished, in England. But the writings of Wickliffe having



been carried into Bohemia by one of his scholars called Peter Payne, were spread in a very short time, and converted several members of the university of Prague.

Another name by which they were called was that of Hussites, because they were the disciples of John Huss, a Bohemian, at Prague; who, about the year 1414, embraced, and defended, the opinion of Wickliffe of England; for which he was cited before the council of Constance, and, refusing to renounce his supposed errors, was condemned to be burnt alive; which sentence was accordingly executed upon him at Constance. It is evident, in what the pretended heresy of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who suffered with him, consisted, from the answer they made to the council, when they were admonished to conform to the church's sentiments. "They were lovers (they said) of the holy gospel, and true disciples of Christ; that the church of Rome, and all other churches of the world, were widely departed from the apostolical traditions; that the clergy ran after pleasures and riches; that they lorded it over the people, affected the highest seats at entertainments, and bred horses and dogs; that the revenues of the church, which belonged to the poor members of Christ, were consumed in vanity and wantonness; and that the priests were ignorant of the commandments of God, or, if they did know them, paid but little regard to them."

They were sometimes called Bohemian Brethren, and they treated the pope and cardinals as Anti-christ, and the church of Rome as the whore spoken of in the Revelations. They rejected the sacrament of the Roman church, and they chose laymen for their ministers. They held the holy scriptures for the only rule of faith; and their ministers observed none of the ceremonies of the Romish church in the celebration of the mass, nor made use of any other prayer than the Lord's Prayer. They consecrated leavened bread, and they allowed no adoration but of Jesus Christ, in the communion. They re-baptised all such as joined themselves to their congregation; and they abhorred the worship of saints and images, prayers for the dead, celibacy, vows and fasts, and kept none of the festivals but Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

In 1504, they were accused by the Catholics to king Ladislaus II. to whom they presented a confession of faith. In it they declared they held the three creeds, the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and they asserted, that the ministry of the church consists in preaching sound doctrine.—They defined baptism to be a sign of the inward purity of the soul procured by faith; and they acknowledged, that both adults and infants ought to be baptized. Concerning the eucharist, they denied transubstantiation, and rejected all prayers attending

the consecration of the elements, alledging that the priest ought not to add any thing to the words of Jesus Christ, or do any thing more than he did at the last supper. They held marriage to be a type of the union betwixt Christ and his church; and they allowed extreme unction to the sick and dying.—After setting down their confession of faith, they implored the king's indulgence; but notwithstanding their petition, Ladislaus published an edict against them, forbidding them to hold any meetings, either publicly or privately. This drew from them a second remonstrance, in which they declared that they separated from the church of Rome, on account of the wickedness of its bishops, who had forsaken the truth, and thereby lost the power of the keys. In this remonstrance they peremptorily rejected the invocation and worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints.

Luther had no sooner declared himself against the church of Rome, than the Bohemian Brethren endeavoured to join his party; and at first that reformer shewed great aversion to this sect; but the Bohemians sending their deputies to him in 1523, with a full account of their doctrines, he allowed them in all points, except in what related to the eucharist; and acknowledged that they were a society of Christians, whose doctrines came near to the purity of the gospel. This sect published another confession of faith in 1535, in which they professed to have renounced Anabaptism, which they at first practised; upon which a union was concluded with the Lutherans, and afterwards with the Zuinglians, whose opinions from thenceforth they continued to follow.

From all these circumstances, and different names by which they were called, and the tenets they embraced, we find that they were, in many respect, little different from Protestants. Their perseverance in these tenets, may likewise serve to prove the truth of what we have already asserted, namely, that in all ages, even the darkest, there were some persons who made profession of the truth, and although they differed in trifling matters, yet they agreed in those fundamental articles of faith, upon which salvation depends. These professors of the gospel contributed much towards promoting the Reformation, for being very numerous, they joined themselves either to Calvin or Luther, or such others as opposed popery. This was what the popes little expected; for it is probable, that they believed that all these people, whom they considered as heretics, had been totally abolished, whereas they became formidable to the papal power, and they will ever be esteemed for the glorious stand they made for the truth. It is certain that many of these people were cruelly persecuted, and driven from place to place; but such was the goodness of divine providence,

that some of them continued to reside in deserts till upwards of an hundred years after the Reformation. Undoubtedly this was owing to the numerous wars that were carried on during that period, among the European nations; but no sooner had princes, or rather illustrious robbers, distressed their neighbours abroad, than they let loose their diabolical fury upon their own subjects at home. This part of their conduct was either mean or superstitious, or it was both. It was mean, if they did it in compliance with the dictates of the popes, because they ought to have had more regard to their dignity. A prince, who is a man of honour, will take the advice of his subjects, but in politics he should never be dictated to by priests. Let the clergy attend to their duty, but let them never meddle with secular affairs. Policy is a robe that will sit ungracefully upon them, and while princes give them encouragement to go out of the line of their duty, they degrade their regal dignity.

Again, if the European princes persecute their subjects from motives of superstition, it is even worse than what we have already mentioned. It will serve to shew, that those princes have never considered either the strength or the weakness of the human understanding. And as for their own interests, as sovereigns, they must be totally strangers to it. In all nations, where a proper toleration in religious sentiments is allowed, the prince is distinguished for his greatness, on account of the number and wealth of his subjects; but persecution, by driving useful persons out of a country, makes the prince an object of contempt, deprives his subjects of wealth, and supposing a neighbouring power should invade his territories, they are easily subdued for the want of internal resources.

We are told by a very respectable French author, that the persecution raised in France by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, drove at least fifteen hundred thousand useful men out of that country.—Princes, wiser than Lewis XIV. gave encouragement to those refugees, and in Denmark, Brandenburg, but more particular in England, those manufactures were established, which have drained the wealth of France, and taught unthinking men to know, that the iron band of oppression will never answer any salutary end. We shall conclude this article with the following remarkable narrative from bishop Burnet's Travels, which will serve to shew, first, that even persecution itself could not totally obliterate the truth of the gospel; and secondly, that people, persecuted on account of their religious sentiments, will leave the places where they were born, and seek refuge in countries where they can be treated with humanity. It is well known, that few men ever lived in the world, who had more enlarged notions of the natural rights of mankind than bishop

Burnet, and with respect to religious freedom, or liberty, he often became an advocate for those who differed from him in sentiments.

His words are, "I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the Grisons, with a very extraordinary story, which I had both from the ministers of Coire and several other gentlemen, that saw, in April 1685, about five hundred persons of different sexes and ages, who passed through that town, that gave this account of themselves. They were the inhabitants of a valley in Triol, belonging, for the greatest part, to the archbishopric of Saltzburgh, but some of them were in the dioceses of Trent and Bresse; they seemed to be a remnant of the old Waldense. They worshipped neither images nor saints, and they believed the sacrament was only a commemoration of the death of Christ, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinions different from those of the church of Rome; they knew nothing either of Lutherans or Calvinists, and the Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant religion. They had mass said among them; but some years since, some of the valley going over to Germany to earn somewhat by their labour, happened to go into the Palatinate, where they were better instructed in matters of religion, and these brought back with them into the valley the Heidelberg catechism, together with some other German books, which run over the valley, they being before that in a good disposition, those book had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to mass any more, and began to worship God in a way more suitable to the rules set down in scripture. Some of their priests concurred with them in this happy change, but others that adhered still to the mass, went and gave the archbishop of Saltzburgh an account of it, upon which he sent some into the country to examine the truth of the matter, to exhort them to return to mass, and threaten them with all severity if they continued obstinate; so they seeing a terrible storm ready to break upon them, resolved to abandon their houses and all they had, rather than sin against their consciences; and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, men and women, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies, some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to Palatinate, and about five hundred took the way of Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The ministers told me they were much edified with their simplicity and modesty, for a collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way."

These seem to have been the last remains of the Waldenses, or Albigenes, and from the whole we may draw the following conclusion, that till Christ comes again to judge the world, there will be found

some who are not ashamed of his gospel. Of this we shall have occasion to treat more fully hereafter, when we come to write of the different denominations of Protestants; but the nature of our plan

leads us to give a particular account of the Greek church, its origin, doctrines, worship, discipline and government.

## ACCOUNT OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

IN treating of the Greek church, we are obliged to take notice of several passages in civil history, in order to elucidate its ancient and modern state, and in this we have the best authority; for this church, however much it may be despised at present, was once the most flourishing in the world. The Greeks had churches and convents all along, from Dalmatia to Constantinople, and from thence to Syria, including all the Lesser Asia. In Africa they had churches throughout Egypt and Ethiopia, and even to this day there are some remains of them.—At present, the Greeks are extremely numerous in the Levant; for although the Turkish religion is that established by law, yet there are above ten Greek Christians for every Mahometan. It likewise is the established religion in great part of Russia, so that we cannot be mistaken in giving a proper account of every thing worthy of notice in their churches.

All our travellers, who visited those places where the religion of the Greeks is professed, have given us very distinct accounts of them, and as to what they were in the middle ages, we have a full account in the history of the lower empire.

When Constantine the Great removed the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, and built the famous city of Constantinople, he did not consider that he was laying the foundation of many different kingdoms, particularly in Europe. The Huns, Goths, and Vandals, who inhabited the countries now called Hungary, Poland, and along the coasts of the Baltic Sea, from their manner of living in sobriety, became so numerous, that they could not find room in their own countries, although they were very extensive. Another circumstance contributed towards their invading the Roman empire, and that was the account that had been brought them by some soldiers, who had deserted from their legions, and taken shelter among these barbarians. These gave them such a character of the southern parts of Europe, that they resolved to invade them. This was entirely consistent with their characters, for as they had little or no employment at home, it was natural for them to seek out more agreeable ha-

bitations. Indeed, the effeminacy of the Romans, and the distracted state of the empire were such as gave them, as it were, an invitation. These barbarians continued to pour themselves in numerous bodies into Italy, France and Spain, and although they were frequently driven home to their own deserts, yet that only served to stimulate them the more to make new attempts, and by fighting with the Romans they learned the art of war. Thus the Roman empire sunk under the weight of its own greatness, like all the other empires that had been before it, and probably all that come afterwards will share the same fate.

But that which was more important, was the change that took place between the eastern and western churches, and this was occasioned by dividing the empire. It is true, that for a considerable time the bishops of Rome did not aspire to any pretensions about their brethren; but as pride is the mother of tyranny, so the bishops of Rome found a proper opportunity for establishing their power. This did not happen till many years after the death of Constantine, for that emperor had too much sense to suffer one bishop to exercise authority over another. Happy for the church had it continued so afterwards, but a variety of circumstances made the western church as easy a conquest for the popes, as the western empire was to the barbarians.

As Rome was left defenceless, it was necessary that some person should exercise the civil power, and as the clergy were at that time much esteemed, nothing was more natural than for the people to put themselves under the protection of the popes. Another circumstance was, that great disputes having frequently arisen among the clergy, they referred the decision of them to the bishops of Rome. Some of the Greek bishops were weak enough to do so, and at last the bishop of Rome claimed the privilege of exercising his authority over all the Christian world.

This greatly alarmed those bishops of the Eastern church, who sought to maintain the liberties of their Christian people, for they flatly refused to submit to the decrees of the pope, and this laid the founda-



tion of a schism between both churches, which has continued to this day. Nay, we are assured, that their aversion to the church of Rome is such, that being extremely ignorant, they will submit to believe every thing, let it be ever so absurd, so as they are not required to submit to the popes, whom they never inention without some terms of reproach.

In corrupting the purity of the gospel, the Greeks have kept equal pace with the Roman Catholics, for although in some things we find them not so gross as the latter, yet in other of their ceremonies they are more ridiculous. The Latins have frequently insulted the Greeks, by telling them they were in a deplorable state, because they would not submit to the pope's supremacy, and the Greeks have retorted the charge, by telling the Roman Catholics, that the patriarch of Constantinople is equal in dignity, and in authority, to the bishops of Rome. However, this is nothing more than what commonly happens in all religious controversies, were ungovernable passion gets the better of reason, and men become enemies to each other merely for a difference in sentiment, arising from a wrong conception of words.

In our account of the ancient heresies and heretics, we have mentioned what notions many of them had of the Trinity, and some of these were most unworthy indeed. We have taken notice that the Roman Catholics, even in the midst of all their corruption, never denied the divinity of Christ or the Holy Ghost, but always allowed that there was a Trinity in unity, and that all the three persons were the same in substance, and equal in power and in glory. That this is a mystery cannot be denied; but what is not a mystery to circumscribed creatures? Our Saviour, when he asserted that he was equal to the Father, never taught his disciples to inquire into that mystery, but left them to attend to duty, in believing what he had commanded, and in working out their salvation with fear and trembling. It is very probable, that the Greek church continued long to embrace the same sentiments, with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, as the Roman Catholics had done, and indeed the difference between them depends more upon metaphysical terms, than on any thing that has the least connection with truth. In all disputes of a religious nature, men ought to be extremely cautious, and perhaps it will be found that he is the most sincere Christian, who, in meekness and humility, declares that he will sit down and acknowledge his own ignorance of many things that will be revealed to him hereafter, rather than disturb the peace of society. Indeed this will give him more comfort, because by giving up his pretensions to knowledge, he does honour to God, to whom all mortals ought to look up for wisdom.

In the middle of the ninth century, the contro-

versy relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost, which had been started in the sixth century, became a point of great importance, on account of the jealousy and ambition, which at that time were blended with it. Photius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, having been advanced to that see, in the room of Ignatius, whom he procured to be deposed, was solemnly excommunicated by pope Nicholas, in a council held at Rome, and his ordination declared null and void. The Greek emperor resented this conduct of the pope, who defended himself with great spirit and resolution, and Photius, in his turn, convened what he called an Œcumenical council, in which he pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition against the pope, and got it subscribed by twenty-one bishops, and other of the clergy, amounting in number to a thousand. This occasioned a wide breach between the sees of Rome and Constantinople. However, the death of the emperor Michael, and the deposition of Photius, subsequent thereupon, seemed to have restored peace; for the emperor Basil held a council at Constantinople, in the year 869, in which entire satisfaction was given to pope Adrian; but the schism was only smothered and suppressed for a while. The Greek church had several complaints against the Latin; particularly it was thought a great hardship for the Greeks to subscribe to the definition of a council, according to the Roman form prescribed by the pope, since it made the church of Constantinople dependant on that of Rome, and set the pope above an œcumenical council. But, above all, the pride and haughtiness of the Roman court gave the Greeks a distaste; and, as their deportments seemed to insult his imperial majesty, it entirely alienated the affections of the emperor Basil.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, opposed the Latins with respect to their making use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, their observance of the Sabbath, and fasting on Saturdays, charging them with living in communion with the Jews. To this pope Leo IX. replied, and, in his apology for the Latins, declaimed very warmly against the false doctrines of the Greeks, and interposed, at the same time, the authority of his see. He likewise, by his legates, excommunicated the patriarch of the church of Santa Sophia; which gave the last shock to the reconciliation, attempted a long time after, but to no purpose, for from that time the aversion of the Greeks for the Latins, and of the Latins for the Greeks, became insuperable; insomuch that they have continued, ever since, separated from each other's communion.

The Greek church was not formerly so contracted, as it has been since the emperors of the east have lessened and reduced the other patriarchates, in or-

der to aggrandize that of Constantinople. The Greek clergy retain to this hour, some particular marks of distinction, some titles of honour, whereby they are respectively dignified and distinguished; inasmuch that the patriarch of Constantinople, when he writes to the bishops, never fails to insert their proper additions, notwithstanding the necessitous condition to which the Turkish government has reduced them. The Greek churches are scarce the shadows of what they were in their former flourishing state. Caucas, a Venetian nobleman, and archbishop of Corfou, in his dissertation on the erroneous doctrine of the modern Greeks, dedicated to Gregory XIII. has digested their tenets under the following heads:

1. They re-baptize all such Latins as are admitted into their communion.
2. They do not baptize their children, till they are three, four, five, six, ten, nay sometimes eighteen years of age.
3. They exclude confirmation and extreme unction, out of the seven sacraments.
4. They deny that there is any such place as purgatory, notwithstanding that they pray for the dead.
5. They do not acknowledge the pope's supremacy, nor that of the see of Rome.
6. They deny, by consequence, that the church of Rome is the true Catholic mother church: they prefer their own to that of Rome, and on Holy-Thursday, excommunicate the pope, and all the Latin prelates, as heretics and schismatics.
7. They deny that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.
8. They refuse to worship the host, consecrated by Latin priests with unleavened bread, according to the ancient custom of the church of Rome, confirmed by the council of Florence. They wash likewise the altars, where the Latins have said mass, and will not suffer a Latin priest to officiate at their altars, pretending that the sacrifice ought to be performed with bread.
9. They assert, that the usual form of words, wherein the consecrations, according to the Latins, wholly consists, is not sufficient to change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, without the use of some additional prayers and benedictions of the fathers.
10. They insist that the sacrament of the Lord's supper ought to be administered in both kinds, and even to infants, before they are capable of distinguishing this spiritual food from any other; because it is a divine institution. For which reason they give the sacrament to infants immediately after baptism.
11. They hold that the laity are under an indispensable obligation, by the law of God, to receive the communion in both kinds.
12. They assert, that no members of the church, when they have attained to years of discretion, ought to be compelled to receive the communion every Easter, but should have free liberty to act according to the dictates of their own consciences.
13. They pay

no religious homage or veneration to the sacrament of the eucharist, even when celebrated by their own priests; and they use no lighted tapers, when they administer it to the sick. Moreover, they keep it in a little bag or box, without any other ceremony than fixing it to the wall, where they light up lamps before their images.

14. They are of opinion, that such hosts as are consecrated on Holy-Thursday, are much more efficacious than those consecrated at other times.
15. They maintain, that the sacrament of matrimony is an union which may be dissolved.
16. They condemn all fourth marriages.
17. They refuse to celebrate festivals of the holy Virgin, the apostles, and the other saints, on the same day with the Latins.
- They reject likewise the use of graven images and statues, though they admit of pictures in their churches.
18. They insist, that the canon of the mass, of the Latin church, is full of errors, and ought therefore to be abolished.
19. They deny that usury is a mortal sin.
20. They reject the order of sub-deacons.
21. They pay no regard to any of the general councils, held by the popes, after the sixth.
22. They entirely deny auricular confession to be a divine precept, and say it is only a positive injunction of the church.
23. They insist that the confession of the laity ought to be free and voluntary; for which reason they are not compelled to confess themselves annually, nor are they excommunicated for neglect of it.
24. They insist, that in confession there is no divine law which enjoins the acknowledgement of every individual sin, or a discovery of all the circumstances that attend them.
25. They administer the sacrament to the laity, both in sickness and health, though they never applied themselves to their confessors; and the reason is, because they are persuaded, that a lively faith is all the preparation that is necessary for the worthy receiving of the Lord's supper.
26. They do not observe the vigils before the nativity of our Saviour, and the festivals of the virgin Mary and the apostles; nor do they fast in ember week: They even affect to eat meat more plentifully at those seasons, to testify their contempt of the Latin customs. They prohibit likewise all fasting on Saturdays, that preceding Easter only excepted.
27. They abstain from things strangled, and such other meats as are forbidden in the Old Testament.
28. They deny that simple fornication is a mortal sin.
29. They insist that it is lawful to deceive an enemy, and that it is no sin to injure and oppress him.
30. They hold, that it is necessary, in order to salvation, to make restitution of goods stolen, or fraudulently obtained.
31. Lastly, they hold, that such as have been admitted into holy orders, may quit them, and become laymen at pleasure; and they approve of the marriage of priests, provided that

they enter into that state before their admission into holy orders.

These are the articles of faith embraced by the Greek Christians, and although it may appear plain to every intelligent reader, that many of them are contrary to the simplicity of the gospel, yet they have still some remains of genuine Christianity among them. All this, however, has not been sufficient to reconcile them to the Roman Catholics, nor the Roman Catholics to them.

Father Richer, a Jesuit, speaking of the Greeks, tells us, that they make the cross from the right hand to the left, whereas the Roman Catholics do it from the left to the right. This Jesuit being one day in company with a Greek priest, the latter asked him why the Roman Catholics made the sign of the cross from the left hand to the right? To this question the Jesuit answered, "The intention thereof is to intimate, that by the power of the cross, from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God, that through the merits and death of Christ, when he comes to judge the world at the last day, and separate the righteous from the ungodly, we shall be called from the left hand to the right, and be admitted among the number of the saints in glory."

Another Greek who happened to be in company, and a man of a pleasing disposition, took up the argument, and said very smartly, "You, Sir, have free liberty to make the cross from the left to the right, but we think it always best to begin at the right, for those who begin at the wrong end, generally lay a bad foundation and seldom prosper." The Jesuit was nettled to the quick for some minutes, he knew not what reply to make; but recollecting himself, he turned to the Greek and said, "Sir, you may make the sign of the cross from the right to the left, to denote, that ever since you have deserted from the church of Rome, you have deviated from the paths of truth, to walk in darkness and error; you have gone astray from virtue to vice, and from grace to sin; and it is very much to be feared, that when we shall appear at the right hand of our blessed Saviour, you will stand at his left, when he comes in all his glory to judge both the quick and the dead." Such in general are the arguments made use of both by the Greek and Roman priests, when they meet together; from which we may infer, that in all violent disputes, truth is not the sole object in view. Trifles, and even ridiculous rites and ceremonies, are more regarded than the essential articles of faith, just in the same manner as if two persons were to fall out, because one washes his face with the right hand, and the other with the left. This arrant superstition has been well ridiculed by Dean Swift, in his travels of Gulliver, where he tells us, that two of the nations of the Lilliputians went to war, and cut each others throats

about the great dispute that had long subsisted between them, concerning the breaking eggs on the right end.

It is certain, that the Jesuits, in the relations they have given us of their travels into Greece, often mention things concerning the Greeks that are not true, and this arises from the antipathy they have against them for not submitting to the popes; nor are the Greeks one bit behind with the Roman Catholics in their malice. As the pope excommunicates once in the year, all those who are not of his communion, so the Greeks do the same to the Roman Catholics, and probably would do so to Protestants, were they acquainted with their tenets.

In Passion-week, the patriarch of Constantinople, dressed in his pontifical robes, goes up to the altar of his church, and solemnly curses and excommunicates all the Roman Catholics in the world. Having pronounced the words used in the ceremony, he drives a nail into the floor with a hammer, as a mark of his malediction, and then pronounces the sentence of excommunication upon all such as shall offer to remove it; nay, if any one should do so, the Turks, for the sake of a small gratuity, suffer them to fine, imprison, and bastinate the culprit.

They have another ceremony of almost a similar nature, performed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, who, in dignity, is the next to the patriarch of Constantinople. He sits on a throne before the door of the convent of the holy sepulchre, dressed in his pontifical habit, and attended by as many of the eastern bishops as can conveniently come to be present at the ceremony. There mass is celebrated, and after service is over the patriarch tramples seven times upon the figure of a city, built upon seven hills, which, in all respects, alludes to Rome. On the top of the figure is an eagle with two heads, and all those who attend at the ceremony know, that by this is meant the Greeks trampling upon the city and church of Rome.

It is remarkable, that in the articles of their faith, we find very little concerning heaven, hell, and purgatory, but this is owing to their not making these sentiments so public as is done by the Roman Catholics. That they believe in a state of rewards and punishments hereafter, cannot be denied; for the whole of their system clearly points it out, and as they pray for the dead, so one would naturally imagine that they had some notion of what the Roman Catholics call purgatory. This, however, is not the case; for the Roman Catholics believe, that the souls of those who have not committed mortal sins, will be delivered from punishment as soon as they are purified, and immediately enter into a state of everlasting happiness. This notion was embraced by some of the fathers in the Latin church, who lived after the time of Constantine the Great,



and it gained ground daily, till it became the source of much wealth to the Romish clergy.

It was altogether different in the Greek church; for with respect to the state of departed souls, they are almost of the same opinion with the fathers, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Nanzienzen, and many others. To understand this, it will be necessary to consider what is related in the New Testament concerning the state of departed souls; and secondly, how far the Greeks at present differ from those sentiments, for the popish doctrine of purgatory has no connection with them.

The notion of a state of future rewards and punishments, is not the subject of the present inquiry, for it ever was, and still is, in one sense or other, believed by all the heathen nations in the universe; but as the heathens were, and are, in many things ignorant, so they had of old, and still have, gross conceptions of capital truths.

It was reserved for the New Testament dispensation to clear up this grand point, by removing the veil of darkness that had long overspread the human mind, and under which even some of the Old Testament saints laboured.

It is remarkable, that when our Saviour delivered the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus, he represented them both in different places; and yet neither the one nor the other in a fixed state. We do not read that he was contradicted by any of his hearers, many of whom were his most implacable enemies, which would certainly have been the case, had not the same sentiments been at that time common among the Jews. Nay, the apostle Peter speaks of it as a received truth, in his first sermon, after the descent of the Holy Ghost, for he alludes to Psalm xvi. where the Psalmist says, "That God would not leave his soul in hell, nor suffer his holy one to see corruption."

By hell in this place is not meant a place of material punishment, but the general state of departed souls, some longing for the resurrection to everlasting life, and others in fear of everlasting punishment. This is clearly explained and illustrated by our Saviour, when he represents the rich man and Lazarus, as in two different places, and a great gulph fixed between them. All the primitive fathers who lived before the reign of the emperor Constantine, believed the same sentiments, acknowledging that the parable of the rich man and Lazarus was, in all respects, consistent with what we have here advanced.

The Greeks believe that there are two sorts of souls that descend into hell, first, those who dying in a state of impenitence, are at once plunged into eternal misery; the second are such as remain in hell without feeling any pain, and they believe that these continue in hell for a certain time, longing for

heaven. This is the reason why the Greeks pray for the dead, not that they may be delivered from pain, but that their happiness may be made complete. That this is the real state of the case, will appear from a perusal of the following short prayer used by them: "Grant, O Lord, that his soul may be at rest in those mansions of light; give him consolation, and restore him from sorrow of all sorts, and make him everlastingly in the full enjoyment of them." All their punishment according to their tenets, consists in being banished for some time from the presence of God, but not in being consigned over to torments.

They are of opinion, that the soul cannot of herself procure any consolation after death, and that she has no other refuge, but in the prayers of the faithful; but they deny that their patriarchs, or their bishops, can do any thing by their public or private acts, to grant the soul its request. However, although the above may be considered as the general opinion, yet there are many of the Greeks who hold a contrary one, and that is the same as was believed by the Jews of old, and after them by the primitive Christians. That opinion is, that both the righteous and wicked will remain confined in an intermediate state, till the resurrection day, the righteous longing for it with earnest expectation, the wicked in fear of its coming too soon. This difference, however, must be attended to, as it is in itself absolutely necessary to form the distinction between the Jews and the Greeks.

The Jews believed, that on the first day of the Messiah's coming, all the departed souls were to be raised from hell, or the state of the dead; whereas the Greeks believe, that Christ has already come in the flesh, and that he will come a second time, when an end will be put to all material existence, and that the bodies of the deceased will rise from the grave, and be joined to their souls, in order to receive their final doom. The meaning is, that neither the souls of the wicked, nor those of the righteous, will be either completely happy or miserable, till the day of the resurrection. It is certain, that there are many persons of the same opinion, in all Protestant countries; but in disputed points of that nature, nothing is more becoming in a Christian, than to be humble before God, and wait for the event of things, knowing, as he ought, that the judge of all the earth will do every thing that is right, consistent with the nature of his attributes.

The next thing to be considered is, what respect do the Greeks pay to the consecrated elements, in their celebration of the Lord's Supper? and this is the more necessary to be considered, because a right understanding of it will serve to shew, whether in their sentiments they incline more to the Roman Catholics or the Protestants. It is certain, that the

Greeks pay more adoration to the consecrated elements, than is consistent with the pure simplicity of the gospel, which is contrary to our notions as Protestants; but it is equally certain, that they do not carry their adoration so high as the Roman Catholics have done.

Gabriel, archbishop of Philadelphia, in a treatise written against the Roman Catholics, affirms, that there are two sorts of homage or adoration due to the sacred symbols of bread and wine. One of those is no more than a civil respect and reverence, upon their being first blessed before consecration; but the other, which is superior to the former, is an adoration of Christ's body, which the elements represent. Now this seems to be totally opposite to the popish doctrine of the real presence; for they believe that the real body and blood of Christ are materially in the wafer, after the ceremony of consecration. Sir George Wheeler, an English gentleman of great learning and knowledge, who resided many years in the Levant, has given us the following account of the Greeks: "The Greeks in general (says he) have but an imperfect notion of the eucharist, for although they pay some sort of adoration to the consecrated elements, yet they do not carry their notions so high as the Roman Catholics. The bishop of Miconia travelled with us to Constantinople, but I could not hold much conversation with him, though I had much discourse with one of his priests, who could speak Italian. He seemed a perfect stranger to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and although he believed that some change takes place in the elements after consecration, yet such transformation was to be considered in a mystical light only.

I had some conference likewise with the archbishop of Athens, who assured me, that he believed the change in the elements was only to be taken in a mystical sense, without any change in the subject itself. I had likewise sometimes an opportunity of conversing on this subject, with the bishop of Salom who, finding that I was an Englishman, desired to know what was the opinion our church held, concerning the consecrated elements. I gave him all the satisfaction I could, namely, that we believed them to be symbols, or representations of the body and blood of Christ: and he told me that he was of the same opinion, and that they should be only considered in that sense."

From all this we may draw the following conclusion, viz. that the Greeks do not believe in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but that they pay some sort of adoration to the elements, though not in the manner of Roman Catholics, who actually worship them as the real body and blood of Christ, the wafer being changed in the act of consecration.

### *Of the Discipline of the Greek Church.*

THE next thing to be considered after giving an account of the doctrines of the Greeks, is to point out the manner of their discipline, or, in other words, the plan of ecclesiastical policy by which their church is governed; and this ought to be the more attended to, because it is well known, that in their present state they labour under many hardships, and are constantly oppressed by their cruel masters the Turks. It is otherwise with those who live in Russia; but vast and extensive as that empire is, yet the Greek Christians are few in comparison with those who reside about the Levant, in the Lesser Asia, and throughout all Syria, besides many other parts of Asia.

In their discipline, they do not strictly adhere to the positive injunctions laid down in their canons. As for instance, they are no way scrupulous about the age when priests should be ordained, nor do they attend to the interval of time between the ordination of one class or another, but sometimes ordain all at once to the different offices. The election of their patriarch is not always canonical: for he who pays the grand seignior the largest sum of money, is sure to be the successful candidate. Were the Greeks to refuse electing him after he has been nominated by the grand seignior, or even by the grand vizier, they would stand a fair chance of being massacred, and their children sold for slaves.

The Greeks, in their natural tempers, are a vain, proud, ambitious set of people; for although they labour under much oppression, yet they still keep up their spirits; and it is owing to this that many of the priests enter into cabals to obtain the dignity of patriarch. One would naturally imagine, that this would take off all that influence which their ministration ought to have upon the manners and consciences of the people; but then it must be remembered, that the latter are so ignorant, that they never look into those things, and if they were to do so, they would obtain no manner of redress.

Besides the money the new elected patriarch pays to the grand seignior, they are likewise obliged to buy the votes of all those bishops by whom they are elected, so that in one single election, there are two acts of simony committed. On the other hand, the patriarch knows very well how to reimburse himself, when his turn comes to constitute a bishop; the bishops again take the advantage of the priests, of whom they demand exorbitant fees for their admission into orders; and, at last, the whole weight falls upon the people; for they must pay extravagantly dear for the privilege of the sacraments, which is the reason they seldom partake of them. Strange! that people in a state of the severest op-

pression, should in this manner oppress each other; and yet the fact cannot be denied. The Turks, among whom they live, are no strangers to this part of the conduct of the Greeks, and they often upbraid them with it, calling them usurers, Christian dogs, and such other names; and possibly it is owing to this part of their conduct that they never make any converts, but continue just as they were above six hundred years ago.

The patriarch of Constantinople, in consequence of his having purchased his dignity from the grand seignior, assumes, like the pope, the title of universal bishop; and as he procures his place by simony, so he makes a simoniacal use of it. The patriarchs and bishops are always single men, but the priests are married before ordination; and this custom, which is general all over the Levant, is very ancient. This, however, is not an apostolical injunction, but an invention of their own; for, according to it, no man can be a bishop, or a patriarch, unless he is a widower. For should a priest happen to marry a second wife, (and he must be married before he is ordained) he must no longer officiate. A clergyman who marries after ordination, is considered as a layman, and consequently if he is poor, obliged to follow some secular employment.

The Greek clergy in the Levant are so miserably poor, that they are obliged to sell their doctrine and sacraments in order to procure a subsistence, and it is often no better than a wretched one. There is no one therefore can procure absolution, be admitted to a confession, have his children baptized, be married or divorced, or obtain an excommunication against his adversary, or the communion in time of sickness, without paying some money. The priests make the best market they can, and fix a price on their spiritual commodities, in proportion to the abilities and devotion of the people. Nay, they are so rigid and avaricious with their people, that they will scarce part with a drop of holy water without being paid for it before hand.

As those who have fixed parishes from which they must not depart, they would absolutely starve, was it not for the benevolence of the people; but we may here add, what Mr. Sandys and Mr. Thomson say, "Many of the Greek priests cultivate small gardens, which procure them some part of a subsistence." The Turks oblige every parish to maintain its own priest, lest he should become burdensome to the state, and this must be paid either in money or in the fruits of the earth. Each diocese is likewise taxed for the support of the bishop; and as the collectors purchase their places from the Turks, so they generally make the people pay more than they ought. As for the charity of the people, it cannot be very fervent, when we consider what

hardships they suffer, and how cruelly they are oppressed by the Turks.

The monastic life is held in great veneration among the Greeks; but the recluses are poor monks indeed. Many of them pretend that they never eat flesh, which is not at all improbable, because they cannot procure it; for they are not restrained from it by any particular vow. Many of them allow themselves only four hours sleep in the twenty-four, and some only two. They attend divine service three times in the day, and such as do not love reading and study, spend their time in dressing their gardens, and small pieces of ground adjoining to the convents. Many of them work at different trades, such as making shoes, clothes, and knitting of stockings, so that few of them are idle; and in this, from motives of necessity rather than choice, they imitate, in some measure, the hermits in the primitive times.

Although there are monks of different orders among the Greeks, yet all of them owe their origin to Basil, who first instituted the monastic life among them. All the monks in general, look upon him as their founder and common father, and esteem it a crime of the most enormous nature, to deviate in the least from his rules. In some parts of Greece, we meet with very beautiful convents as well as churches; but the generality of them are extremely mean; and notwithstanding their pretensions to be all followers of St. Basil, yet there are many of them who differ from each other, so that it is not an easy matter to find out who are in the right.

There is one order among them composed of persons of great distinction and worth, who pretend to live more piously than the others, and these are called angelical. They are very numerous, and most of them live at their own expense. The next order to this, are called those of the lesser habit, and are much inferior to those already mentioned, nor do they pretend to lead such sanctified lives. Before they take up the habit, they agree to live according as their own discretion shall dictate, and as they give a small sum according to their abilities to the convent, they are served with what provisions they chuse, so as it shall not exceed what they have given. If they are in possession of any thing when they die, and leave no will, it is given to the convent, but if otherwise, they dispose of it to a young novice, whom they call pupil. There are some monks, however, amongst this order, who are so exceeding poor, miserable and indigent, that they are incapable of purchasing the least spot or parcel of ground for their own private use, and are obliged to spend their whole time in the service of the convent, and submit to the meanest and most servile employments. In consequence of which,



the convent supplies them with all convenient necessities, and if they have any time to spare, after their work is over, they spend it in prayer and other acts of devotion.

There is a third order of these monks, distinguished by the name of Anchorets, and although they chuse not to work, or go through the other necessary duties of the convent, they are still very desirous of spending their time in solitude and retirement. For this reason, each of them purchases a cell or hut without the convent, with about half an acre of ground adjoining to it, which he cultivates in order to procure a subsistence. On Sundays and holy-days they attend divine service in the church of the convent, and when devotions are over, they return to their cells, and spend their time in pursuit of their necessary avocations, without being bound down by any rules whatever. There are some of these Anchorets, however, who withdraw themselves from their convents; but for this they must have leave from the abbot or superior. This they generally do, in order to give themselves up more closely to prayer, meditation, and the contemplation of divine things.

In such cases the convent sends them, once at least, and sometimes twice in a month, a stated allowance of provisions, but there are others, who though they retire from their convents with the consent of the abbot, yet they still continue to cultivate a small piece of ground in the same manner as they did before. Some live on figs, cherries, apples, and other fruits; while a third sort procure a subsistence, by transcribing books and manuscripts.

Besides these monks, there are likewise nuns who form themselves into communities, are confined to convents, and live according to the order of St. Basil. They are no way inferior to the monks with respect to their abstemious course of life, their penances, fasts, prayers, and other acts of devotion. They make choice of one of the most ancient sisters, who is conspicuous for her exemplary life and conversation, to be their principal or lady abbess. The same duties are incumbent on these superiors, with respect to the nuns, as are required and expected from the abbots in relation to the monks.—But still these nuns are under the government of an abbot, who takes care to send them, from time to time, some old monks to be their fathers' confessors, and to administer the sacraments to them in their proper seasons. One of these confessors resides near the convent, to be always ready at hand to assist them on any emergent occasion. He likewise says mass to them, and regulates all their devotions.

There are many of these nuns in Greece, and in general they wear the same habit, which is black

with a woollen gown of the same colour, the sleeves of which cover their arms down to the fingers ends. Their heads are all shaved close; each of them has a separate apartment, with a commodious room both above and below. Such as are in affluent circumstances, are allowed to keep a servant; nay, sometimes they entertain young ladies in their society, and train them up in the practice of piety. When the hours of devotion are over, they spend the remainder of the day in teaching all sorts of needlework as are consistent with the fashions and dresses of the country. The Turks often come to these convents, in order to purchase girdles from the nuns, but they never attempt to commit any indecencies; for however arbitrary the Turkish government may appear to those who are not acquainted with it, yet this much is certain, that they content themselves with receiving the common tribute from the Greeks, without giving them any farther trouble.

The fasts observed by the Greeks are very different from those of the Latins; for the latter are festivals, when compared with those of the former.—The Greeks not only abstain from eating the flesh of animals and their produce, such as butter and cheese, but they eat no manner of fish, and content themselves with fruits and herbs, to which they put a small quantity of oil, and they allow themselves only one glass of wine during the whole day. The monks are still more rigorous than the laity, for they never so much as taste one drop of wine or oil, except on Saturdays and Sundays. The Muscovites, however, or Russians, as they have neither wine nor oil, are indulged to eat fish.

As for their Lents, the Greeks censure the Latins for fasting on Saturdays, because that Sunday as well as Saturday is a festival; and this they prove from the practice of the primitive church, which is certainly true, for the primitive Christians never did fast on Saturdays.

But we have a still more explicit account of the facts observed by the Greek monks, in the writings of several of those eminent travellers who have lately visited the Levant. They are obliged to fast three days every week, namely, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. On which days they go to private prayers about two in the afternoon, and then they receive a small refreshment, which principally consists in a few beans with a little broth, without either oil or butter, only a few roots are mixed with the broth, and to the whole is added a small quantity of vinegar. In the evening they return to prayers again, and when service is over, they seat themselves in the church, and distribute to each monk a slice of bread, and a glass of water. This indulgence, however, is only shewn to the junior monks, for the senior ones have no share in the distribution. After a short interval they return to their

devotions, which generally last an hour, and as they go out of the church, they pass in review before their superior, or abbot, who stands at the door.—Each as he passes asks his blessing, and the abbot says, “God be propitious to thee my son.” The benediction being given, each walks home to his own cell, but none of them dare speak as he goes along, that being in all respects contrary to their orders.

This exercise is succeeded by a very short repose, for about midnight they get up and attend public prayers, which are seldom over before day-break, at which time every one retires to his private avocations till noon, when he is again obliged to attend church. Returning from church to the hall of the convent, they have a dinner of herbs with a little bread served up, and each of the monks implores the abbot's blessing, who stands at the upper end of the table. If any one of the monks has lain too long in bed, he is obliged, by way of penance, to go to the lower end of the table, and repeat the following words: “Have compassion, O Lord, on thy unworthy servant and people, according to thy infinite goodness and mercy.” Then the penitent prostrates himself on the ground, imploring forgiveness in that humble posture, and crying out, “O holy fathers, pray for me who am a sinful sluggard.”—Whereupon the monks reply, “God forgive you, my brother.”

After this, they all depart except the poor penitent, who is obliged to remain there some time longer, and none are exempted from this penance, from the highest to the lowest. Idleness is a vice against which they are obliged to guard themselves, for it is in consequence of their industry that they are able to pay the tribute to the Turks. Most of their ceremonies are founded on oral traditions, which they believe have been conveyed down to them from the primitive ages of Christianity. They have no opportunity of inquiring whether they are true or false, for it is sufficient for them that they are acknowledged by the priests, and held in esteem by the common people. To this may be added, that if ignorance reigns among the people, it is but little better with the priests, among whom are seldom any to be found, who have read more than their common breviaries; and it is well known they may, by constant practice, read these over without understanding them.

The Greek church, in the sixth century, acknowledged five distinct patriarchs, viz. that of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.—But besides the above-mentioned patriarchs, the Russians have joined a sixth, whose jurisdiction extends over all that vast empire. He is supreme judge in all ecclesiastical affairs, and has an unlimited power to direct the clergy in the nature and dis-

charge of their duty. But still the patriarch of Constantinople is generally considered as the head of the Greek church throughout every part of the world. But here it is necessary to observe, that neither the patriarch of Constantinople, nor any of the bishops under him, can exercise their authority without permission from the grand seignior, so that in this sense, even a Mahometan emperor becomes the head of the Greek church.

Sir Paul Ricaut, who visited the Levant, and wrote the history of the Turks about one hundred years ago, says, that the patriarchs of Constantinople used to pay no more than ten thousand crowns when they were first installed, but in his time it had arisen to twenty-five thousand, and now it is not less than fifty thousand. Besides this duty, which is very burthensome, the collectors often exact great fees from them; so that the patriarch, although he gratifies his ambition, by accepting of an empty title, yet he is for the most part incumbered with debts, which leads him to very unjustifiable means in order to pay them. If he once proves deficient in his payments, he is immediately deposed, and it is owing to such causes as these, that there are so many revolutions, and such uncertainty, in the Greek church.

The patriarch has under him above one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops, each of whom pays a fee at his ordination, otherwise he cannot be admitted: and when a priest dies without issue, the patriarch seizes the whole of his estate, whether real or personal. In this part of his conduct he receives all manner of encouragement from the Turks, who are willing that the Greeks should be kept as much under as possible. It is certain, that the emperor of Russia sends an annual present to the patriarch of Constantinople, and this is done in consequence of a traditional prophesy, that the Russians are one day to deliver the Greeks from the slavery they now labour under.

Before the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, all those who attended the patriarch were monks, nor was any secular person admitted into office; but at present they are all seculars, four only excepted. At the right hand of the patriarch stands his high steward, whose peculiar province it is to collect the revenues, and discharge all such debts as have been contracted, whether in purchasing the place, or in consequence of any favour granted since the election. He gives in an account twice in the year, and assists at the patriarchal tribunal, whenever that court sits. When a bishop dies, he superintends the affairs of the diocese, and in the name of his master has the first vote at the next election.

Next to him is the high master of the chapel, who assists the patriarch in the discharge of all those

ceremonies and duties which are enjoined by the canons of the church, and who is to examine all the candidates for the ministry.

The high treasurer is next in order, and it is his business to take care of the sacred vessels, and pontifical ornaments belonging to the church. He has an office near the door of the vestry, where they are deposited, and not only delivers out the proper habiliments to the officiating prelate, but likewise takes care that all things are regularly placed upon the altar. When a bishop dies, he has the rents of his bishopric committed to his care by the high steward, and these he keeps till the patriarch gives orders in what manner they are to be disposed of, which is generally for his own use.

The grand official takes care of every thing relating to benefices, and the impediments which obstruct marriages, and he introduces all such priests as come to receive the sacrament on solemn festivals. He is keeper of all the charters and records, and when the patriarch officiates at consecrations, whether of bishops or priests, he stands by his side. Next to him is the high or grand chancellor, and he has the custody of the patriarch's signet, with which he seals all his letters. The grand referendary dispatches all the patriarch's orders, acts as his deputy to persons of distinction, and is one of the ecclesiastical judges. In the time of the Greek emperors, he was distinguished by the people of Palestine, but that is no longer in use.

The grand prothonotary sits directly opposite the patriarch, to transcribe and deliver out all his briefs, mandamuses, orders, and decrees. It is his province likewise, twice every week, to examine all the professors of the civil law, and under his inspection are all contracts of marriages, and last wills and testaments. He attends the patriarch in the sanctuary, and brings him water to wash his hands after divine service. These are his highest officers, who still maintain their original dignity, and when he is visited by bishops from Russia, or any where else, where the Greek religion is professed, they stand at his right hand, pointing out by that ceremony, that they are superior to the visitors.

Next to these are a lower sort of officers, not unlike some of those we meet with in the churches of Roman Catholics.

The first of these is the incense-bearer, who, besides discharging the duty implied in his title, covers the consecrated vessels, and other sacred utensils, with a veil, during the time the choir is singing the anthem to the sacred Trinity, and he assists the bishops or priests, who says mass, to put on their robes. The next officer to him is employed in writing down the votes of bishops on elections, or when any councils are held, and receiving petitions and remonstrances. This officer is called the advo-

cate, and holds on certain days, a court in the church porch, and decides in smaller matters relating to ecclesiastical affairs. Under him is an officer, who takes care of the rituals, and in the absence of the bishop he can consecrate a new church, ordain readers, and such inferior officers as do not administer the sacraments. During divine service, all these officers sit on the right hand of the bishop's throne, but in the ecclesiastical court, each has a seat according to the nature of his office.

On the left hand of the patriarch, sit several other officers, particularly the high priest, the visitor, the prefect of churches, the secular judges, two deans the chanter, the grand arch-deacon, and the deacons. The prefect has the care of the sacred oil, and he erects the cross upon the spot of ground marked out for a new church, when the patriarch cannot perform the ceremony himself. There is an officer or deputy, under the arch-deacon, to assemble the clergy together, and he has a deputy, who begins singing in the choir. The same deputy introduces strangers into the presence of the patriarch, and clears the way to and from his audience. He may properly be stiled the master of the ceremonies, for most of his business comes under such a character.

The other officers on the patriarch's left hand, are the catechist, who instructs adult persons for the sacrament of baptism, and these are commonly such as have renounced heresy, and desire to be admitted into the church. This officer has an apartment adjoining to the church, where his disciples come to receive instructions; but if any of them should happen to admit a Turk to the sacrament of baptism, it would be attended with very serious consequences, for in such cases, both the catechist and the catechumen would be impaled alive. This is such a dreadful punishment, that we shall here describe it to the reader.

Near the out parts of the city, at the common place of execution, a gibbet is erected in the form of a cross, and the person condemned by the cadi, or judge, is brought out and stripped naked. A small piece of wood, almost in the shape of a lance, is thrust in at his fundament, till the other end comes out at his shoulder, and in this manner he is hung up on the gibbet, and left to expire. When Mr. Thompson was at Smyrna, he saw a man suffer in this manner for changing his religion, and he continued in tortures upwards of six hours, before he expired, but the catechist who had converted him made his escape.

Besides the catechist, there is another under him, who is called the provident, and goes from place to place to instruct such persons in the country as desire to be baptized; and it is necessary to observe, that they may make converts of heathens, Jews, Roman Catholics, or Protestants, but they must not



meddle with Mahometans. There is also another officer, whose business it is to carry the pastoral staff before the bishop; besides several door-keepers: but these officers are not fixed, it being in the power of every new bishop to change them as often as he pleases. Besides these, there is another officer not yet mentioned, who attends the patriarch, and is his confessor. He has apartments in the house of the patriarch, and, properly speaking, he is both his temporal and spiritual director, there being nothing of importance undertaken without consulting him, nor any thing concluded, unless he gives his consent and approbation.

The Greeks have their synods, but these are not properly of a fixed nature. Every bishop may convene a synod of the clergy within his diocese, and so may an archbishop within his province; but little of any importance is transacted in them. Whether these synods are convened by bishops or archbishops, yet before they issue out their orders for the clergy to attend, they are obliged to obtain the consent of the governor of the province, to whom they pay a certain fee. It is much more, so with the patriarch of Constantinople, who dares not call a synod till he has obtained permission from the grand seignior, for which he pays a considerable sum to the grand vizier.

From what we have said concerning the discipline in the Greek church, and the splendid titles bestowed upon those who attend the patriarch of Constantinople, some may imagine that this pontiff is held in the same rank as the popes at Rome. The case, however, is quite otherwise; for the pope is rather a temporal prince than a spiritual bishop, and we have an instance so late as the year 1748, of Benedict XIV. pope of Rome, and one of the greatest canonists that ever lived, sending an ambassador to the treaty held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to insist that he should be secured in the peaceable possession of his dominions. Nay, in former times, this was common with the popes, and on different occasions they became mediators between contending princes, of which many instances might be given.

At Constantinople, the patriarch is such a poor dependent creature, that no motives that we can form any notion of, would induce him to court the enjoyment, or rather the fatigues of the office, except principle or ambition. That his motives do not flow from a principle of doing good, must appear evident to every one who has heard how he acquires the title. The means made use of are a scandal even to a heathen country, but much more so to those who assume the sacred name of Christian. He enters upon it by a simoniacal bargain; he rewards his oppressors with what emoluments, or rather what fees of an illegal nature he can extort from his suffragans, and by so doing lays a foundation for a continual

succession of hypocrisy, perjury, and every thing that can dishonour religion, and disgrace man. But we must look for it in ambition, that principle implanted in every human breast, and always beneficial to ourselves and to others, when exerted in a proper manner. But there are two sorts of ambition, one which leads us in the road, and conducts us to the temple of fame; there is another, which renders us despicable even in the eyes of the meanest of our fellow-creatures.

An honest ambition stimulates a man to act in such a manner as to leave a good name behind, and if he should even miss that, as many have done, he will still enjoy a good conscience. When Sir Thomas More was lord high chancellor of England, his sons, whom he had put into places, complained one day to their father, that by his lenity to the suitors in Chancery, they could not make so much in their offices, as those who went before them; "I will do justice (said he) to every man for your sake, and I will leave you a blessing." Here was an instance of untainted moral ambition, and it is from such sentiments that many great and good men have learned to be useful to their fellow creatures. Sir Thomas More, although a Christian, and a zealous Roman Catholic, for which he lost his life, spoke here as a moral philosopher, as an upright judge, and as an honest man; but let us carry the idea into Christianity.

When Ignatius, the aged bishop of Antioch, in the reign of the emperor Trajan, was told that he was to be devoured by wild beasts, he exultingly replied, "That is my highest honour, for then I shall be grinded by their teeth, so as to be bread for my Divine Lord and Redeemer." But the second sort of ambition is, that which is mean, selfish, and grovelling. Such are those wretches who sell honour and conscience, not for a temporary emolument, but merely for an empty name. Mr. Knowles, in his history of the Turks, tells us of a rich tradesman at Constantinople, who gave all his fortune for leave to wear the imperial crown one hour, and thus, says the historian, in one hour, he became a conceited emperor and a real beggar.

This case, in every respect, applies to those men who aspire at being patriarchs of Constantinople.—They are mean enough to solicit the interest of the clerks in office, and these being well paid, intercede with the grand vizier, who obtains permission from the grand seignior; and the patriarch, in order to reimburse himself of the expenses he has paid, fleeces the bishops under his care, and they, in their turn, are permitted to oppress the people. It often happens, that all the patriarch can procure does not answer the demand of the grand vizier, who is for the most part implacable, and will shew him no mercy. He is ordered into banishment, and another

is appointed in his room; so that it often happens that there are three or four deposed patriarchs at a time. Strange, that the desire of an empty name should lead men on to such unaccountable extravagancies, but such is the state of human nature; and in looking over history, we shall find, that some men in all ages and nations, have been tainted with this mean sordid principle.

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### *Of the Worship in the Greek Church.*

When the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost ceased, the rulers of the church supplied this want by proper forms of their own composition, according to Christian prudence and discretion. This seems to have been the true original of liturgies, or stated forms of divine service.

Every bishop, in the first ages, was at liberty to order the form of divine service in his own church; and, accordingly, each particular church or diocese, had its proper liturgy. This privilege the bishops retained for several ages; but in after times, they agreed by consent to conform their liturgy to the model of the metropolitical church to which they belonged. And then it was enacted into a law by several councils, that the same order and uniformity should be observed in all churches. The rudiments of this discipline were first laid in the French churches; but soon after, the same rule was concerted and agreed upon in the Spanish churches. In length of time, when the Roman empire began to be divided into different kingdoms, then came in the use of national liturgies, or such whose use was commensurate to the bounds and limits of their respective nations and kingdoms.

None of the ancient liturgies are now remaining, as they were at first composed for the use of particular churches, and several reasons may be assigned for this. 1. They being designed only for the use of particular churches, there was no great reason to be very solicitous, either to communicate the knowledge of them to other churches, or to preserve them entire to posterity. 2. It is not improbable, as a learned French writer has observed, that the ancient liturgies were for some ages only certain forms of worship committed to memory, and known by practice rather than by writing. This seems the more probable, because, in the persecution under Dioclesian, when strict search was made after every thing belonging to the church, we never read of any ritual books, or books of divine service, discovered among them. This is an argument that they did not so generally draw up their liturgies, or forms of worship, in books and writings, as in after ages: which is the reason why none of those ancient litur-

gies are come to our hands perfect and entire, but only in scattered fragments, as the fathers had occasion to mention them incidentally in their writings.

3. The last reason is, the interpolations and additions made to the ancient liturgies in after ages. For, though these ancient liturgies which go under the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, might originally have something of their composition in them, yet so many additions and alterations have been made in them by the Greek church in following ages, that it is not easy to discern what are the genuine compositions of the first authors. But, though none of the ancient liturgies are come down to us perfect and entire, yet there are several fragments and scattered remains of them in the genuine writings of the fathers; to which may be added, such forms as we find in the ancient book called *The Apostolical Constitutions*. This, though perhaps not so old as the title imports, nor of so venerable authority as Mr. Whiston contended for, who will have it to be truly diabolical, is allowed however to be a good collection of the liturgies and rituals of the church, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Greeks have several liturgies for particular holy days, but the one generally used is that commonly known by the name of St. Chrysostom's; and although this book be of considerable antiquity, yet it was not written by that father, but by some other person since his time. St. Chrysostom lived in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century, for he was ordained bishop of Constantinople 1393, and deposed and banished for opposing Arianism 1405. In his time some forms of prayer were used, but these were few, plain, and easy; and of these we have some specimens in the works of this celebrated father, quite different from those which bear his name in the Greek liturgy.

During their prayers in public, the Greeks for the most part stand uncovered, with their faced towards the east, but they may lean, or even sit down, if it is more convenient for them. The laity sit while the priest reads his exhortation to them, for preaching is so far abolished among them, that Tournefort assures us, that there is scarce a pulpit to be seen: and when it happens that a priest attempts to preach, he makes a very awkward figure. His discourse consists of a tedious train of empty words, without the least order or coherence, and which the teacher knows just as little of as the people.

As soon as the people get into their pews, they uncover their heads, and make the sign of the cross, by joining the three first fingers of their right hand; by which is implied, that there are three persons in the sacred godhead, and then they draw them down from their foreheads below their breasts, and then from the right shoulder; by all which is meant, that the three persons in the godhead reside in hea-

ven; when brought to the breast, Christ's incarnation, crucifixion, burial, and descent into hell; when laid on the right shoulder, they denote that Christ is risen, and sits at the right hand of God. As the wicked are said to be placed at the left hand of Christ, and as in all cases, the right hand is reckoned more noble than the left, so the Greeks, who are very superstitious, prefer this way of making the cross to that used by the Roman Catholics. But there are many other mysteries supposed to be held forth by these ceremonies; for in all churches where primitive simplicity is forsaken or neglected, allegories, drawn from visible representation, are placed in its room.

When the Greeks celebrate mass, the priest enters the church, attended by a deacon, and they bow to the east, and make three profound bows before the images of our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, which are accompanied with a short prayer, and after that, three more low bows to the east.—The deacon then advances and dresses the priest in the outward robe, or stole, after which he puts on his own. The whole of this ceremony is conducted with the repetition of several short prayers, both by the priest and the deacon, while the people are at their devotions in private. The priest then walks from one end of the altar to the other, touches all the sacred vessels, marks them with the sign of the cross, and repeats several prayers in concert with the deacon.

These ceremonies being performed, the priest, with the deacon, goes to the left side of the altar, where they wash their hands, as a token of their being cleansed from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, and while they are washing, they repeat a prayer in their own language. The priest then begins to make the necessary preparations for celebrating mass, and the deacon brings the bread, wine, and chalice, out of a closet, and places them on a table before the middle of the altar, then both of them make three profound bows before them. Having blessed the bread, he takes it in his left hand, and a knife in his right, and makes a cross on it, saying three times successively, "In remembrance of Jesus Christ, our Lord, our God, and our Redeemer." In the conclusion of these words, he enters the knife into a mark on the right side of the bread, and cuts it cross-ways, repeating the following words: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," and when the knife is entered into the mark, he adds, "And as the lamb before his shearer was dumb." When he cuts the upper part of the mark, he says, "His judgment was made manifest in his humility." And on cutting the lower part, he continues, "And who shall declare his generation?" At every distinct act of the priest, the deacon says, "Let us pray to the Lord," and taking the lap of

his stole in his right hand, he addresses himself thus to the priest: "Elevate my Lord." The priest then cuts the bread a second time, saying, "He was elevated for us." Then he puts the bread into the paten, and when the deacon says to him, "Offer the sacrifice, my Lord," he offers it cross-ways, in imitation of the sacrifice of our blessed Lord upon the cross, and says, "I here offer up for the spiritual benefit and salvation of mankind, the Lamb of God which takes away the sins of the world." In like manner, when the deacon says, "Pierce it," he cuts the remainder of the bread with his knife, on the right side, applying the following text to the action: "One of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and there issued forth blood and water." Then the deacon pours the wine and water into the chalice, and mixes them, as a representation of Christ's sufferings, both in his soul and in his body.

The custom of mixing wine and water together, is of great antiquity, was often practised in the primitive church, and took its rise from the following circumstance. The primitive Christians, besides their using wine at the communion, had their love-feasts where they conversed together upon divine things; and as these were held on the same days, and as they drank wine at both, it was found most prudent to mix it with water. Indeed this was the more necessary, because the Asiatic wines are very strong; and had they not contrived to weaken them, they might have gone home in a state of intoxication. Nay, their churches and houses might have become scenes of riot and drunkenness, as was the practice of the heathens. But these primitive Christians never drew from this ceremony any allegorical inferences, but only used it from motives of prudence and virtue, that the heathens might see their lives were pure and blameless. But to return to the Greek worship, we find the liturgy proceeding in the following manner:

The priest takes a second loaf, saying, "In honour of our blessed Lady;" and then he elevates it, and puts it on the left side of that which was consecrated before. After this, he takes up as many loaves as are wanted, and consecrates them in the same manner as before. These are dedicated to the prophets, to John the baptist, and to the apostles with other illustrious saints, particularly St. Chrysostom, whom they believe to be the author of their liturgy. These oblations amount to nine in all; and represent, (as the Greek priests tell us) the nine hierarchies of angels.

After all this, the priest takes more bread, and consecrates several small pieces as before, for the archbishop, or bishop of the diocese to which he belongs, and for the priests, deacons, and all such as are of the sacerdotal order: and then, in commemora-



ration of the founders of the church wherein the mass is celebrated, and for the remission of their sins. Here the names of the living likewise are mentioned, who desire to be remembered in their prayers; but more particularly those who have paid for saying this mass, and all such deceased persons as he is desired to commemorate and recommend to the divine favour. The priest holds one piece of bread in his right hand, and another in his left, while the deacon takes the censer, and desires his blessing, which he receives, and then incenses the silver star, with which the priest covers the consecrated bread, pronouncing, at the same time, the following words, "The star rested over the place where the child was laid."

This action is accompanied with several prayers, and afterwards the deacon incenses the veils with which he covers the chalice and paten. Besides these veils, which are made use of as separate covers for the bread and wine, there is another in common use by the Greeks, called *Aer*, which the celebrant or priest spreads over them both. After this, the priest and the deacon join their hands, adore the sacred elements, and repeat a thanksgiving out of their liturgy. Then the priest reads a collect called the Prayer of Oblation; and having incensed the altar, he pronounces the absolution. Here the priest repeats a prayer, in which St. Chrysostom is named immediately after the Blessed Virgin. This being over, the deacon takes the censer from the priest, and incenses the communion table in the form of a cross; and kneeling down, repeats the following prayer: "Thy body, O Lord, was laid in the silent grave; thy soul descended into hell as God; thou entered into paradise with the holy thief; but thou hast seated thyself with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in thy celestial throne, where by thy immensity thou fillest all things."

As the Roman Catholics pretend to discover mysteries in all their ceremonies, so do the Greeks in their. It was the same with the ancient heathens, particularly the Greeks, from whom the Greek Christians have borrowed the greatest part of their ceremonies: some few they have borrowed from the Jews, but not so many of those as we meet with in the mass book of the church of Rome, which we have already described.

Many of the Greek monks differ in some things in their ceremonies from the secular clergy, of which we shall give the following instance. The monks of Mount Athos, honour the blessed Virgin in a way peculiar to themselves. One of the brethren standing at the lower end of the table, cuts a small loaf into four parts, and deposits one of them in a plate, or a little box, which is placed on a stand for that purpose before the image of the blessed Virgin. This piece of bread, which they call *Panagia*, is

delivered immediately after consecration to the abbot, who elevates it, saying, "Magnified be thy name," the monks say, "Of the sacred Trinity." Then the abbot proceeds, "O! Ever blessed God, aid and assist us!" The monks reply, "Through her intercession, have mercy upon us and save us, good Lord." After this, the abbot takes up a small piece of the crumb, which he puts in his mouth, and the monks eat up the remainder.

Having said thus much by way of digression concerning the manners of the Greeks in their consecration of the elements, we shall now proceed to give an account of the concluding parts of this ceremony; and here it is necessary to observe, that in the liturgy ascribed to St. Chrysostom, the offices are longer, and the ceremonies more numerous than in the Missal of the church of Rome. For in the Roman church, mass is generally concluded within an hour if sung, and in little more than half an hour if said; whereas in the Greek church it is seldom less than two hours, and on some particular festivals, particularly those of St. James, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom, takes up, at least, three hours.

The deacon having incensed the priest, and the high altar as we have already described, he places himself by his side before the high altar, where having made several bows, the priest kisses the gospels, and the deacon the communion table. The deacon afterwards makes his bow to the priest, and says to him, "It is time to sacrifice to the Lord, father give me your benediction." The priest gives it accordingly, and the deacon answers, "Pray for me." Then the priest repeats a short prayer, and the deacon says Amen, three different times. And both at one and the same time say, "O Lord! thou shalt open my lips." The deacon after this goes out of the tabernacle, and adores the elements three different times, and again receives the priest's blessing, all the people saying Amen. Here it is they repeat a general prayer for the peace of the church where they reside; for the congregation then present; for the patriarch or archbishop, and the inferior clergy; for the civil power under which they live; for prosperity to all those who travel by land or by water; for captives; for the sick; and for the whole world in general.

As soon as these prayers are over, the first anthem begins, which is performed by the deacon and choir, who sing in concert in some parts of it, and in others alternately. These anthems are taken from their own liturgy, and they consist chiefly of verses collected out of the psalms, and hymns written by St. Chrysostom.

This part of the ceremony is called the benediction of the entry, which being over, the deacon having kissed the gospels, stands before the priest, with the book to the people, saying, with an audible

voice, "Behold the book of true wisdom." The priest and the deacon make their respective reverences, the latter puts the gospel upon the communion table, and the choir sing the anthems appointed for the day.

As soon as the anthem is finished, the deacon, as before, asks the priest's benediction, and receives it, after which the priest repeats a short prayer. The deacon then goes towards the door, and says, "Let us be attentive," and the priest answers, "Peace be unto all." All these ceremonies are only preliminary to the reading of the gospel, and there are many others similar to what we have already mentioned. Several lighted lamps are carried before the deacon when he goes out of the sanctuary with the gospel, and then he mounts the desk to read the epistle, which being concluded, the priest says to the deacon, "Peace be unto you all," and the latter delivers the gospel to the former. Several prayers and short ejaculations succeed in the same manner as directed in the liturgy.

Here the catechumens make their appearance, who are not only particularly prayed for, but the deacon makes several vows in their behalf, and at every solemn engagement the choir sing *Kyrie Eleeson*. The prayer for these catechumens, which the priest repeats aloud, closes the service for them, after which the veil is displayed, upon which the relics of the saints are laid. The deacon next takes up the censor, and incenses the priest, saying to him, "Elevate my Lord." Then the priest takes off the veil, throws it over the deacon's left shoulder, and pronounces a prayer suitable to the occasion. Afterwards the deacon takes the paten and puts it upon his head, and the priest takes the chalice, and the deacon the censor, and in this manner they march in procession round the church, repeating a particular prayer, till they come to the door of the tabernacle, where both of them repeat aloud, "Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord." After this the priest lays the sacred symbols on the high altar, takes off the veil that covered the paten and the chalice, and the other veil that had been thrown over the deacon's shoulder, who incenses the sacred elements three times successively. Both the priest and the deacon kneel down again, and adore the sacred elements, and the priest repeats a prayer in secret. Several prayers and ejaculations follow, with other acts of devotion, and the priest and the deacon make three profound bows again towards the communion table.

Then the creed is rehearsed, after which the priest says, "Lift up your hearts," to which the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord." Here the priest repeats a prayer in secret, the deacon makes the sign of the cross on the paten, wipes it with the veil, kisses it, puts on another robe, and

goes to the right side of the altar, with a large fan in his hand, which he waves for some time over the sacred elements. Here follows another secret prayer, which being over, the priest bows reverently three times, and with uplifted hands, blesses the sacred elements. After which, with an audible voice, he says, "Take, eat, this is my body, &c." Taking the cup, he says, "This cup is my blood, drink ye all of it."

As soon as both these ceremonies are over, the deacon lays down the fan, and goes up to the priest, each of them making three bows towards the sacred elements, and repeating a short prayer. Then the deacon bows down his head, points to the elements, and in a kind of whisper, desires the priest to pronounce a second blessing on them, which he does in the following words: "O Lord, by thy omnipotent power, let those elements be unto us as the body and blood of Christ." Here the deacon takes up the fan a second time, and the priest repeats a prayer, begging of God, that none but the faithful may partake of the body and blood of Christ; from whence it appears evident, that they differ much from the Roman Catholics, for the latter believe that the wafer is wholly changed into the body and blood of Christ, so that whoever partakes of it, must eat the body of Christ; whereas the Greeks believe that there is no change made in the elements but to the faithful.

They commemorate the dead as well as the living, and the choir repeat the Lord's Prayer three times, after which the priest says, "Peace be unto you." As soon as the deacon sees the priest stretch out his hands over the sacred elements, he pronounces with an audible voice, "Let us give due attention;" and the priest adds, "Holy things are for those that are holy." The deacon girds himself with a robe in the form of a cross, and standing at the right hand of the priest, desires him to divide the bread. Accordingly he divides it into four several parts, repeating the following words: "The Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, is separated and divided; and though separated, is not mangled nor torn in pieces; he is for ever eaten, but never consumed. He sanctifies all who partake of this holy bread, and drink of this holy wine."

After this he takes one of the pieces of the consecrated bread into his hand, the deacon points to the chalice, and desires him to fill it, to which the priest replies, "This is the fulness of the Holy Ghost," and making at the same time the sign of the cross, takes out a small piece of bread, and puts it into a chalice, and the deacon pours warm water upon it. After this the priest administers the bread to the deacon, who receiving it, kisses the celebrant's hands, saying, "Permit me to partake of the sacred body of Jesus Christ, our God and our Saviour."

To which the priest answers, "I do freely permit thee to partake of the sacred spotless body of Jesus Christ our God and our Saviour, for the remission of thy sins, and for the happy attainment of everlasting life." After that the deacon withdraws behind the communion table, and there repeats a prayer in private. Then the priest receives the sacrament himself, and bowing to the elements, repeats the following words: "I believe, O Lord, and acknowledge that thou art Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God. O let me now partake of thy mysterious banquet, which I industriously conceal from thine enemies. I will not kiss thee, O Lord, as Judas did, but like the thief upon the cross will I own and acknowledge thee. Remember me, O Lord, in thine heavenly kingdom. Thou didst not reject the penitent adulteress, do not therefore reject thy servant, O Lord."

Having communicated, he wipes that part of the chalice which his lips had touched, saying, "This chalice has touched my lips, it shall wash away mine iniquities." The deacon advances, and performs his acts of adoration, saying, "I approach thee, immortal king." The priest who has the chalice in his hand, delivers it to him, saying, "Receive the sacred precious body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

To conclude, the deacon lays the paten upon the chalice, wiping them both, covers the latter with a veil, opens the door of the holy tabernacle, and taking the cup in his right hand, elevates it, and at the same time invites the people to draw near and partake of it with awful reverence and godly fear. The priest blesses the people, and they answer in a suitable manner thereunto. Then he and the deacon return to the altar, which they incense three times, repeating several short prayers.

The priest again takes up the paten, and puts it upon the head of the deacon, who returns with it to the tabernacle, where he deposits it. Then the deacon and the choir pray alternately a considerable time, and the priest, fixing his eyes on the congregation, repeats a thanksgiving. An anthem is then sung, and the priest, having repeated the song of Simeon, blesses the people, who all stand up ready to depart, saying, "Grant long life and prosperity, O Lord, to him who has thus blessed and sanctified us."

This ends the service of the mass, when none communicates besides the priest and the deacon, but it is much longer when the laity communicate.—They receive the sacrament standing at the door of the tabernacle, the men first, and then the women. Such as partake must stand in a very reverential posture, with their eyes fixed on the ground, their heads bowed down in a posture of adoration, and their arms must be laid across. Before they partake,

they must go to the further end of the church, and beg pardon if they have offended any one; and if one should happen to complain of another having injured him, the offender must make restitution, and say, "Brethren forgive me, for I have sinned both in word and in deed." This being done, the priest gives the communicant the consecrated bread, calling him by his name, saying, "N. X. thou servant of the living God, receive the sacred body of Jesus Christ, to preserve thee into everlasting life." In the same manner, and with words to the same effect, he gives the cup.

Upon the whole, we have here an inordinate load of ceremonies, which would even make religion nauseous, although its doctrines were pure; and the affinity between these and those of the Roman Catholics, may serve to shew, that both churches went hand and hand in promoting corruption, particularly in worship. But we must now go on to describe such other ceremonies as are not hitherto mentioned.

When the Greeks consecrate a church, they attend to almost as many ceremonies as the Roman Catholics; nay, in some particulars more, as will appear from what we are now going to relate. When the bishop, attended by his priest and clerks, with his other proper officers, arrives at the place where a new church is to be built, he finds the ground marked out, and the chief persons of the parish attending. He is received with as much formality as if he was a sovereign pontiff; for as we have already observed, even the greatest severity of the Turkish government: and the most abject state of poverty cannot damp the spirits of the Greeks. In this part of their conduct they seem to retain some of the sentiments of their ancestors, before they were subdued by the Romans, and those motives which once led the ancient Greeks on to warlike achievements, are now become the leading principles of the grossest superstition. Revolutions in public affairs, the introduction of new laws, manners, customs, and daily practices, change the tempers and dispositions of men, and descendants of heroes are now become poor, insignificant devotees. Pride, however, is not wholly eradicated, and a modern Greek can see as many virtues in a priest, as his ancestors did in a Miltiades or a Themistocles.

The first thing the bishop does when he comes to the place where the new church is to be built, is to incense the ground all over, during which ceremony the clergy sing anthems, in honour of the saint to whom it is to be dedicated. When he arrives at the place where the high altar is to be erected, he repeats a prayer, begging that God would be pleased to bless and prosper the intended edifice. This being done, the bishop takes up a stone, and makes the sign of the cross upon it, and then lays it in the



ground, saying, "The Lord hath laid the foundation of this house, it shall never be shaken." But there is another ceremony following this, which is truly heathenish, and Sir Paul Ricaut assures us he has often seen it.

As soon as the bishop and the clergy are withdrawn, the workmen kill a cock, or a sheep, and bury the blood under the foundation stone; for they are of opinion, that there is a kind of magic or charm in this ceremony, which is of vast service to the building. They have another ceremony equally as absurd and heathenish, and that is, when they would wreck their vengeance on any one who has offended them, they take the exact dimensions of his body in height and circumference with a string, and this they carry to the workmen to be laid under the stone, believing the body of the person whom they hate, will gradually moulder away as this measure does. This custom, or something of a similar nature, is very ancient; for it was common for those who pretended to the power of witchcraft, to make the figure of a person in wax, and stick it full of pins. This image was placed before the fire, and the person whom it represented decayed away in the same time the wax melted, and his pain was excessive, for he felt as if so many pins or needles had been stuck into his body. This notion was firmly believed by the superstitious, and whenever a man was afflicted with any disorder of an extraordinary nature that he could not account for, then it was believed that he was suffering under the power of witchcraft, for which many old women have lost their lives.

The Greeks wear a piece of paper, wood, brass, or silver, hanging from their necks in the form of a cross, with the name of Jesus Christ written upon it. These they imagine to be effectual charms, or preservatives against the power of several distempers. This practice, like the former, is not only ancient, but is still observed in many of the idolatrous nations; the only difference consisting, is this, that the heathens, instead of the cross, wear the image of one of their idols.

The Greek churches are, for the most part, built in the form of a cross, with a dome and a steeple, but the latter is of no manner of use to them, because the Turks will not suffer them to have bells. The reason the Turks assign for this, is, that they believe the noise of the bells disturb the repose of the dead. As for such of the Greek churches as belong to convents, they are built in the middle of the court, and the cells and apartments round them. The people for the most part, sit on stools, with their backs against the wall, in such a manner, that they appear as if they were standing; but during prayers they kneel.

In the Metropolitan churches, the patriarch's throne is erected on an eminence, and those of other

dignitaries under it. The readers, chanters and inferior clergy, sit over against them, and in the middle is the desk for reading the scriptures. The nave is separated from the sanctuary, by a partition wall, running from the bottom to the top, which is painted and gilded; and the sanctuary has three doors. The middle one is called the holy door, and is never set open, but at the celebration of some solemn festival, or during mass, when the deacon goes out to read the gospel, or when the priest carries the sacred elements to be consecrated. The highest part of the church is the sanctuary, and it is always at the east end, and terminates in a semicircle.

When they consecrate an altar, the bishop, or priest appointed by him, incenses it all over, and then pronounces a blessing while the deacon reads several prayers, and the people sing anthems and verses extracted out of the psalms. In one part of the ceremony, the priest begs of God, in express terms, "That he would be graciously pleased to change the unbloody victims, which would be from time to time offered up in sacrifice upon this altar, into the body and blood of his son Jesus Christ." At the conclusion of this prayer he removes every thing that is upon the altar, whilst the deacon and the people sing some particular psalms, and all things necessary for the absolution are brought before him. The official steps forward, with a little palm, filled with water, which he pours upon the altar, and says, "Bless it my Lord." Then the bishop gives the priests that are present at the ceremony, the sacred linen clothes to rub the holy table, and the sponges to wipe it dry after he has poured more water upon it. After this, they dress it all anew, and repeat a prayer, which is followed by incensing the holy table all around, and a benediction, accompanied with the sign of the cross, which is made with a piece of woollen cloth that covers the altar.

Besides Lent, and several other fasts, the Greeks generally keep Wednesdays and Fridays, except some few, and amongst the rest, those in the eleventh week before Easter, which they call Artzeburst.—The reason they assign for not fasting on the last mentioned days, is singular enough.

They say, that some heretics in ancient times, had a favourite dog, who used to go on errands for them, from time to time; but the creature being one day found dead, the heretics accused the orthodox with having killed him. These heretics set apart two days in the week above mentioned, to fast and mourn for the loss of their dog, and the orthodox, lest they should conform to any of their practices, kept three days in fasting.

The Greeks are so superstitious and rigid in the observation of their fasts, that they will not suffer any ease of necessity whatever to justify a dispensation, and even the patriarch himself, according as they

believe, cannot give a person leave to eat meat, if the church has commanded the contrary. They think it their duty rather to let a sick man die, than to restore him to health if they could, by giving him nourishment: which, on such occasions, they look upon as abominable. It happens, however, that a father confessor shall sometimes, when he has a particular respect and regard for a person indisposed, order and advise him to eat meat, and promise him absolution, if he comes to confession. It is very probable, that some cunning priests among them, consider this practice as a proper medium between the severity of church discipline, and the necessity of enjoying the necessities of life. This much is certain, that such of the Greeks as visit Italy, acknowledge, that their church has the same power as that of Rome, which grants dispensations at any time.

Dr. Spon, an eminent physician, who was several years in the Levant, informs us, that upon a moderate computation, there are only about one hundred and ninety days in the year on which meat is permitted to be eaten, and that whatever the priests may do in secret, yet neither old nor young, the sick nor the healthy, are permitted to eat meat publicly. By which means, the Greeks, for the generality, have no other radical moisture in them, but a compound of noxious humours, which makes them hot and choleric, and addicted to the last degree, to the most execrable oaths and blasphemous imprecations. What an instance is this of the frailty of human nature, always obliged to submit and give way to the constitution of the body and the influences of the climate a man lives under.

In their feasts, the Greeks give themselves up to all sorts of rioting and drunkenness, in which they are encouraged by the example of their priests, who join with them. Sometimes these scenes of riot lead them to fight, a circumstance which the Turks are sure to lay hold of to punish them. Sir George Wheeler, who was an eye witness, gives the following description of the ceremonies used in the Greek church at Constantinople on Holy-Thursday. Twelve of their most venerable priests attend the patriarch to the church or sanctuary, where he puts off his purple robe, and puts on one more costly. The priests, who in this ceremony represent the twelve apostles, have each a robe of a different colour. The eldest who has the most venerable appearance, is made choice of to personate Peter, and takes the first place on the right hand. One of them, who is obliged to have a red beard, is made choice of to represent Judas; but why Judas should have a red beard, is not mentioned. All these priests being seated, the patriarch goes out, and having put off his robes, girds himself with a towel round his waist, and in that manner returns into the sanctuary,

with a bason of water in his hand to wash the feet of the twelve apostles. He who personates St. Peter, refuses at first the honour offered to be conferred on him: saying, "Master thou shalt never wash my feet." But the patriarch answers, "Unless I wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me." Upon which the priest makes no further resistance, but permits him to wash his feet. When the patriarch comes to the representative of the unhappy Judas, he makes a kind of a pause, as it were to give him time to recollect himself, but at last washes his feet also, and the ceremony closes with several anthems.

The Assumption of the Virgin Mary is a grand festival among the Greeks, and like the Roman Catholics they have their legends for all the solemn days they observe. That concerning the Assumption is as follows. The twelve apostles met together, and had an entertainment, of which they all partook heartily. As soon as their entertainment was over, and they were going to elevate a piece of consecrated bread, the room was filled with an unusual light, and the Blessed Virgin appeared to them, surrounded with rays of glory, and attended by a numerous host of angels. At her entrance she paid her respects to the apostles, and said to them, in the most sweet and comforting manner, "God be with you, I'll never leave you, nor forsake you." The apostles, though equally surprised and transported, pursued their wonted ceremony of elevating the bread; but instead of saying "O Lord Christ aid and assist us," they said, "O ever Blessed Virgin! mother of God! grant us thy aid," and the Virgin vanished out of their sight. The apostles thereupon cried out, "The queen is ascended into heaven, and there sits at the right hand of her son." In commemoration of this extraordinary event, on the Assumption, after this entertainment is over, a loaf, three lighted tapers, some incense and fire, are delivered into the priest's hand, who thereupon cuts off the crust of the loaf in the form of a triangle, sets three wax tapers upon the crust so separated, and then incenses and blesses the bread. Afterwards he delivers the bread to the youngest person then present, and orders three wax tapers to be set in three different corners of the room, and the bread is distributed in small pieces among the people.

The Greeks, as well as the Roman Catholics, canonize their saints, and they have particular offices for that purpose; but before they can be admitted to that honour, ample testimonies must be given, by persons of undoubted reputation, that they were, while in life, what they have been represented. The patriarch takes the examination in open convocation, with all the care and circumspection imaginable; and yet, notwithstanding all this care, it is in a manner impossible to enumerate the prejudices, intrigues and cabals, that take place. After the strictest

inquiry has been made, the candidate, if approved of, is admitted into the kalendar, and a day is appointed for his festival. He is annually commemorated; there are masses said in honour of him, and the history of his life and miracles is publicly read in the churches. However, as the Greeks in general are as vicious as they are poor, so there are but few who can pretend to aspire at the honour of canonization.

In baptism the Greeks observe a vast number of ceremonies, some of which are of very great antiquity, though not so old as the apostolic age. If an infant shews no signs of illness, and there is no apparent reason to believe that its life is in danger, then it is not brought to the church till the eighth day after its birth; but if it appears that life is in danger, the priest is sent for, and it is baptized immediately, lest it should die in darkness, as they express it; when it is otherwise, the parent brings the child, attended by the sponsors, to the door of the church, where they are met by the priest, who takes it in his arms and blesses it; at the same time he makes the sign of the cross upon its forehead, its mouth and its breast. This part of the ceremony is called the putting the seal upon the child, and immediately after the priest repeats a short prayer. He then takes it in his arms, and holding it before the image of the Virgin, makes the sign of the cross several times upon it. He then breathes three times upon the infant, which is considered as a deliverance from the power of hell, and the temptations of the devil. Afterwards he plunges it three times all over in the baptismal font, and at immersion, names one of the persons in the sacred and ever blessed Trinity. The relations and sponsors, who bring the child to baptism, take care to have the water gently warmed, and they strew it with a handful of the most odoriferous flowers. While the water is warming, the priest breathes upon it, repeating several prayers, in order to sanctify it, as a thing set apart for a sacred use.

He then dips his finger in the oil, and with it makes the cross on the forehead of the child, and this they consider as a symbol of reconciliation with God. He likewise anoints its ears, lips, breast, and loins, during which part of the ceremony he repeats a prayer, desiring of God that the child may be kept from all sorts of temptations, and be a faithful servant of Jesus Christ. The sponsors enter into the most solemn engagements, to see the child brought up in the principles of the Christian religion, but they pay as little regard to these engagements as the godfathers and godmothers who live in other parts of the world.

All those who have stood godfathers and godmothers, are prohibited from marrying with each other; nor can the children of these religious spou-

sors intermarry with each other, till at least one generation is past, otherwise the marriage itself would be considered as incestuous, and the children declared illegitimate. Seven days after baptism, the child is brought to the church in order to be washed, and the priest not only washes the infant's shirt, but cleans its body all over with a new sponge, or a linen cloth prepared for that purpose, and then finishes the ceremony with the following words:—"Thou art now baptized, surrounded with a celestial light, fortified with the sacrament of confirmation, and sanctified and washed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

With respect to confession, it must be made to a priest canonically ordained, and one who has the bishop's licence for acting in the capacity of a ghostly or spiritual father. He who intends to confess his sins, applies to the priest, who withdraws along with him to a remote corner of the church. The penitent there sits down with his head uncovered, and the priest assures him that the angel of the Lord is there present to take down his confession. "Take heed, therefore (says he) that neither through shame, nor from any other motive whatever, thou art any ways tempted to conceal thy sin; I am a man and a sinner as well as thyself." Whilst the penitent is at confession, the priest continues to exhort him not to conceal any thing from him, as that would be the highest hypocrisy in the sight of God, and endanger the happiness of his soul. Penance is then enjoined him, which, for the most part, consists in fasting for a few days, giving some alms to the poor, or going on pilgrimages to the shrines, or rather tombs of some saints; but this latter part of the penance is generally dispensed with.

After confession, the priest pronounces the following absolution: "By virtue of the power and authority which the apostles received from our blessed Lord himself, and which they have transmitted down to the bishops, and by the commission which I have now received from my bishop, I absolve thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and I do hereby declare and pronounce, that thy portion is among the number of the just." After this he reads a prayer, and the penitent gives him a small gratuity in money.

When they excommunicate a person out of their communion, the Greeks carry their bigotry and superstition to a very great height. They call down all the curses of heaven upon him, and even prohibit his interment after death. The awful apprehension of the effects of such dreadful curses, contributes much towards keeping the modern Greeks in a state of obedience, and imprint upon their minds a lively sense of their duty. To this we may add, what they assert concerning those excommunicated persons, namely, that their bodies never dissolve nor



monder away till the excommunication is taken off. They believe that the devil enters into their lifeless corpse, and makes them subservient to his will and pleasure. They add further, that at the end of a year, after they have been interred, their bodies sound hollow as a drum, and that if set upright on their feet, they will stand without any support.—All such excommunicated persons (say they) turn black, their hair grows dark, and their nails white. Their bodies, however, will dissolve, if the priest reads several prayers prescribed in the liturgy, but for doing this, he must be paid his fee, according to the circumstances of the deceased.

It is common with the Greeks, after the priest has repeated such prayers as tend to absolve the excommunicated person, to open the grave, and to take up his body, to see whether the absolution has had the desired effect; and if they find it corrupted, they are satisfied, but if otherwise, then the priest must repeat the prayers once more. But it is not only with the dead that the devil makes himself so free in Greece, it frequently happens that he visits the living, by taking possession both of their souls and bodies. In such cases they are obliged to have recourse to exorcism, which is done in the following manner:

The patient is chained down to a post fixed in the floor, after which, several priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, read to him for six hours together, select passages taken out of the four gospels, and these priests generally fast one day at least before they begin the ceremony.

If the devil does not depart the first day, they repeat the ceremony on the day following, while it frequently happens, that the person possessed, curses his maker, and speaks such blasphemy as is not proper to be mentioned. That there are some tricks played by the Greeks, as well as by the Roman Catholics, concerning persons said to be possessed with the devil, cannot be denied; for it frequently happens, that when they have repeated their prayers two or three days, the supposed possessed person is thrown into the most violent convulsions and distortions of body, and afterwards becomes calm and serene. Thus we find, that in the art of deception, so far as it can be carried to blind the vulgar, the Romish and the Greek priests are the same. Of this we have a remarkable instance, as related by Mr. Keysler, in his travels. When that gentleman was at Turin in 1732, the whole city was in an uproar concerning a young woman possessed by the devil. The priests had undertaken to drive the devil away to his own habitation, but to enhance the value of the miracle, the farce was protracted, and exorcisms were used every day. All ranks of people flocked daily to see the miracle that was to be wrought, and among the rest an English gentleman,

who saw through the deceit. He told the prince of Piedmont, late king of Sardinia, that he would unravel to him the whole mystery, so as no injury should happen to him. The prince acquiesced, and they both went together to the scene of action. The English gentleman asked the priests if the devil could speak all languages, to which they answered in the affirmative. Upon that he spoke to the devil in English, and the young woman reputed to be possessed, threw herself into the most violent distortions. The priests, finding the Englishman had put the trick upon them, said in excuse, that the devil never spoke in the language of heretics, while they were exorcising him with the prayers of the church. Now this argument made use of by the priests was rather silly, because it is certainly true, that birds of a feather will flock together, and if heretics are the children of the devil, as the Roman Catholics say, why should not their father understand their language.

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### *Of the Marriage of the Greeks.*

THE Greeks, although united in most of those fundamental articles, upon which according to them, salvation depends, yet in many ceremonies they differ, and in none so much as in that of marriage. It has been much disputed, whether marriage should be performed by the clergy or the civil magistrate. In other words it might be expressed, is marriage a civil or a religious institution? The answer is obvious; it is both civil and religious; it is civil, as one of the bonds of human society; it is religious, being an engagement between a man and a woman, to live in the fear of God, and to promote the temporal and eternal interest of each other. In the primitive times, when a Christian man and woman agreed to marry, the ceremony was performed privately in their own houses by the bishop of the church, before a sufficient number of witnesses; and this was done in order to prevent the faithful from going before heathen magistrates, who, on all such occasions, made them swear by the gods of the emperors. After the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, the Christian clergy claimed this privilege to themselves, and in time, among other corruptions, it was considered as a sacrament; and this leads us to consider the different forms observed by the Greeks in that ceremony.

In the office of matrimony there is a prayer for the bride, who is to be muffled up either in a veil or a hood. And all those who desire to enter into that holy state of matrimony, which nothing but death can put an end to, are to observe the following ceremonies. The bridegroom stands on the right hand,

and the bride on the left. Two rings, the one gold and the other silver, are deposited near one another on the right side of the communion table; the latter pointing to the right hand, and the former to the left. The priest who performs the ceremony, makes several crosses upon the bride and bridegroom, puts lighted wax tapers in their hands, thuribles, or incenses them, in the form of a cross, and accompanies them to the temple. The choir and the deacon pray alternately that the bridegroom and the bride may prosper in all their undertakings, and be blessed with a numerous and hopeful issue. When these prayers are over, the priest gives the gold ring to the bridegroom, and the silver one to his spouse, saying three times successively, I join (or I tie) N. and N. these servants of the Almighty here present, in the name of the Father, &c. Having pronounced this form of words, he makes the sign of the cross with rings over their heads, before he puts them on the proper fingers of the right hand. Then the paranymphe, or brideman, exchanges these two rings, and the priest reads a long prayer, in which the virtue and dignity of the nuptial rings are typically compared to Joseph's ring, and that of Judah, and of Thamar.

While the bride and bridegroom are crowned, the same priest accompanies the ceremony with several benedictions, and other emphatical prayers. After that, the bridegroom and his spouse enter the church with their wax tapers lighted in their hands; the priest marches in procession before them with his incense pot, singing, as he goes along, the 128th psalm, which consists of a promise to the faithful Jews of a prosperous marriage. At the close of every verse the congregation repeat the Doxology.

After all these prayers, the priest sets the crown on the bridegroom's head, saying, "This man, the servant of the Lord, is crowned in order to be married to this woman." After which he crowns the bride, and repeats the same form, which is followed by a triple benediction, proper lessons, and sundry prayers. The priest, in the next place, presents the bridegroom and bride with a goblet, or large glass, full of wine ready blest for that purpose; after which he takes off their crowns. One prayer more, accompanied with a proper benediction, and several compliments paid to the new married couple, conclude the solemnity.

These ceremonies are rather general, and therefore we shall here mention some of a more particular nature; which seem to be peculiar to the inhabitants of the places mentioned.

Tournefourt gives us a description of a wedding which he himself saw at Mycone, the religious ceremonies of which seem to differ in several circumstances from those just before mentioned. To this we shall add that given us by Spon, and both will give the reader a complete idea of the civil customs

of the Greeks with respect to their nuptial ceremonies.

"We accompanied, says Tournefourt, the bride and bridegroom to church with their sponsors, or godfathers and godmothers. They have sometimes three or four, especially when the bride is the eldest daughter." He observes, that the eldest daughter is principal favourite. If a father is possessed of ten thousand crowns, he gives one moiety, or half part of it to his eldest daughter, and divides the remainder among the rest of his children, share and share alike. "I could not rightly inform myself of the true reason for their observance of that custom.—After the priest had received the company at the church door, he required the mutual consent of both parties, and put garlands upon their heads, composed of vine leaves, embellished with ribbons and lace. After that, he took two rings, which lay upon the communion table, and put them on their fingers; that is to say, a gold one on the bridegroom's, and a silver one on the bride's, saying, this man, &c. (according to the form before mentioned.) He interchanged these rings above thirty times over during the solemnity. When he put the bride's upon the finger of the bridegroom, he said, this woman, &c. In short, he changed the rings over and over again, but at last the bridegroom kept the gold one, and the bride the other. The godfathers and godmothers, after the priest had done, made the same exchanges. The man and woman whose province it was to officiate that day took off the bride and bridegroom's garlands, and held them two or three inches over their heads. They turned themselves hand in hand, thrice round successively, and the assistants, relations, friends, and acquaintance kicked and buffeted them without mercy, according to an innumerable whimsical custom of this country, which I cannot account for. After this was over, the priest cut some bread into several little pieces, and put them into a porringer of wine: When he had so done, he first tasted it himself, and then administered a spoonful to the bridegroom and another to the bride. The sponsors, or godfathers and godmothers, and other assistants, had their portion likewise, and so the ceremony ended. There was no mass, because their nuptials were solemnized in the evening."

Spon tells us, that at Athens, their young virgins never stir out of their houses before the wedding-day, and their gallants make love by proxy, or a third person, who has free access to them, and is some relation or other, in whose fidelity and friendship they can best confide. They do not so much as see therefore the bride till the day appointed for the solemnization of their nuptials. On that day, they hand the bride about in public a long time; they do not indeed, march far, but they move in a very

slow and solemn pace. The procession between the church and the bridegroom's house, takes up two hours at the least, and is preceded by a select band of hautboys, tabors, and other instruments of music. During this ceremony, and the procession, the young virgins carry a large crown on their heads, composed of filigree work, and decked with costly pearls, which is so cumbrous and troublesome, that they are obliged to walk as upright as an arrow.

Ricaut says, "That the bride's relations conduct her into the bridal chamber, where she sits amongst her female friends and acquaintance with a veil all over her face, as before. The bridegroom enters, and with a trembling hand, lifts up her veil and salutes her." The reader perhaps may imagine, that this trembling is either a necessary part of the nuptial ceremony, or the effect of bashfulness in a lover that is as modest, as much dashed out of countenance, as great a novice as poor Thomas Diafores was; but he is very much mistaken in the matter. All our Grecian lover's fear is, lest instead of a beauty, he should embrace the figure of a succubus. But be that as it will, she is the wife and he is the husband. The indulgence which the Greek church shews for divorces, must be altogether, or at least, in a great measure, imputed to such idle and extravagant customs as these are. There is no manner of difficulty, as we are informed, in procuring a legal separation; and the patriarch, for a trivial gratuity, will dissannul a marriage, and grant his dispensation for a second. This indulgence of the Greek church to her own member, in some measure compensates, or is an equivalent to the polygamy allowed of among the Turks, which is prohibited by the Greek church, as being inconsistent with the laws of Christianity. It is surprising, that as the Greeks live amongst the Turks, whose religion so openly countenances and encourages a plurality of wives, they should guard themselves against so bewitching an infection.

When we compare these marriages with those of the Roman Catholics, we find there are no more heathenish customs in the former, than in the latter. The Greek Christians in the Levant, have imbibed many notions of their Pagan ancestors; for although there were once some pure churches among them, yet in vain do we look for them at present. Indeed the Greeks are so much oppressed by the Turks, and the clergy make such a handle of their superstition, that they may be considered as truly miserable.— Their spirits are depressed, they forget the slavery they labour under, and having no books to peruse, nor abilities to read them, they console themselves with a continuance of their ancient customs; nor do they know much of the difference between heathenism and christianity.

### *Of Extreme Unction among the Greeks.*

According to Tournefort, the monks of Monte Santo are as covetous and simoniacal as any of the Greek priests whatever, as well through that general and confirmed corruption, which has infected not only their sanctuary, but those who officiate at their altars, as through the abject poverty and profound ignorance of the populace and their instructors: these monks are proper vagabonds, and wander all over Greece, and Muscovy too, to dispose of this oil to the best advantage. They go to private houses to hear confessions, and administer extreme unction, even to such persons as are in a perfect state of health. They anoint the back-bone of the penitent on his declaration of each particular sin; provided always that they are handsomely gratified for their oil and their labour. The lowest price of the least unction is a crown: those for fornication or adultery are held up at a higher rate. Such as make the most regular application of this unction, make use of consecrated oil, and at each operation repeat these words of the Psalmist, "The net has been broken, and we have been delivered." And a little further he adds, that they administer their extreme unction more frequently to such as are in perfect health, than to those who are in a weak and languishing condition. These last they anoint with common unconsecrated oil, on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and hands, but on no other parts. After this they besmear every room in the house with the same, and accompany the ceremony with sundry prayers. And finally, trace out large crosses upon all the walls and doors, singing the 90th psalm during the performance.

Now from the foregoing recital it is very evident, first, that all penitents, and such as are guilty of any mortal sin, are ordered to be anointed; and secondly, that unction is administered not only to such as are in a weak and languishing condition, but such likewise as are at the point of death. It is plain this last unction resembles the former in the matter only, not in the manner of its administration. The bishop or archbishop, assisted by seven priests, administer this extreme unction, which begins with a prayer.— The other unction, as well as this, is called by the Greeks, Apomuron. They derive the origin of this apomuron from the parable of the good Samaritan; and to render the conformity still more conspicuous, they mingle wine with their apomuron, because the Samaritan poured oil and wine into the wounds of the traveller that fell amongst the thieves.

Before we come to shew the difference which there is between the Greeks and the Latins, with respect to the manner of administering the extreme unction, we shall give a description of the several



ceremonies peculiarly belong to the two unctions of the Greeks. The archbishop, or in his absence, the bishop consecrates on Wednesday in Holy-week, the oil of unction for the whole year. On Maundy-Thursday, the patriarch or bishop administers the unction publicly to all the faithful. The prelate is anointed first by the economist, after which he himself anoints the whole congregation. The origin of this custom is traced up to the time of St. John of Damascus, but the Greeks carry this ceremony still further. They anoint the dead almost in the same manner as they do the living. Seven priests administer this unction, and each of them takes a piece of paper, dipped in the oil, and sets it on fire, in order to purify, by this kind of sacrifice, the soul of the deceased, and deliver it from the torments due to its demerits. This superstitious custom must be looked upon as a remainder of the lustrations practised by the Pagans. Some ascribe to the Greeks a strong persuasion, that the unction of the dead has saved many souls from eternal damnation, and according to their accounts, the salvation of Trajan, and one Theophilus, an Iconoclast, was purely owing to these specific unctions.

The other circumstances relating to the unction and extreme unction of the Greeks, which are peculiar to themselves, are these, viz. That the priest after he has dipt his cotton, which is fastened to the end of a stick, into the sacred oils, anoints the penitent, or the sick person, in the form of a cross upon the forehead, chin, cheeks, the upper side, and palms of the hands. After which he pronounces a short prayer. The seven assisting priests, if there be seven present at the ceremony, anoint all the sick persons one after another. The principal lays the gospel upon his head, whilst the others lay their hands upon him.

From these ceremonies we shall now proceed to the difference which has been observed between the unction of the Latins and that of the Greeks. We shall not enter into a controversy between the Greeks and Latins, concerning the different terms used in calling the ceremony of extreme unction a sacrament or a mystery. Many Protestant writers have done this already, so that little can be added to what they have said: the following we presume will be sufficient. The real differences then are these that follow.—One person alone, by the law of the Latin church, may administer the sacrament of extreme unction; whereas the administration of it, in the opinion of the Greeks, is irregular, unless three at least assist at the celebration of it. By the Latin ritual, the bishop only has authority to consecrate the oil; but the Grecian priests as well as their prelates, are invested with that power. Besides the parts of the body of their sick which are differently anointed, it is customary with the Greeks to anoint

their houses also, and sign them at the same time with several signs of the cross.

### *Of the Funeral Ceremonies of the Greeks.*

From their extreme unction, we shall proceed since the transition is regular to their funeral solemnities, for notwithstanding their sick devotees frequently recover after the administration of extreme unction; yet the intent and design of it are, no doubt, to recover the soul from all her infirmities, which are much more liable to afflict and torment her during the precarious consequences of a long series of sickness, than in the uninterrupted enjoyment of a perfect state of health, at which time but very few allow themselves the leisure to reflect on a future state. Extreme unction was instituted likewise, with intent to comfort and support Christians under their bodily afflictions, and to turn their hopes towards eternity.

Ricaut takes notice of several ceremonies of the Greeks, very remarkable in time of sickness. He says, for instance, "that the priest bends the head of the patient with the veil of the chalice, and gives him a draught of holy water, in which several odoriferous herbs have been before infused. The water must be consecrated by the touch of a crucifix, or an image of the Blessed Virgin. This they prescribe to their patients as a specific remedy for the health and welfare of their souls as well as their bodies.—When the patient grows worse, and is given over, they have recourse to their extreme unction, which is accompanied with several prayers suitable to the occasion, and some lessons out of the New Testament, where mention is made of the resurrection of the dead. The Greeks likewise observe the popish custom of making solemn vows both to the Almighty and the saints for the restoration of their health.—Such vows are paid, as in the Latin church by the oblation of a golden or silver eye, arm, or leg. This custom was observed by the most ancient Pagans, and among others by the Philistines, who, after they had been healed of the distemper with which they were afflicted on account of the ark of the Lord which they had seized and taken into their possession, sent it back with the representation in gold of the parts affected. The Christians very easily gave into this practice of the heathens. The substitution of a material oblation, in the room of the sacrifice of the heart, is so commodious, that it is surprising to find it totally erased out of the ceremonies of some certain religions, which provide no other amusement for such of their devotees as are of a heavy cast, than a narrow scrutiny into the actions of others; leaving their minds indolent and unemployed, which

in the temple, as well as elsewhere, must needs incline them to censure, and reflect on the conduct of their neighbours.

As soon as a dying man has given up the ghost, the whole family appear like so many actors at the representation of a deep tragedy; all are in tears and groans. The body of the deceased, whether male or female, is drest in its best apparel, and afterwards extended upon a bier, with one wax taper at the head, and another at the feet. The wife (if the husband be the object of their sorrow) the children, servants, relations, and acquaintance, enter the apartment where the deceased is thus laid out, with their clothes rent, tearing their hair, beating their breasts, and even, as Ricaut adds, disfiguring their faces with their nails. The mode of our mourning is not quite so extravagant and romantic; and we are apt to believe, that none of the natives, of any parts of Europe, whether wives, children, or husbands, shew at present any slashes, or the least disfigurement in their faces, as outward marks, or testimonies of their inward sorrow. We are taught by the principles of the Christian religion, to repose all our trust and confidence in God alone, and there is no injunction which is more readily complied with in the literal and strictest sense, than that which obliges us to comfort ourselves under the loss of a father, a husband, or a wife. When the body of the deceased is completely dressed as before mentioned and decently extended on the bier, for the regular performance of his last obsequies, and the hour is come for his interment, the crucifix is carried in procession at the head of the funeral train; and the priests and deacons, who accompany them, reciting the prayers appointed by the church, burn incense, and implore the Divine Majesty to receive the soul of the deceased into his heavenly mansions. The wife, for Ricaut is here speaking of the burial of a husband, follows his dear remains, drowned in a flood of tears, and so disconsolate, that if we may form a judgment from her tears, and the excess of her cries and lamentations, one would imagine she would set her soul at liberty to fly after and overtake her husband's. Ricaut adds, that there are some women, however to be met with, that have no taste for these extravagant testimonies of their grief and anguish, and yet their mourning is not less solemn than that of their neighbours. They have women who are mourners by profession, who weep in the widow's stead for a certain sum, who, by frequent practice of their art, can represent to the life all the violent emotions and gesticulations that naturally flow from the most pungent and unfeigned sorrow.

As soon as the funeral service is over, they kiss the crucifix, and afterwards salute the mouth and forehead of the deceased. After that, each of them

eats a small bit of bread, and drinks a glass of wine in the church, wishing the soul of the deceased a good repose, and the afflicted family all the consolation they can wish for. We had forgot to inform the reader, that according to the accounts of some travellers, a widow that has lost her husband, a child who has lost its father or mother, in short, all persons who are in deep mourning, dress no victuals at their own houses. The friends and relations of the deceased send them in provisions for the first eight days; at the end whereof they pay the disconsolate family a charitable visit, in order to condole with, and comfort them under their unhappy loss, and to wait on them to church, where there are prayers read for the repose of the soul of the deceased. The men again eat and drink in the church, whilst the women renew their cries and lamentations. But such as can afford to hire profest mourners, never give themselves this second fatigue, but substitute proper persons in their stead, to weep over their husbands' tombs, three days after their interment, at which time there are prayers read for the repose of his soul. After the ninth day, there are masses and prayers read again upon the same occasion, which are repeated at the expiration of forty days; as also at the close of six months, and on the last day of the year. After the ceremony is concluded, they make their friends a present of some corn, boiled rice, wine, and some sweet-meats. This custom, which is generally called by the Greeks *ta sperna*; is looked upon by them as very ancient. They renew it with more solemnity and devotion than ever, on the Friday immediately preceding their Lent, that before Christmas on Good-Friday, and the Friday before Whitsuntide; which days the Greek church have devoted to the service of the dead, not only those who have departed this life according to the common course of nature, but such as have likewise unfortunately met with a sudden and untimely death.

The funeral procession begins with two young country lads holding wooden crosses in their hands, followed by a priest in a white cope, escorted by several other priests dressed in party-coloured stoles, but slovens from head to foot. After them comes the corpse exposed to public view, drest after the manner of the Greeks, in all her bridal apparel.—The husband follows the bier, supported by two persons of distinction, who use all the prevailing arguments they can think of to keep him from expiring under the weight of his affliction. And yet after all, it is whispered, that his poor wife died of mere grief. Of all comedies, that of marriage surely is the most comical, provided a man does not personate the hero. When he does, indeed he is obliged, as it were, to assume the character that is partly childish, mean, foolish, hypocritical and

sometimes roguish. Were we to form a judgment of things by their outward appearance, one would imagine, that the Grecian husbands have an inexhaustible fountain of tears; that they can bemoan the loss of their wives in a such a clamorous and public manner. Is the blessing of a good wife common among the Greeks? Can no other country boast it? Are good wives a scarce commodity amongst the Greeks, above all other nations? God defend the dead! says Rabelais, I must think of finding out another help-mate. One of the daughters of the deceased, (continues Tournefort) who was of years of maturity, and agreeable enough, her sisters and some other relations, marched in their proper order, with their hats disbrevelled, leaning on the arms of some of their intimate acquaintance. When their voices failed them, or when they were at a loss to express themselves any longer, they tore the hair off their heads in the most violent and frantic manner imaginable, first on one side, and then on the other; but nature cannot long be concealed under this thin disguise, and it is very easy to distinguish, on these occasions, the sincere mourner from the hypocritical impostor. If there are any fine clothes in the whole town, they are brought out on this public occasion. The friends and relations are ambitious of making the best appearance they possibly can: whereas amongst us, we one and all are drest in black. This gaiety of theirs is no bar or impediment however, to the expression of the concern, by the deepest sighs, and most hideous groanings. If a person happens to die in any part of the town whatever, their very enemies, as well as friends and relations, nay, the whole neighbourhood, great and small, without distinction, think themselves bound to weep and wail, since they would make an ill figure, if they did not at least seem to drop a tear on such a melancholy occasion. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that such an extravagant, such a noisy expression of their sorrow must be wholly owing to the mode of the country; an ambition to imitate those who are actually in distress, and the nature of the climate in which they live.

There is no mass said for the dead on the days of their interment, but forty in every parish the day following, at seven-pence per mass. As soon as they are got into the church, the priest reads aloud the office for the dead, whilst a young clerk repeats some particular psalms of David at the foot of the bier. When the office is over, there are twelve loaves, and as many bottles of wine distributed amongst the poor at the church door. Every priest has ten gazettes, or Venetian pence, and the bishop who accompanies the corpse, three half-crowns.—The grand vicar, treasurer, and keeper of the archives, who are next to the prelate in point of dignity, have three crowns, or a double fee. After

this distribution, one of the priests lays a large piece of broken pot upon the breast of the deceased, on which a cross, and the usual characters, I. N. B. I. are engraved. After that they withdraw and take their leave of the deceased. The relations, but more particularly the husband, kisses her pale lips; and this is looked upon as so incumbent a duty, that the neglect of it cannot be dispensed with, though the person should die of the most infectious distemper. Her friends embrace her, and her neighbours salute her; but no holy water is sprinkled upon her. After the interment is over they conduct the husband back to his house. When the funeral assembly departs, the hired mourners repeat their lamentations; and in the evening, the relations send the poor afflicted an agreeable collation, and go and carouse with him by way of consolation.

Such are the sentiments of those Christians called Greeks, who reside in Greece and in the Lesser Asia; for there are others who are also called Greeks, but are looked upon by the above as schismatics; but these we shall give an account of afterwards. In the mean time several reflections may be drawn from what has been here advanced, for history without improvement is like a body without life. And first,

The ancient Greeks were celebrated for their wisdom, learning and valour; and their writings, next to those of the Old Testament, and so far as we know the most ancient in the world. Divided at first into several small republics, they were jealous of each other, and although Philip of Macedon made them tributary, yet even then they assisted him to overthrow the Persian empire, and their learning spread over the greater part of the Lesser Asia.

Secondly, how different are those descended from them! without courage,—without learning, and sunk into the most abject state of meanness!—they are considered by the Turks as poor, pusillanimous wretches, and live in a state almost of Egyptian bondage. It is true they have the name of Christians—but they have not failed to debase the glory of the Gospel! by mixing with it many rites and ceremonies, used by their Pagan ancestors.

Thirdly, it is remarkable how prone the heart of man is to superstition, and indeed to every thing which God has not commanded to be observed, but rather forbidden. At the time of Constantine the Great, there were many flourishing churches in Greece, and for many years after, few ceremonies were introduced, except such as were in their own nature simple and indifferent. But after the sixth century, they acted the same part as the Israelites did in the wilderness, when they made the golden calf and wanted to return to Egypt. The Greeks had either a written or a traditional account of the



religion of their ancestors, and as they were beginning gradually to lose all knowledge of the truths of Christianity, they daily embraced more and more of the Pagan ceremonies. In this they were encouraged by the example of the Romans, who had learned so many heathenish customs, that the chief part of their religion consisted in making the sign of the cross.

Lastly, The Greeks seem as little ambitious of acquiring knowledge, as they are of regaining their liberty, which may serve to shew, that, to make

men slaves, they should be kept in ignorance; for slavery, either of body or mind, vanishes away before learning. A few years ago, when the Russians were at war with the Turks, it was expected that had they succeeded, the Greeks would have been taken under their protection; but the plan miscarried, and they are still in the same forlorn condition as before. In that condition they are likely to continue, till some remarkable revolution takes place in Europe, of which we cannot at present form any notion.

## RELIGION OF THOSE GREEKS WHO DIFFER IN MANY THINGS FROM THOSE ALREADY MENTIONED.

THE difference to be found among all those throughout the world who bear the name of Christians, is one of the strongest proofs that there was such a person as Jesus Christ in the world, that he suffered, rose again, and ascended into heaven.—Most of these different denominations agree in the points essential to salvation, although they hate and excommunicate each other for the observation of particular rites and ceremonies. Now, is it impossible, that all these people, so different in their modes of worship and discipline, should, while they hate each other, agree in the belief of the gospel history concerning Jesus Christ. There is not a deist in Europe who doubts there was such a person as the impostor Mahomet, who was born six hundred years after the death of Christ; and yet to a sceptic in history, the accounts we have of such a person's living in the world as Mahomet, are liable to more objections than the history of Christ. Mahomet was born in an age when ignorance overspread the earth, so that for some time after his death, there were no accounts of him but by tradition. On the other hand, although the world was lost in Pagan idolatry when Christ was born, yet there were men in Judea, in Greece, and in Rome: all the Jewish writers, since that time, take notice of him, although they deny that he was the Messiah. Several heathen writers mention him as a very extraordinary person; and Celsus, the severest writer against the Christians, never denied that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, nor did he reject his miracles, only that he said they were wrought by the power of magic.—We thought it more necessary to take notice of these things in this place, because some of our readers ought to be cautioned against every thing that may

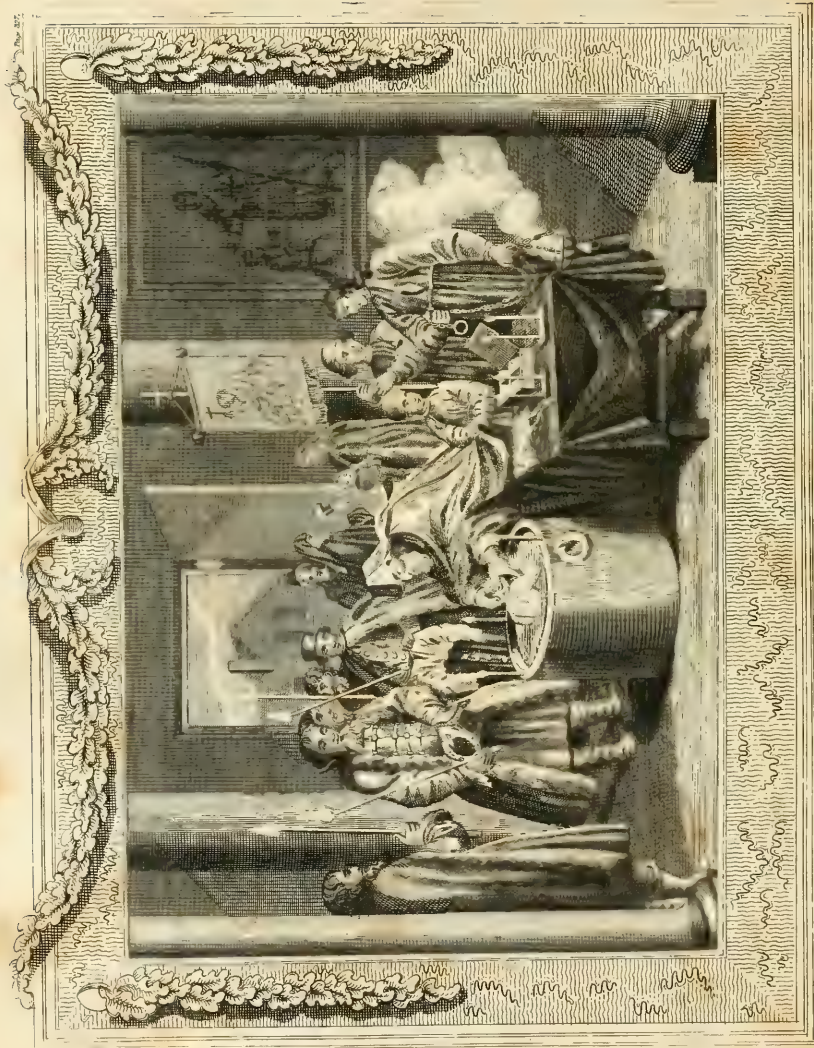
lead their minds off from believing the fundamental truths of the gospel.

### *Of the Greek Church in Russia.*

The Russians are very ambitious to have their conversion to Christianity as high as the age of the apostles; and they believe that the gospel was first preached among them by St. Andrew, the brother of Peter. When we consider that there were many churches established in Greece, and many parts around it, soon after the apostolic age, it is not at all improbable, but some of the Poles and the Russians were converted to Christianity; but whatever were the number of these converts, this much is certain, all knowledge of Christianity was lost in Russia, when the Greeks sent missionaries there in the tenth century, of which the following is a genuine account.

Igor, duke of Russia, and a Pagan, dying in 955, left a son named Stoflaus, a minor, and his mother Ola was appointed regent. This lady having heard of the splendour of the Greek emperor's court at Constantinople, went thither, and was baptized by the patriarch, who gave her the name of Helen.—Upon her return home to her own country, she persuaded some of her great lords to send for some priests from Greece, which they did, and were baptized; but Stoflaus, the young duke, growing up to years of maturity, banished the priests out of the country, and continued himself a heathen to the last. He was succeeded by his son Walodimir, a prince of knowledge and courage. Having cultivated an





*Ceremonies in Christening observed by the Russians of the Greek Church*



acquaintance with the Greek emperor, who sent ambassadors to him, he followed the example of his grandmother, and was baptized by the name of Basil. Soon after this, resolving to establish Christianity in his dominions, he married the princess Anne, daughter of the emperor Basil, and the patriarch of Constantinople consecrated several archbishops and bishops, and fixed their principal residence in the most capital cities of Russia; so that taking all these circumstances together, Christianity was not established in Russia before the latter end of the tenth century.

This is the reason why the Russians profess a great esteem for the Greeks; for it will appear, that in some points of faith, as well as of discipline, there are several differences between them. They have the bible printed in their own language, which is called the Slavonian, and they acknowledged it to be the true word of God, especially the four gospels which they never touch without certain marks of respect and veneration. But although they declare the holy scriptures to be the rule of their faith, yet they pay almost as much regard to the decrees of the first seven general councils, and the Greek fathers, particularly Basil, Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Ephrem the Syrian. They receive the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and that of Athanasius, so that when any point of religion is to be proved by them, they have first recourse to the sacred scriptures, next to the councils, and to the fathers above-mentioned, and the last appeal is to the patriarch of Russia.

Their priests, whom they call papas, read the whole of the New Testament in their churches to the people, but no part of the Old, except the Psalms; for they consider some part of the Old Testament as above the common comprehension of the vulgar. This is certainly true, and so are many things in the New Testament, and were men able to comprehend every thing in the sacred scriptures, then revelation would be no more than a system of natural religion. They never deliver an explication of what has been read, which is perhaps one of the reasons why they continue in such a state of ignorance. They say that preachers only perplex their hearers by giving them too subtle an explication of what is plain in itself, and consequently leading them into unnecessary controversies of no importance to salvation.

They believe the church to be an assembly of the faithful, whom God has promised to assist with his grace, to attain unto eternal salvation, and have vanity enough to assert, that out of their church there is no salvation. Till of late years, they would not suffer a Jew to reside among them, and such was their hatred of the Turks, that when such an ambassador came from Constantinople, he was not permit-

ted to kiss the Czar's hand. All other Christians besides themselves, they consider as heretics, only that they look upon the Greeks in the Levant, with a more favourable eye than upon any others.

The Russians are of the same opinion with Protestants concerning the head of the church, namely, there is no person entitled to that honour, but Jesus Christ only, and for that reason they look upon the pope as an usurper. It is true they pay something annually to the patriarch of Constantinople, but that is rather out of respect than from an acknowledgement of jurisdiction. Neither do they allow that there has been any power in the Greek church to work miracles since the death of the apostles, they being unnecessary after the full establishment of Christianity. They have a great veneration for the person of the sovereign, and they count it an honour to do the meanest offices for him, nor are they less submissive and obedient to all those who are in authority under him.

Another thing much regarded by the Russians, is the duty they owe to their clergy, of whom they have several degrees and orders. The first in rank is the patriarch, who is archbishop of Moscow, and formerly was obliged to reside in that city, but ever since the court has been kept at Petersburg, he has been permitted to reside there part of the year, to assist the sovereign with his counsels. He is next to the sovereign, the chief person in the empire, and determines in all ecclesiastical affairs. He wears a kind of long black robe, and has always a cross carried before him. Next to the patriarch are the archbishops under him, and these are four in number, viz. those of Kiovia, Rostoff, Casan, and Sankinski, and this last must reside constantly at Moscow, to assist the patriarch. Next in rank are the seven bishops, viz. of Kiovia, Moscow, Plescow, Wolodimir, Casan, Astracan, and Torosho in Siberia. Under these are priests, whom they call popes or papas, and these are divided into proto-papas, arch-papas, and common-papas, of whom there are vast numbers in Russia, there being no other qualifications necessary, besides being able to read, write, and sing. The chief badge of the priesthood is a cap or calot, which is put upon their heads at the time of their consecration, and they are obliged to wear it as long as they continue in the priesthood. Another badge of their priesthood is the stick they carry in their hands, being for the part clothed in a loose robe of coarse cloth which comes down to their feet, and as they pass along the streets, the people ask them for their blessing. And yet we find from the best information, that their inferior priests are much addicted to drunkenness in public houses, where they frequently create quarrels, and also receive a severe drubbing.

Almost all Russia swarms with monks, of which

they have their orders, viz. the Benedictines, the order of St. Basil, and that of St. Nicholas, and these, like the Roman Catholics, make three vows, viz. of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but in most other things they are very different from those of Rome. They lead a very austere life, and are clothed in black loose cloaks, with a girdle round their middle, and a badge to distinguish their order on their breast. They have their abbots and priors, who are generally very ignorant, there being few among them who are able to read.

They have also nuns, who live much after the same manner as the monks, and are clothed in long black robes, except such as are persons of quality, who are distinguished by short white vests. There are also hermits in Russia, who have no other way of procuring a subsistence than that of begging from travellers, who sometimes give them a little, for which in return they receive their blessings.—The bishops and priests live upon their tithes, and what else the people are pleased to bestow upon them, for they have no houses nor lands, as in the Roman Catholic countries. Simony, or the purchasing of church livings, is as common in Russia as in Italy, and they often exchange one benefice for another, which is one of the worst things that ever could take place in a national church.

All their churches are built round and vaulted, to have some resemblance to the heavens, and they have five steeples, one in the centre higher than the others, and the other four around it. They use neither pews, chairs, nor benches in their churches, because they perform their devotions either kneeling or prostrate on the ground. They look upon their churches as so sacred that no new married couple can be admitted into them until they have first bathed themselves. They admit of no organs in their churches, nor of any images of wood or stone, but only such as are painted. Next to their churches, they shew much regard to their church-yards where they bury their dead. They will not suffer any impurities to be thrown into them, nor will they permit a dog to pass over them. They are great admirers of bells, looking upon them as essential to divine worship. They have nearly the same notions of the Trinity with the Greeks in the Levant; that is, they believe in the creeds, only with some small variations from the ancient fathers.

They believe that God the Father is the Creator of all things, the first person in the ever blessed Trinity, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. That Jesus Christ is the second person in the Trinity; and that he is essentially both God and man. That the Holy Ghost is the third person in the Trinity, but they affirm that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son. This notion was embraced by some of the

ancients, but certainly it is very unbecoming for them to dispute concerning what they are utterly unable to comprehend.

They adore the images of the apostles, the prophets, saints and martyrs, and they pretend to have some of their relics. Amongst all their other saints, they pay the greatest regard to St. Nicholas of Baris, whom they acknowledge to be the patron of all the Russian empire. They shew a great veneration for the name of God, and never stir out of their houses till they have said a prayer before the image of one of their saints, of which they keep always one beside them. If a poor person enters the house of one of their persons of quality, he first looks for the image of the saint, and adores it before he pays his respects to the master of the house.

The Russians pay much regard to pilgrimages, it being considered as meritorious in any person to visit the shrine of their favourite saints. These notions are so deeply rooted in their minds, that the late empress, in compliance with the vulgar opinion, frequently accompanied her subjects in those journeys. As the Russians are much addicted to drunkenness, so it frequently happens on those pilgrimages that they quarrel and fight so furiously, that they wound, and sometimes kill each other.

When the Russians are at their devotions, they often knock their foreheads against the ground, and cross themselves in the following manner: They first make the sign of the cross with their fingers on the forehead, which intimates, say they, the ascension of Christ; next on the heart, to point out that the heart is the receptacle of the word of God.—Next they make a cross, first on the right, and then on the left shoulder, intimating thereby, that at the day of judgment, the righteous will be placed on the right hand of Christ, and the wicked on his left. Some few years ago, the patriarch ordered that the laity should cross themselves with only two fingers, whereas before they used to do it with three, in honour of the persons in the Holy Trinity.

But this met with so much opposition from the people, that they declared they would sooner loose their heads than be deprived of the privilege of crossing themselves with three fingers, as had been practised by their ancestors. Their three great feasts of Whitsunday, Christmas and Easter, are kept with great strictness and solemnity, no one person being permitted to work: they have also many other festivals, on each of which they have prayers peculiar to them. We have already observed, that they never preach in their churches, because they look upon every composition of their own in explaining the scriptures to be a profanation; but instead of preaching, they read some of the homilies of the Greek fathers, which they have translated into the Russian language for that purpose.

After reading the gospel, they begin to say mass in the following manner: The priest, attended by his sacristan, approaches the altar, and bows to it; which done, he puts some red wine in the chalice, for the Russians use no other, and mixes it with water.— Having broken a piece of leavened bread, he puts it into the wine, and then consecrates them both, by reading several prayers, which takes up about half an hour. After this, he takes with a spoon, all at once, the bread and wine out of the chalice, and so takes the communion by himself, without any person joining him; unless they should happen to bring to him, at that time, a sick child, unto whom he gives a morsel of bread, steeped in wine.

Great part of their devotions consist in attending at these masses, and they have vast numbers of wax-candles burning, while the people are busy in kissing their images. They are not very strict in the observation of Sunday, except in going to mass, for after that is over, many spend the remainder of the day in rioting and drunkenness. They look upon baptism as a ceremony absolutely necessary to salvation, which is the reason the poorer sort have their children baptized as soon as they are born, but the rich, who are not so superstitious, wait till they think proper. They always baptize their children in the church, unless there be very weighty reasons to the contrary. They consecrate the water first, and chuse no more than two godfathers for the first child, who are to stand for all the rest afterwards, unless prevented by sickness, absence, or death; and although a child be in ever such danger of dying, yet it cannot be baptized by any but the priest, who performs the ceremony in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But previous to the baptism, the priest exorcises the child by crossing it, and commanding the devil to come out of it; for they are firmly persuaded, that the unclean spirit resides in it before the ceremony, which must be performed at the door of the church without. They believe, that if an unbaptized child was to be carried into the church, it would be real profanation, and there would be a necessity for them to consecrate it anew. After baptism, the priest hangs a cross of gold, silver, or tin, about the child's neck, which he is to wear till his dying day, and such as are found without it at their death, are denied Christian burial. The reason why they are so particular on that head is, they would have the Christians distinguished from the heathen Tartars, of whom there are many thousands in the empire. Every person has a particular saint appointed him as a patron, and to him prayers are addressed every day.

The Russian lady receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with great marks of devotion; and they have two sorts of bread which they use in the communion, which must be unleavened, and baked

by the widow of a priest who is past child-bearing. One sort of bread is for those who are sick, and the other for such as communicate at church. The first they consecrate on Holy Thursday only, and is kept all the rest of the year till they want it. The other is consecrated at mass, and, as we mentioned before, they mix with it a certain quantity of warm water; because, say they, the blood and the water flowed from our Saviour's side. In this liquor they steep the pieces of bread, and consecrate them together, giving both the bread and wine to the communicants. The priest, when he gives the elements, says, "This is the true body and blood of Christ, spilled for thee and many more, for the remission of thy sins; as often as thou receivest it, do it always in commemoration of Christ. God grant that thou mayest receive it for thy salvation."

They communicate on Saturdays, after having prepared themselves by fasting, and made a confession of their sins to the priest. Some of the devotees, after they have received the sacrament, keep their beds all the rest of the day, lest they should commit any sins; vainly imagining, that there is some hopes of escaping temptations in secret; whereas were they to think as every Christian ought to do, they would be convinced, that it is the almighty power of God alone that can preserve them from temptation wherever they are.

Like the Greeks in the Levant, they give the communion to babes, but only one half of the quantity which they give to those who are grown up; but if a young one is past seven years of age, he may have the whole quantity if he pleases. They also give it to dying persons after the extreme unction, which they use in the same sense as is practised by the Roman Catholics. After the sick person has received the communion, they give him neither food nor medicines, unless there be apparent signs of his recovery. No person can be admitted to the communion in the church, until they have made a complete confession of their sins, and gone through a course of fasting for the space of eight days; during which they are enjoined by the priest to live on nothing but coarse bread and small beer.

The other rules to be observed by the Russians in their fasts are the following: To abstain from flesh and all things having any relation to it, such as eggs, butter, cheese, and milk; from all sorts of strong liquors, to which the Russians, in common with the inhabitants of all cold northern countries, are very much addicted. At the same time they are to abstain from the marriage bed; and, in a word, from all sorts of carnal pleasure whatever.

As the Roman Catholics are not bound to observe such strict rules, so the Russians often ridicule them on that point, telling them what is really true, namely, that their fast days are the most voluptuous feast



days. Thus with respect to fasting, the Russians, as well as the Greeks in the Levant, keep real instead of nominal fasts; whereas, if a person wants to indulge his appetite in the choicest articles of gluttony and voluptuousness, he ought on a fast day, to dine with a Roman Catholic.

Besides their ordinary fasts, they have four solemn ones, namely, forty days before Easter; these agree with what we call Lent. The second fast begins eight days after Whitsunday, and ends with the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The third is kept in honour of the blessed Virgin, and begins on the first of August, and continues till the feast of the Assumption. The fourth begins on the twelfth of November, and continues till Christmas. During all these fasts they are not to eat flesh, eggs, butter, milk, cheese, nor any thing that has the least relation to animal food. When we consider the number of these fasts, and the levity with which they are kept, we shall find, that the Roman Catholics are more political than the Greeks; but the Greeks, as well in the Levant as in Russia, are more sincere.—The Roman Catholics have appointed their fasts in such a manner, that they do not give much trouble to the people; and even when they think them burthensome, nothing is more easy than to procure a dispensation. But the Greeks in the Levant and in Russia keep such long fasts, that one would imagine their whole bodies were emaciated: and such is their belief of the necessity of attending to every thing enjoined by the priests, that they seldom ask them to dispense with the severity, except on the most urgent occasions.

They have also, previous to Lent, a sort of carnival, which lasts eight days, and is called by them “the Butter-week,” because after it is expired their fast begins. During the time they call Butter-week, they commit the most outrageous excesses in drinking, which generally lead them into all sorts of crimes; so that it is dangerous for any sober person particularly a stranger, to go along, or even cross the streets. On these occasions murders are so frequent, that there is seldom a morning in which they do not find several dead bodies in the streets, and such is the general madness, that the murderer is seldom discovered.

As for their marriages, they have many strange ceremonies, but divorces are so frequent among them, that the Greeks in Russia, are often ridiculed by the Greeks in the Levant. It must however be acknowledged, that this is not the practice with those who reside in Livonia, where Petersburg is; for the vast number of strangers from almost every part of Europe, who visit and reside in that rising city, contribute more towards civilizing the manners of the people than any human laws whatever. It was these foreigners who first set the example to the

Russian nobility, by shewing them in what an harmonious manner they lived with their wives, and how tenderly they brought up their children; and so earnest was Peter the Great, to root out of the minds of his people all sorts of vulgar prejudices, that he married a wife, who was of no higher rank than the widow of a Saxon corporal of dragoons, and lived with her to the last. The same great man sent circular letters to the bishops and clergy, desiring they would discountenance divorces in all cases except adultery, where they are justified in taking place upon the principles of natural reason.

As the priests among the Greeks in the Levant, so those among the Russians are allowed to marry, nay it is absolutely necessary, the Russians say, that they should marry, and no persons whatever are admitted to holy orders, unless they are either married, or under a solemn vow to enter into that state. Every priest must marry a virgin, and one whose character is irreproachable; and if she happens to die, he must never entertain the least thoughts of ever marrying again. The Russians, if we may rely on the veracity of most of our accounts, are strangers to the pleasure that attends on conjugal love and affection; but we need not travel so far to find such husbands as are cold and indifferent to their consorts: and it is pity that a match, where the parties have no manner of regard or value for one another, nay where they have often an aversion for each other, where they are at perpetual variance, and loose and profligate on both sides, should be a lease for years only, as it is amongst some people of good sense and discerning judgments. For after all, why should we damn our souls in damning others? The Christian religion, it is true, requires that we should be regenerated in the midst of crosses and tribulations, but then it allows us to fly from persecution. Notwithstanding the Russians have so little love and affection for their wives, yet they keep them under a world of restraint. It is true, however, that Peter the Great on his return from his travels, discouraged and put a stop, in a great measure, to these tyrannical proceedings. Before that time, the wives were, either through jealousy and an hereditary custom, or out of contempt and disrespect, charged never to appear when their husbands made any public entertainments. The same custom has been kept up and observed in the Netherlands, but without any compulsion on the part of the husbands, who in that particular seem to have retained some small remains of the jealous temper and constitution of the Spaniards. The Czar ordered that the women should be invited with their husbands to all weddings, and other public diversions. He decreed likewise, that no marriage should be solemnized till after several interviews between the parties, and till both of them had testified their

mutual consent and approbation; whereas before his time the young men were not allowed to see their mistresses, much less to discourse with them about marriage, or make them any protestations of their love and constancy. Their fathers and mothers then made all their matches for them, and the young couple were not permitted to see each other till after their nuptials, or at most, till the day before. At this interview, the intended bridegroom accompanied by several of his friends, paid his young mistress a formal visit at her father's house; where the young lady with several of her favourite companions waited to receive them. After some few compliments past on both sides, the young lady presented her gallant with a glass of brandy, as a tacit intimation of her choice, and the respect she had for him above the rest. After this interview, they were expressly enjoined, not to see each other any more till they were actually at church; but there were several exceptions to this grand rule; for it sometimes happened that a young fellow who expected to be wedded to a beautiful woman, was linked to one very deformed: Olearius very justly attributes their bad economy to such deceitful weddings. Peter the Great expressly ordered, that no marriage should be celebrated without the consent and approbation of both parties, or without their seeing and visiting each other, at least for six weeks together, before the solemnization of their nuptials.

The author of the religion of the Russians has inserted one custom observed on these occasions, which is very singular, that is, the father of the intended bride renounces his paternal authority over her, after he has given her two or three gentle strokes with a rod, which he delivers at the same time to his intended son-in-law.

But to proceed to those ceremonies which relate more nearly to the nuptials. Some short time before the day appointed for the wedding, their quality, or such as affect to follow their example, hire two *suachas*, (so the Russians call the two female managers or superintendants of their weddings) one to act the part of the intended bride, and the other on behalf of the bridegroom. The *suacha*, or agent for the former, must attend at the bridegroom's house, in order to make the necessary preparations for the bridal bed, and lay it upon forty sheaves of rye, or some other sort of grain; she must also take care that it is encompassed round with several hog's-heads of wheat, barley and oats, which are symbols of fruitfulness and plenty. The day before the nuptials are to be solemnized, is spent for the generality, in sending presents to the bride, which must be conveyed to her by the hands of the bridegroom's *suacha*. Amongst all these nuptial compliments nothing is more agreeable to the Russian ladies than a box of paint; for as we are informed, their most

celebrated beauties never scruple to make use of it, being induced thereto either through an habitual practice or the depravity of taste, which at this very day equally conceals under a thick lay of red, the beautiful or sallow complexions of our British ladies.

In the evening of their wedding-day the bridegroom, accompanied by a numerous train of his nearest relations and acquaintance, goes to wait on his mistress, the priest who is to solemnize their nuptials riding on horseback before them. After the previous congratulations, and other compliments customary on such joyful occasions in all countries, the company sit down to table. Notwithstanding there are three elegant dishes instantly served up, no one takes the freedom to taste of them. At the upper end of the table is a vacant seat intended for the bridegroom. Whilst he is earnest in discourse with the brides-relations, a young gentleman takes possession of his chair, and never resigns it without some valuable consideration. As soon as the bridegroom has thus redeemed his seat, the bride is introduced into the room, dressed as gay as possible, but covered with her veil. A curtain of crimson taffety, supported by two young gentlemen, parts the lovers and prevents them from stealing any armorous glances from each other's eyes. In the next place, the bride's *suacha*, or agent, wreathes her hair, and after she has turned up her tresses, puts a crown upon her head, which is either of gold or silver gilt, and lined with silk, and of greater or less value, in proportion to the quality or circumstances of the person for whom it is intended. The other *suacha* is employed in setting the bridegroom off to the best advantage. During this interval, some women that are present sing a thousand little merry catches to divert them. The bride-maids strew hops upon the heads of the company. Two lads after this bring in a large cheese, and several rolls of little loaves in a hand-basket, with curious sable tassels to it. Two of the bride's attendants bring in another cheese, and the same quantity of bread upon her particular account. All which provisions, after the priest has blessed them, are carried to the church. At last, there is a large silver bason set upon the table full of small remnants of satin and taffety, with several small pieces of silver, hops, barley, and oats, all mingled together. The *suacha*, after she has put the bride's veil over her face again, takes several handfuls of this medley out of the bason, and strews it over the heads of all the company. The next ceremony is the exchanging of their respective rings, which is performed by the parents of the new married couple. The *suacha* conducts the bride to church, and the bridegroom follows with the priest, who, for the most part, indulges himself in drinking to that excess, that he is obliged to have two attend-

ants to support him, not only whilst he rides on horseback to the church, but all the time he is there performing the matrimonial service.

One part of the pavement of the church, where the ceremony is performed, is covered with crimson taffety, and another piece of the same silk is spread over it, where the bride and bridegroom are appointed to stand. The priest, before he enters upon the office, demands their oblations, which consists of fish, pastry, &c. Then he gives them his benediction, and holds over their heads the image of those saints which were made choice of to be their patrons. After which, taking the right hand of the bridegroom, and the left of the bride within his own hands, he asks them three times whether they sincerely consent to, and approve of their marriage, and whether they will love each other for the future, as is their bounden duty so to do. When they have answered yes, all the company in general take hands, and join in a solemn dance, whilst the priest sings the 128th psalm (according to the Hebrew computation) in which almost all the blessings that attend the married state are enumerated. The priest, as soon as the psalm is finished, puts a garland of rue upon their heads; but if the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, then he lays it upon their shoulders. The ceremony begins with these words, "Increase and multiply," and concludes with that other solemn direction, which the Russians never understand in a rigorous sense, "Whom God hath joined let no man put asunder." As soon as this form of words is pronounced, all the company light their wax tapers, and one of them presents the priest with a glass of wine, which he drinks, and the new-married couple pledge him. This is done thrice, and then the bride and bridegroom dash their glasses down upon the floor, and tread the pieces under their feet, denouncing several maledictions on all those who shall hereafter endeavour to set them at variance. At the same time several women strew linseed and hempseed upon their heads. After this ceremony is over, the usual congratulations are repeated, with such other demonstrations of gaily and rejoicing as always accompany the nuptial rites. We must not here omit one circumstance, which is merry and innocent enough: the women before-mentioned, take fast hold of the bride's gown, in order to oblige her, as it were, to forsake her husband, but the bride sticks so close to him, that their endeavours prove ineffectual.

Their nuptial ceremonies thus far concluded, the bride goes home in a Russian car or sledge, attended by six flambeaus, and the bridegroom on horseback. The company come after them. As soon as they are all within doors, the bridegroom sits down at the table with his friends; but the women conduct the bride to her bed-chamber, and put her to bed.—

Afterwards, some young gentlemen wait on the bridegroom with their wax tapers in their hands, and conduct him to his lady's apartment. As soon as they are within the chamber, they leave their lights upon the hogsheds that surround the nuptial bed, and afterwards withdraw: but the bride, wrapped up in her night gown, jumps out of bed, approaches her husband with abundance of respect, and makes him a very submissive and respectful courtesy. This is the first moment that the husband has had an opportunity of seeing his wife unveiled, and they sit down to table, and sup together. Amongst other dishes, there is a roast fowl set before them, which the husband tears to pieces, throwing that part which he holds in his hands, whether it be the leg or the wing, over his shoulder, and eats the remainder.—Here the ceremony ends. The spectators withdraw, and the new-married couple go to bed. An old domestic servant stands sentinel at the chamber door. Some of the company, who are more superstitious than the rest, spend this interval of time in using enchantments for the good success of this secret love-adventure. Some travellers tell us, that this old servant, as soon as it is proper, attends near the bedside to be informed of what happens. Upon the husband's declaration of his success and satisfaction, the kettle drums and trumpets proclaim the joyful news, and the bathing vessels are instantly prepared for the refreshment of the happy pair.—The following days are spent in all the demonstrations of joy and rejoicing imaginable. The men indulge themselves in drinking to excess; and whilst the husband carouses with his friends, and drowns his senses in intoxicating liquors, the bride if we may rely on the veracity of some travellers, improves these few remaining hours of liberty to the best advantage, and revels in her lover's arms.

From all that has been here said concerning their marriages, we find that they retain many of those customs which were in use among the ancient Scythians, from whom they are descended. There is however, great reason to hope, that knowledge, in the course of time, will lead them off from such foolish and ridiculous practices. We shall in the course of this work have occasion to mention something concerning the marriage ceremonies in a country inhabited by Protestants, where some things are almost as ridiculous as those here described; for ancient customs may be modified, but they are not easily eradicated.

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#### *The Funeral Solemnities of the Russians.*

THE last thing we shall take notice of is, the manner in which they bury their dead, and the respect



which the living shew to the deceased, all which arise from a natural sentiment in the minds of men; for it has been often observed, that those who shew no respect to the bodies of their deceased relations, will never have much compassion for the living.—Every sort of indignity shewn to the deceased, indicates a hardened heart; for as we were formed in the image of God, so our bodies should be decently interred.

Their funeral solemnities are as remarkable in all respects as their nuptial ceremonies. As soon as a sick person is expired, they send for the relations and friends of the deceased who place themselves about the corpse, and weep over it if they can.—There are women likewise who attend the mourners, and ask the deceased what was the cause of his death? Were his circumstances narrow and perplexed? Did he want either the necessities or conveniences of life, &c. The party deceased being incapable of making any answer, they first make the priest a present of some strong beer, brandy, and metheglin, that he may pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased. In the next place, the corpse is well washed, drest in clean linen, or wrapped in a shroud, and shod with Russia leather, and put into a coffin, the arms being laid over the stomach in the form of a cross. The Russians make their coffins of the trunks of hollow trees, and cover them with cloth, or at least with the great coat of the deceased. The corpse is not carried, however, to church, till it has been kept eight or ten days at home, if the season or circumstances of the deceased will admit of such a delay. Who would imagine such a vain and ridiculous custom as this should make any distinction between a courtier and a citizen, a rich and an indigent person? But it is doubtless a received opinion, that the longer they lie in this world the better reception they shall meet with in the next. But be that as it will, the priest incenses the corpse, and sprinkles it with holy water till the very day of its interment.

The funeral procession is ranged and disposed in the following manner. A priest marches in the front, who carries the image of the particular saint who was made choice of for the patron of the deceased at the time he was baptized. Four young virgins, who are the nearest relations to the deceased, and the chief mourners follow him; or for want of such female friends, the same number of women are hired to attend, and perform that melancholy office. After them comes the corpse, carried on the shoulders of six bearers. If the party deceased be a monk or a nun, the brothers or sisters of the convent to which they belonged, perform this friendly office for them. Several friends march on each side of the corpse, incensing in, and singing as they go along, to drive away the evil spirits, and prevent them

from hovering round about it. The relations and friends bring up the rear, each having a wax taper in his hand. As soon as they are got to the grave, the coffin is uncovered, and the image of the deceased's favourite saint laid over him, whilst the priests repeat some prayers suitable to the solemn occasion, or read some particular passages out of their liturgy. After that, the relations and friends bid their last sad adieu, either by saluting the deceased himself, or the coffin in which he is interred. The priest, in the next place, comes close to his side, and puts his passport or certificate into his hand, which is signed by the archbishop, and also by his father confessor, who sell it at a dearer or a cheaper rate, according to the circumstances of those who purchase it. This billet is a testimonial of the virtues and good actions of the deceased, or at least of his sincere repentance for all his sins. When a person, at the point of expiration, is so happy as to have the benediction of his priest, and after his decease, his passport in his hand, his immediate reception into heaven is in their opinion infallibly secured. The priest always recommends the deceased to the favour of St. Nicholas. To conclude, the coffin is nailed up, and let down into the grave; the face of the deceased is turned towards the east, and his friends and relations take their last farewell in unfeigned tears, or at least in seeming sorrow and concern, expressed by mourners who are hired for that purpose.

They frequently distribute money and provisions among the poor who hover round the grave. But it is a very common custom amongst them, to drown their sorrow and affliction in metheglin, and in brandy. It is well known that the Russians and several other nations, particularly those of the north, have retained the custom of funeral entertainments; and it happens too often, that even some of the politest nations in all Europe will get drunk on those public occasions, in commemoration of their deceased friends.

During their mourning, which continues forty days, they make three funeral entertainments, that is to say, on the third, the ninth, and the twentieth day after their interment. A priest who is contracted with for that purpose, must spend some time in prayer for the consolation and repose of the soul of the deceased every night and morning, for forty days together, in a tent, which is erected on that occasion over the grave of the deceased. They commemorate their dead also once a year, which ceremony consists principally in mourning over their tombs, and in taking care that they be duly perfumed with incense by some of their mercenary priests, who beside the fee or gratuity which they receive for their incense, or more properly the small quantity of wax with which they incense such tombs, make an advan-

tage likewise of the various provisions which are often brought to such places, or of the alms which are left there, and intended by the donors for the relief and maintenance of the poor.

The alms given to the poor at these funerals, are considered as an expiation for their sins; but in vain do they think to appease the Divine Being, by offering sacrifices out of what was sought after by covetousness, and obtained by illicit practises. That wretched notion will perhaps for ever prevail in the minds of men, of entering into engagements with

the Deity—but God abhors that which has been obtained by unjust means.

With respect to the state of the dead, the Russians believe, that neither the righteous nor the wicked go into everlasting happiness or misery till the resurrection; but they believe that the one long for the resurrection day, and the other dread its coming. In this sentiment they are countenanced by all the fathers who lived before the emperor Constantine the Great, and it is almost certain, that this was the opinion of the ancient Jews.

## OF THE GREEKS OF ST. THOMAS, IN THE EAST INDIES.

FROM the circumstance of there being Christians in this part of the world, it will appear, that the gospel in the most early ages was more universally taught than many persons are apt to imagine. Their sentiments are much the same as those of the Nestorians, and as that heretic lived about the latter end of the third century, consequently we are naturally led to discover the time when the gospel was preached in this remote part of India. Not that this was the first time of its being preached here; for if any regard can be paid to tradition, St. Thomas the apostle not only preached to the Indians, but he also suffered martyrdom among them. But as Nestorius lived many years after, so it is probable that a correspondence was kept up between the Christians of the Lesser Asia, and those in the Indies, even long after the time of Constantine the Great. In consequence of that communication, there was nothing more easy than that of the Nestorians sending emissaries into the Indies, and as some of their notions, were very agreeable to the desires of men in a state of corrupt nature, so their being readily embraced is easily accounted for. This much however may be added, that although they cannot with propriety be said to hold the true principles of the Christian faith, yet they are not so corrupted in many things, as some of those we have already mentioned. The popes of Rome have frequently sent their missionaries thither, but more particularly since the establishment of the Portuguese in that part of the world. But Alexis Menesius, of the order St. Augustine, who was constituted archbishop of Goa, and took upon him the character of primate of the east, was the most zealous, and laboured more abundantly than all the rest, to bring about a reconciliation between the Christians of St. Thomas, and those of the church of Rome. As his

history has been compiled from his own memoirs, and the accounts of those who travelled with him into those parts, as well as from several Jesuits who have travelled thither, we may form an adequate idea from thence of the constitution, and religious principles of those people, at the time of that remarkable mission in the year 1599. There were several who attempted before Alexis to reconcile the Christians of St. Thomas with the church of Rome.

Don John Albuquerque, of the order of St. Francis, was the first archbishop of Goa; and under his patronage and protection there was a college erected in the year 1546, at Cangranor, for the instruction of youth in the Latin ceremonies. But the Jesuits, who were men of penetrating judgments, soon perceived that the young Chaldeans, thus grounded, were of no manner of service; and that there were no hopes of making proselytes of these people without a perfect knowledge of the Chaldean, or Syrian language. They erected therefore, another college in 1587, about a league from Cangranor, for the improvement of youth in the Chaldean tongue, in order, that when they were grown up, and duly qualified, they might be admitted as true Chaldeans into the ministry. But this project met with little or no success; for it was not a sufficient qualification to be master of their language; a harmony and agreement in point of principle with their prelates being absolutely requisite to entitle them to the privilege of preaching in their churches; whereas, their sentiments and manner of arguing, as they had been brought up under the Jesuits, were quite different from those which were generally received throughout the country. For which reason it was impossible for the Jesuits absolutely to abolish all their ancient customs, and dissuade them from paying their submission to the patriarch of Babylon, who was inde-

pendent of the pope, as well as the bishops who were under his jurisdiction.

The best course, therefore, that in their opinion could be taken, was to secure one of their bishops, whose name was Mar Joseph, and who was sent thither by the patriarch of Babylon, in order that, the people having no pastor, their scheme might the more easily meet with the desired effect. This bishop, Mar Joseph, indeed, ordered and directed that mass should be celebrated according to the form, and in the habiliments of the Latins; nay, that they should make use of the same wine, and the same wafers. But notwithstanding all this he still persisted in his Nestorian principles, and instructed the Portuguese who attended him, to call the Blessed Virgin, Holy Mary Mother of Christ, and not Mother of God; which obliged the archbishop and the viceroy to have him seized, in order to send him away to Rome. But at his arrival in Portugal, he so artfully managed his affairs, that he procured proper credentials for his return to his archbishopric of Serra. In the interim, however, they had substituted another bishop, called Mar Abraham, in his place, who, in order to establish himself in his bishopric, went afterwards to Rome to pay his homage to the pope, where, after making a public recantation of his errors, he was re-ordained, and obliged to take all his degrees from the very tonsure to the priesthood; afterwards he was consecrated bishop, and his holiness granted him bulls for his government to the church of Serra, and added thereto his letter of recommendation to the viceroy, which however proved of very little service to him; for the archbishop of Goa, upon his arrival, examined his bulls, and perceiving that the pope had been imposed upon by Mar Abraham, confined him, under that pretence, in a convent, till an answer could be had from Rome. He found means to make his escape, and conceal himself within the churches of his own diocese, where he met with a favourable reception from the Nestorians, who despaired of ever having another bishop amongst them appointed by their patriarch.

Mar Abraham, however, who was always distrustful of the Portuguese, withdrew into the country; and to demonstrate that he was perfectly reconciled to the pope, re-ordained all those whom he had before ordained, in order to act in conformity to the Romish ceremony; and used his utmost endeavours to convince both Rome, the viceroy, and the archbishop, that he was inviolably attached to the Latin church. Notwithstanding all these formal proceedings, he zealously preached up and inculcated the doctrines of Nestorius, in the church of Serra, and would by no means suffer his followers so much as talk of the pope, as supreme head of the church, acknowledging no other patriarch than that of Ba-

bylon. On the other hand, Mar Joseph, the preceding bishop of Serra, was charged with preaching up, and inculcating the heresies of Nestorius, and being examined thereupon, he, with an undaunted resolution, replied, that he had a revelation from the Almighty, that the religion which he had imbibed from his forefathers, was the only true religion.—Upon this declaration he was immediately taken into custody, and sent to Rome, where he ended his days.

From this history it is very evident that the Nestorians were persecuted with abundance of rigour by the Portuguese, on account of their profession; that the missionaries, who had but a superficial knowledge of the eastern theology, were very vexations, insisting on the observance of several ceremonies which were of little or no importance; and that thereby they had obliged the Nestorian bishops to dissemble for some time, and introduce innovations or new ceremonies into their churches by dint of force and compulsion. And it was by these very means that Mar Abraham, out of regard to a brief, or letter which he had received from the pope, and out of fear of offending the viceroy, who granted him a passport, in order to be present at a council, was obliged to renounce a second time all his errors, and make a public profession of the Apostolic and Roman Catholic faith. No sooner, however, was he returned to his own church, but he preached up and inculcated the Nestorian tenets with as much zeal and vigour as he had done before; and, at the same time, he wrote a letter to the patriarch of Babylon, to assure him, that his assistance at the synod of Goa was not the result of his own choice, but the absolute compulsion of the Portuguese.

The sequel of that history gives still further proofs of the outrages which the Nestorians suffered from the measures taken to reconcile them to the church of Rome, and to oblige them to subscribe to pope Pius the Fourth's confession of faith, under the before-mentioned Alexis de Meneses, archbishop of Goa, who went to India with a brief or letter from pope Clement the Eighth, to complain of and inform against Mar Abraham. The ardent zeal which the Nestorian Christians in this country professed in the defence of their religious principles, is conspicuous throughout this whole narration; wherein we find, that they insisted on their receiving the articles of their faith from St. Thomas himself, and they carried their prejudice to so high a pitch, that they clapt their hands before their eyes at the mass of the Latins, when the priest elevated the host for the people's adoration of it.

They testified a peculiar regard and an inviolable attachment to their patriarch of Babylon; and if any one asked them, whether the pope was not head of the church? They replied, that he was the head of



the church of Rome, which is but one particular church, or the church of St. Peter, but not of St. Thomas; obstinately persisting in the opinion, that they were two distinct churches, and altogether independent one of the other. Moreover, they strenuously opposed the sacrament of confirmation, which archbishop Meneses attempted to administer to them; boldly charging him with envy and ambition, and with a clandestine design to subvert the religion of St. Thomas, and make them proselytes to the church of Rome, that on the accomplishment of such a scheme, he might make himself master of all the Indian churches. This they said, was the true and only reason why this archbishop reviled and traduced the patriarchs of Babylon; while they on the contrary resolutely declared that they would persevere in their obedience and submission to their patriarch, and never renounce their own for the Romish religion.

Notwithstanding all this strenuous opposition of the Nestorians, archbishop Meneses continued incessantly to demonstrate to them, that their patriarch was an heretic, and one that was excommunicated, and consequently, that they could not pray to God in particular for him. And he was so zealous in his undertakings, that he backed his arguments with very considerable presents to soothe them, which had their intended effect. Nay, sometimes he would have recourse to compulsion, and had frequently endangered his life to promote his cause; for under pretence of having an absolute commission from the pope, he exerted his authority in all places wherever he went, without any regard to the respective prelates or ordinaries, even before they shewed any inclination to acknowledge his mission. By these resolute measures, this envoy of his holiness established the Romish religion in these countries, and spared no pains nor costs to accomplish his designs. He ordained several persons in direct opposition to the diocesan bishops, but first made them abjure the errors of the Nestorians. Such as were thus admitted into holy orders, besides their compliance with his confessions of faith, were obliged to swear allegiance to the pope, and to acknowledge no other prelates but such as were commissioned by him. It is proper now to proceed to the erroneous tenets which Meneses laid to the charge of the Christians of St. Thomas.

1. They obstinately maintain all the doctrines of Nestorius, and moreover excluded all images out of the churches, except the cross only; for which indeed they testified a most profound veneration.—There were several images, however, of particular saints to be seen in those churches which were near the Portuguese.

2. They affirmed, that the souls of the saints never see the Almighty till after the day of judgment.

3. They acknowledged the three sacraments only, that is to say, baptism, ordination, and the eucharist. Their administration of baptism was so irregular, that the ceremony thereof was solemnized after different forms in the very same church: By which means it frequently happened, that their baptisms proved invalid; insomuch that Meneses privately rebaptized the major part of them. There were likewise several, especially such as were in necessitous circumstances, and resided in the woods, who had never been baptized at all, on account of the expenses that attended the administration of that sacrament; and yet, notwithstanding this shameful neglect, they went to church, and there received the communion. Moreover, they frequently deferred the administration of baptism for several months, and sometimes for several years together.

4. In the administration of baptism they made use of no holy oils; except that whereas in their rituals there is mention made of unction after baptism, they anointed their children with an unguent, composed of oil and Indian nuts, or a kind of saffron, without the least benediction whatsoever; and this was looked upon by them as a sacred unction.

5. They never practised the ordinance either of confirmation or extreme unction: nay, they were perfect strangers to their very names.

6. They abhorred and detested auricular confession, except some few, who were neighbours to the Portuguese. And as to the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they received it on Maunday-Thursday, and several other solemn festivals, without any other preparation but not breaking their fast.

7. Their books abounded with very considerable errors (especially with respect to the blessed sacrament) and in their mass there were numberless additions inserted by the Nestorians.

8. They consecrated the sacrament of the eucharist with little cakes, made with oil and salt, and baked in brazen vessels by the deacons, and other inferior clergy, in a separate apartment built in the form of a turret. Whilst the cakes were baking, they repeated several psalms and spiritual hymns; and when they were ready for consecration, they dropt them in a small basket of green leaves, through a little hole that was made at the bottom of the turret. Moreover, in their consecration, they used wine made with water, in which some few dried raisins only had been first infused.

9. They said mass but very seldom, and he who assisted made use of a kind of stole, over his usual dress, although he was no deacon. He held the censer, or frankincense vessel in his hand, and repeated almost as many prayers as the celebrant, adding thereto several strange and profane ceremonies, which testified, in a peculiar manner, their error with regard to the nature of the sacrament.

10. They had such a peculiar veneration for holy orders, that there was scarce a family but what had one or more in it devoted to the altar: and the true reason of it was, that they were not thereby rendered incapable of any other preferment, and wherever they went, they were respected, and had the pre-eminence. Moreover, they had no regard to the age of such as were admitted into holy orders; for some they ordained priests at seventeen, and others at eighteen or twenty; who, after their admission, not only married widows sometimes, but upon the decease of one wife took another, and sometimes a third; and it was no uncommon thing to meet with a father, a son, and a grandson, all priests together of one and the same church. The wives of the clergy had a superior respect shewn them over other women, not only in the church, but in all places of public resort, and they make themselves conspicuous by wearing a cross on their neck, or by some other particular mark of distinction. The usual habit of their ecclesiastics was a pair of white drawers, and over them a long shirt, to which they sometimes added, for the greater decency, a white or black cassock. The crowns of their heads were shaved, like those of the monks and regular canons.

11. They met together and performed divine service every day with an audible voice in the Chaldean language, but did not think themselves obliged to do it on any other occasion; so they had no breviaries for private devotion.

12. They were guilty of simoniacal practices in the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper; for they assessed, or imposed a tax on all such as were baptized, or received the communion at their hands. For the solemnization of their nuptial ceremonies, they applied themselves to the first priest they could meet with, especially those who resided in the country. Nay, sometimes they never concerned themselves about any priest at all, but married according to the idolatrous customs of their neighbours or fellow-citizens.

13. They testified a peculiar regard and veneration for their patriarch of Babylon, who was a schismatic, and the head or principal of the Nestorian sect. On the contrary, they could not endure that the pope should be once mentioned in their churches, which were very often without either curate or vicar, and superintended only by the eldest member of the congregation.

14. Though they went constantly to church on Sundays to mass, they did not look upon it as a duty incumbent on them in point of conscience; so that they were at perfect liberty to attend or be absent; and in some places there was mass said but once a year, and in others again, not one for six, seven, or ten years together.

15. The priests followed mechanical employments,

and thereby neglected the regulation, and care of their flock. Their bishops were Babylonians, sent by their patriarch, who lived upon extortion and simoniacal practices, making a public sale of sacred ordinances, such as the ordination of their clergy, and the administration of the other sacraments.

16. They made no scruple of eating flesh-meats on Saturdays; and they were guilty of an extravagant error, during their Lent and Advent; inasmuch that if they had broke their fast one day, they neglected that duty all the week round, not thinking themselves under any obligation to observe the injunction when once they were conscious of their violation of it.

They were very strict in the observance of their Lent. But besides that, they kept several other fasts, much after the same manner as the Greeks, of whom we have already made sufficient mention; but such as were sometimes more superstitious than their neighbours, added bathing to their abstinence, which they looked upon as imperfect, if they neglected washing themselves all over in the morning. They bathed or washed themselves also if they happened but to touch any person of an inferior tribe. It is remarkable, that these Christians began their abstinence on the vigil or eve of the fast, and observed it no longer than the evening of the ensuing day.

Such women as were brought to bed of a male-child, never entered their churches till forty days after their lying-in: and in case of female issue, they were obliged to absent themselves for four score days together. At the expiration of the stated term, the mother attended divine service with her infant in her arms, and made a formal oblation of him to God and to the church. They shewed a peculiar regard for, and an awful dread of, excommunication. They could not by the rules of their church discipline, give absolution to one that was guilty of wilful murder, or any other enormous crimes, as we are informed, even at the very point of death.

Thus have we given the reader a detail of the greatest part of the errors and abuses with which Meneses loaded the Christians of St. Thomas, and which the compiler of that history aggrandizes, to shew what indefatigable pains were requisite to make proselytes of those people. But had this archbishop, and the other eastern missionaries been perfect masters of the ancient theology, they had not multiplied these errors to the degree they have done. And indeed, as they weighed and considered every point with conformity to the scholastic divinity of the Europeans, it is not any ways surprising to find that they should be ambitious of reforming the eastern nations on that basis or foundation. It must be acknowledged, that there were some abuses

which it were highly requisite should be reformed: but such reformation ought not to have been grounded on evangelical customs.

The archbishop Meneses convened a council at Diamper in the kingdom of Cochin, on the 20th of June 1599, at which the Nestorian deputies were present, in order to deliberate, jointly with the archbishop, on the state of all their ecclesiastical affairs. And hence to make it appear that the Nestorians were indulged in all liberty that was requisite on such public and solemn occasions, and also to procure their assent to all the articles which were then and there to be agreed on; the archbishop attached eight of their most celebrated clergymen firmly to his interest, and communicated without reserve, the secret of his scheme, and the ways and means which were requisite to be taken to render it successful, shewing them copies of all the decrees which were there to be made, and asking in a very familiar manner, their opinion and advice upon each particular article, as if he were not then come to any absolute determination; so that when they should attend at the synod, they might there act in the same manner to the end, that the rest might be inclined, or obliged to follow their example.

It was therefore decreed in this synod, that the priests, deacons, subdeacons, and all the delegates of the respective cities which were then present should subscribe to the confession of faith, which the archbishop himself had made by his private authority. This was put in execution accordingly, and all of them in a most solemn manner, swore allegiance to the pope, whom they acknowledged to be head of the church; and further, that for the future they would hold no manner of correspondence with the patriarch of Babylon. Moreover, they anathematized Nestorius, and all his heresies, acknowledging Cyril patriarch of Alexandria to be a saint. Besides all these proceedings, there were several particular statutes made at this synod, for the reformation of those errors which archbishop Meneses had discovered in the administration of their sacraments and in their prayer-books. For which reason their liturgies and other offices of devotion were ordered to be corrected. As to the ordinance of matrimony, that was regulated in every point on the footing of the council of Trent. All matters likewise relating to the sacraments of penance, confirmation, and extreme unction, were reformed according to the practice of the church of Rome.— Their priests were enjoined to live in perpetual celibacy for the future; and particular statutes or orders were made for the observance of such as were already entered into the matrimonial state. In short, the archbishop introduced the established religion of the Latins among the Chaldeans, not only in this

synod, but in his visitations of the several churches. We shall now enquire whether there were any just reasons for his introducing so many innovations amongst the Christians of St Thomas; and thereby give the reader a thorough notion of their avowed religion.

1. As to those errors, therefore, imputed to them by archbishop Meneses, we have already recoiled the sentiments of Nestorius, with those of the church of Rome; and the archbishop should have taken the same method to have rendered his attempt successful and lasting: for he ought to have understood them before he had condemned them, on the account only of denomination. Had he demonstrated to them, that all the quarrels and controversies in which they were engaged with the church of Rome, were only about a few ambiguous terms, they would doubtless have been much more tractable and inclined to a reconciliation.

2. With regard to their images, the Chaldeans do not manifest that awful respect for them, which the Greeks in the Levant do: and the reason is, because this profound veneration for them had been established in the Greek church no longer than since the second council of Nice, which is more modern than the various sects of the Chaldeans, who content themselves, for the generality, with having a cross only in their hands. This cross, with which the priest gives his benediction to the people, is made of plain metal without the least figure or representation upon it. The archbishop might very well have indulged the Christians of St. Thomas in this their ancient simplicity: since whatever has been decreed in the process of time with regard to images, is no more than matter of form, and only regards ecclesiastical discipline.

3. It must be acknowledged, that they do not administer the sacrament of baptism according to the rites of the Latin church: But the form of their baptism ought not, for that reason only, to be thought null and invalid: Much less ought such persons to be re-baptized, who had before been baptized according to the custom of the Chaldeans. That which usually leads the missionaries into an unhappy mistake, when they are discoursing about religious points with the easterns, is their prejudice in favour of their school-subtleties with relation to the matter and form of sacraments. When they find, for instance, that a child is not baptized at the same time that the words which denote the action are pronounced, they imagine such baptism to be void and of no effect: Not considering that the method of administering the sacraments amongst the easterns, entirely consists in the repetition of sundry prayers, and they are not such profound metaphysicians as the Latins. They are perfect stran-



gers to numberless difficult and abstruse points, which our divines unravel with all the dexterity and address imaginable.

4. The unction which they make use of after baptism is looked upon by them as the sacrament of confirmation, notwithstanding it differs very much from that of the Latins. Archbishop Meneses had no such reason for introducing another unction, which, though practised in his own church, is in reality no more than a simple ceremony. He should have considered, that the Nestorians, according to the ancient custom of the eastern church, when they baptize their children, administer to them at the same time the sacraments of confirmation and the Lord's Supper. He should have examined their rituals, therefore, in order to discover whether there were any erroneous practices in the administration of this sacrament. Whereas Meneses seemed intent on nothing else but the abolition of their ancient customs, and for no other reason but their non-conformity to those of the Latins.

5. The archbishop is mistaken in his assertion that the Christians of St. Thomas were perfect strangers to the use of confirmation and extreme unction, as well as to their very names. It is probable indeed they might be ignorant of the names of these sacraments, particularly the latter, which is practised only in the Latin church; for although the eastern church anoint their sick conformable to the works of St. James, they do not, however, call this ceremony extreme unction, for the reasons before-mentioned in speaking of the Greeks; and the very same reasons may be applied to confirmation. The priests administer the sacrament amongst the Nestorians as well as amongst the Greeks, at the same time with that of baptism, looking on it as its final completion and inseparable perfection. As for auricular confession, which they abominated and detested, that happened, it is doubtless, by an abuse or error which had been unhappily introduced into their church; because confession is well known to be practised all over the eastern nations, notwithstanding most of them are of opinion, that it is not a duty incumbent on them of divine right.

6. As to those errors which the archbishop pretends he discovers in their writings, inasmuch that he thought proper absolutely to abolish the office of the Advent, it was very easy for him to have put a favourable construction on those imaginary errors: besides, the reformation which he has made in the liturgy is idle and insignificant; for nothing can be worse digested than the Nestorian mass, as he has reformed it. There we find the whole order of it altered for no other purpose but to accommodate it to the received opinion of the Latin divines with respect to consecration, which, according to them, consists in these words, "This is my body, &c."—

Whereas the Nestorians, as well as the rest of the easterns, insist, that the consecration is not complete till the priest has concluded that prayer which by them is called the "invocation of the Holy Ghost." And yet Meneses made the Nestorian priests adore the host as soon as ever those words were uttered, "This is my body," though they did not believe it yet consecrated.

7. Their custom of administering the sacrament with leavened bread, and mixing oil and salt with it, ought not to be imputed to them as an error, since it makes no manner of alteration in the nature of the bread. Moreover, the ceremony observed by them in order to render this bread in some measure more sacred before consecration, it is not only very commendable, but very ancient. They distinguish by that means, as the Greeks do, the bread which is intended soon to be converted into the body of Jesus Christ, and set apart for that sacred purpose, from all other bread whatever, which they look upon as profane, or unconsecrated, till after the repetition of a stated number of prayers and psalms.

8. It is no great wonder that the Chaldeans should not say mass so often as the Latins, and that several priests should assist the bishop thereat, and receive the communion from his hands; for this was the ancient practice of the church; whereas the custom of saying so great a number of masses in the Latin church is very modern; and as cardinal Bona has justly observed, was introduced principally by the Mendicant friars; but more fully confirmed and established since the introduction of the new canon law. It was likewise customary for those who formerly attended and assisted at mass, to say a considerable part of it; and the reason was, because the liturgy was a public act wherein the congregation was engaged as well as the priest, as may easily be proved from the prayers contained in the Latin mass.

9. It is very true that the Nestorians, and the other easterns, are very remiss and regardless of the ancient discipline with respect to their admission of youth into holy orders; for they never consider the exact age required by the canons; but if that article ought to have been reformed, as well as that other relating to the marriage of their priests, this reformation ought to have been grounded on their own laws and institutions rather than those of Rome.

10. Meneses reckons the custom of not repeating the breviary in private families, as one of their errors, without the least reason, because it is a modern custom; besides the breviary never was designed for that private purpose.

11. We question very much whether the tax or assessment which is laid by the Nestorian priests on the administration of their sacraments, can properly be deemed simony; for that is substituted in the

room only of a benefice; and what has already been said in favour of the Greeks in this respect, may very justly be applied to them.

12. Neither, in our opinion, can the submission which the Nestorians pay to their patriarch be justly reckoned amongst the number of their errors; because the easterns look upon their patriarch, and even that of Rome, as powers established by law.— And whenever they are charged with an aversion for the pope, their answer is, that his holiness assumes an authority over the eastern churches which they do not acknowledge. Their having no curates nor vicars, but their most ancient priest to preside over their assemblies, can never surely be alleged against them as an error; for, on the contrary, it is a laudable and excellent piece of church discipline, and it is very much to be wished, that the custom was introduced every where in order to rectify a world of abuses which have crept into the church relating to benefices.

13. Lastly, all the errors that Meuses charges the Nestorians with are, for the generality, not really errors, and exist only in the imagination of some missionaries, who regulate all religious affairs according to those prejudices which they have imbibed by their education in their own schools. Shall we be so unreasonable, for instance, as to insist, that these people, and the other Christians of the East, are guilty of an error in eating meat on Saturdays, which day is a festival amongst them, according to the ancient custom of the church? Shall we presume likewise to charge the Nestorians with being guilty of an error with respect to marriage, for making their applications to the first priest they can meet with to perform the ceremony? We ought to consider that the priest in the eastern church is never made use of as an evidence of the solemnization, but as the sole person who has a legal right to administer that, as well as the sacraments and other religious ceremonies of their church.

Having said thus much concerning their tenets, and stated the objections made against them by Roman Catholics, with such answers as naturally occurred to us in an impartial investigation, we shall now proceed to point out to the reader, what these people say concerning themselves. And here it is necessary to observe, that, as they were in former times subject in ecclesiastical affairs to the patriarchs of Babylon, so they are frequently called Chaldeans, a name rather local than conveying any idea of a religious nature. In the mean time, it is not at all surprising that we should find them traduced by the Roman Catholics, who have at all times carried their resentment against those of a different religion to an unwarrantable height. It is probable that this story, however, which they relate concerning themselves, is no other than a perversion of the genuine account

of St. Thomas the Apostle; for although we may sometimes discover the outlines of truth in oral tradition, yet there is so much fable intermixed, that we are often as it were bewildered, and frequently lost in the dark.

The Christians of St. Thomas declare themselves descendants of one Mar Thomas, or Thomas Cana, an Armenian merchant, who settled at Congranor. This Mar Thomas married two wives, and had children by each. The children by the former were heirs to all his effects and lands which were situated in the southern parts of the kingdom of Congranor; and those of the latter, who was a negro slave converted to the Christian faith, inherited the settlement which their father died possessed of in the north. In process of time his descendants became very numerous, and constituted two considerable branches, which were never united or allied to each other. The issue of his first wife, from whom the nobility are descended, look down with disdain on the Christians of the other branch, and carry their aversion to so high a pitch, as to separate themselves from their communion, and condemn the ministry of their priests. Mar Thomas, whom these Christians look upon as their common parent, flourished, according to the general notion, in the tenth century. But M. la Croza rather thinks that he lived in the sixth. In time, however, these Christians were indulged, and enjoyed a great many very valuable privileges under the sovereigns of the country, and grew at last so powerful, that they elected kings out of their own nation and religion. They continued in this state of independence till the death of one of their sovereigns, who, leaving no issue behind him, adopted a young idolatrous prince that was his neighbour, and appointed him to be his immediate successor.

Notwithstanding the various revolutions which have happened in the East Indies for these two centuries last past, the Christians of St. Thomas are even now in possession of more than four hundred small towns or boroughs, that are all under the jurisdiction of one bishop who was sent to them by the patriarch of Babylon before the reconciliation of those Christians, which was more the result of compulsion than of choice. The bishop whom the Portuguese have fixed here, is called the bishop of the mountains, because he has his residence in every mountainous part of the country. As the bishops of St. Thomas are all civil as well as spiritual judges and governors, so the Portuguese have invested theirs with the same power. The bishops of St. Thomas are extremely numerous, but their dioceses are not large, although they have many hearers.

Such is the state of religion at present in that country, where there are a vast number of inhabitants; and what is very remarkable is, that the Je-

suits undertook many dangerous voyages, and underwent a vast variety of hardships to convert them to the tenets of popery. The Jesuits did not, or rather would not, consider that these people had never embraced so many ridiculous notions as they

themselves had done; but when learning, politics, and enthusiasm are all united in one person, then it is that we may naturally look for a very extraordinary character.

## RELIGIOUS TENETS AND CEREMONIES OF THE COPIITI, OR COPTI.

THESE people owe their origin and name to Copta, an ancient city in Egypt, often mentioned by Plutarch, and Strabo. The Christians of Egypt are at this day distinguished by this name, and speak a language peculiar to themselves, which they call the Coptic, but they never use it except in divine service: for in common conversation they use the Arabic language, that being for the most part understood throughout the country. This language, which Kircher the Jesuit insists to be a mother tongue, and independent on any other, has been very much altered by the Greeks: for although they make use of the Coptic letters, yet abundance of their words are pure Greek.

In their notions concerning the Trinity, they differ from the Greeks in the Levant, and also from those in Russia; for they believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son, so that in that sense they differ but little from those, whom in general we call the Orthodox. At different times they have been reconciled again and again to the church of Rome, but those reconciliations were only in appearance, for no sooner had the missionaries turned their backs than these people relapsed into their former opinions, and adhered to the practice of the ceremonies which had been used by their ancestors. Of this we have a noted instance in ecclesiastical history under the year 1562. From what motives is not now rightly known, but certain it is, that they sent very submissive letters to the pope, desiring to be reconciled to the church of Rome, acknowledging her to be the supreme mother of all churches in the world.

Flattered with the idea of making such a number of converts, the pope sent one Roderic a Jesuit to them, and he having had some conferences with them, particularly with two of their priests, whom the patriarch Gabriel had nominated for that purpose, very easily prevailed upon them to own the pope's authority, which they did; but sometime afterwards when this Jesuit pressed the same patriarch to send

his letters of submission and obedience, he peremptorily replied, that ever since the council of Chalcedon, when several patriarchs were appointed, every one was supreme head, and under Christ, the sovereign Lord of his own church.

He went so far as to add, that if the pope of Rome fell into any dangerous errors, he ought to be called to account for them, and tried by other patriarchs. And as for those letters which had been written to the pope, the contents were not to be taken in a rigorous sense, but only as the result of civility and complaisance; for granting that he made use of the terms, submission and obedience, he meant no more by them, than that respect which ought at all times to be paid to friends. He observed further, that if there was any thing inserted in those letters which he had wrote to the pope, that was inconsistent with the tenets of his church, the fault ought not to be imputed to him, but to the person intrusted with them, who had corrupted their genuine sense and meaning.

This Jesuit Roderic, upon his return to Rome, laid before the pope an account of the notions of these people, which upon the whole, supposing the representation to be just, does not shew them in such a disadvantageous light as the Roman Catholics would have us to believe; but then it must be considered, that the Roman priests will never forgive those who do not acknowledge the pope's supremacy, and, right or wrong, submit to all his dictates as coming from a person endowed with infallibility. And here it may not be improper to add, that when the Romish missionaries go into heathen nations to make converts, they generally extol the virtues of those people, who, in their own estimation of things are strangers to the gospel; but whenever they attempt to make converts either of the Greeks or of Protestants, and find all their designs rendered abortive, they represent those people under far more disagreeable colours than the heathens.

The errors imputed to these people by the Jesuits



are the following, but the reader must attend to it as written by persons prejudiced. They divorce themselves, without shewing cause, from their lawful wives, and marry new ones without being called to an account for it. They circumcise their children before baptism, which is a Jewish ceremony. They acknowledge there are seven sacraments in the church, but instead of agreeing with the church of Rome, they make the following of divine institution only, viz. baptism, confession, the eucharist, orders, faith, fasting, and prayer, without mentioning any others. They profess (say the Jesuits) that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Father and Son; and they admit but of three councils, namely, Ephesus, Constantinople, and Nice, and the decrees of all others they look upon as heretical, or at least so far deviating from the truth, that they are in their nature erroneous.

From what we have already taken notice of concerning the Greeks in other parts of the world, it will appear that the notions embraced by the Copti, and so offensive to the church of Rome, may with propriety be imputed to all the eastern churches who have in common with these rejected the decrees of several of the general councils. As for their reckoning among the number of their sacraments, faith, fasting, and prayer, it must be observed, that they do not use the term sacrament in the same rigorous sense as we do, for which reason we may naturally conclude that they reckon only the first four as sacraments. The last three seem to have been added by some of their mystical divines; a set of men who, by their allegorical interpretations of scripture, generally make enigmas of the word of God, darken the small remains of light in the human mind, and lay a stumbling block before those who are seriously inquiring after the truth.

It is necessary here to observe, that the assertion of Brerewood in his inquiries, that the Copti believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son is an error, for that notion is peculiar to the western or Latin church. Like the Greeks in the Levant, and those in Russia they believe, that the souls of those who have departed this life neither go into heaven nor hell till the general resurrection. It is certain, however, that there is in their religious ceremonies, a strange mixture of Greek and Romish rites; thus when the priest elevates the host at mass, the congregation smite their breasts, prostrate themselves before it, make the sign of the cross, and just move their caps a little above their heads. This custom is almost the same with that of the church of Rome, and probably embraced by those Copti, within these two hundred years.

When the priest receives the sacrament, he breaks

the bread in the form of a cross, and dips it into the wine in the chalice. He then repeats several prayers, and eats three small pieces of it, at the same time drinking three spoonfuls of the wine, and then administers it in the same manner to the deacon his assistant. They never preserve any part of the bread and wine that has been consecrated after mass is over, nor do they consecrate any but leavened bread and wine mixed with water. All that is left after the communion is over is given to the poor, consistent with the discipline of the primitive church, and from that circumstance alone we find that they are far from being so much sunk into superstition as the Roman Catholics. They always receive the eucharist on Saturdays, but at the same time they make it one of the articles of their religion to meet for attendance on divine service on Sundays; which, in conformity with the practice of the primitive church, they sometimes call the first day of the week, but more frequently the Lord's day.

In baptism they use the following ceremonies: It is always performed in the evening, and previous thereto mass is celebrated a little after midnight, accompanied with sundry prayers suitable to the occasion, and then several hymns are sung in their own language. The sponsors deliver the child to the deacon, who carries it to the altar, where it is anointed by the priest with oil, which according to them is to put on the new man of regeneration.—This part of the ceremony being over, they sing again and anoint the child a second time, signing him thirty-seven times with the cross, which is looked upon as an exorcism, to drive the devil out of the body and send him back to his own residence in hell.

The singing begins a third time, and the women, who now for the first time make their appearance, make a very loud noise as a demonstration of their joy. In the mean time there is water prepared and put into the baptismal font, towards which the priest approaches with all the marks of exterior gravity. He first blesses the wine, pouring water into it in the form of a cross; after this he takes the infant with one hand by the right arm and the left leg, and with the other by the left arm and the right leg, making a sort of a cross with the limbs of the infant, who is dressed in a little white vestment. During the whole of the ceremony, the deacons who attend, both read and sing, and the women make loud acclamations, or rather hideous howlings.

The singing being over, the priest breathes three times upon the face of the infant, in order that he may receive as they imagine, the Holy Ghost. He then dips his finger into the chalice, containing the consecrated bread and wine, and puts a little of it

into the infant's mouth. At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the wax-tapers are lighted, and a solemn procession is made round the church, all the assistants singing as they move along. The deacon carries the child in his arms, and the priest walks before, the procession being closed by the men and women who are either relations or friends, and who continue to make a most hideous noise, which they call singing.

They have images in their churches, for which they shew the most profound reverence by bowing before them, and praying to them. They keep lighted lamps continually burning before them; a ceremony which they have learned from the heathens, and part of the oil used in these lamps they carry home to anoint themselves with when they are sick, which seems to be all they think necessary as extreme unction. It is certain that they never consider extreme unction as a sacrament; for this reason, that they never send for the priest to anoint them, which may serve to shew, that in this article alone, they are not so corrupt as either the Roman Catholics or the Greeks in the Levant.

These Copti have a patriarch, who generally resides at Alexandria, or at Cairo, and under him are eleven bishops, who all exercise the episcopal authority in their own dioceses. Under these bishops are a great number of arch-priests, being next in dignity to the bishops, and again, under them are common priests, deacons, lecturers, and chanters.

As to their office, the priest, on Saturday after sun-set, goes to the church, accompanied by his assistants to sing the vespers, which takes up about an hour; and the deacons sleep in the church, having beds prepared for that purpose. Such as are not disposed to sleep, either smoke tobacco, drink coffee, or discourse on such subjects as are most agreeable to them. Two hours after midnight they begin to sing mattins, and afterwards mass, at which, in general, there are abundance of people present. When the people enter the church, they pull off their shoes, and kiss the ground near the door of the sanctuary. They then draw near to the arch-priest and kiss his hand, making him a profound bow in order to receive his blessing. In case the patriarch should be present, and not officiate, he seats himself upon a throne above the arch-priest, and holds a brazen cross in his hand. After each person has performed his customary reverence to the sanctuary, he pays the same to the patriarch, and having kissed the ground at the foot of his throne, rises up and kisses the cross and the patriarch's hands. Upon the whole, there is but little difference between these ceremonies and those used by the Greeks in the Levant, for their priests never preach a sermon to the people, but content themselves with reading one of the homilies of Chry-

sostom, Basil, or some others of the Greek fathers.

The Copti have several churches in Egypt, and they are built in the following manner: Each of them has two domes or cupolas, one for the holy of holies which they call Heikel, and is the same as the Hechal in the synagogue of the Jews; before the door of which a large veil is always spread.—The other dome is over the sanctuary, or inward choir, which is always situated towards the east, in conformity with the primitive custom. Here it is they celebrate mass, and no person is permitted to enter into it, unless he first washes his feet, and at the same time, he must at least be in deacon's orders. All their churches have three doors, one for the men, another for the women, and a third through which the faithful bring their oblations.

Having already taken notice of the manner in which the priests receive the eucharist, we shall now proceed to point out how mass is celebrated: for on all such occasions there are generally a great number of lay communicants, who consider it as their duty to attend on these things which they consider as essentially necessary to salvation.

The bread and wine being properly placed upon the table within the rails of the altar, the priest and his assistants make their appearance in their robes, and the wax-tapers are lighted up. The priest then begins with repeating a short preparatory prayer, which is followed by a thanksgiving, after which, the bread, wine and water are mixed together in the chalice, and offered up to God as a sacrifice. As soon as this prayer and ceremony are ended, the priest covers the bread with a veil, and the chalice with another, after which he spreads a large broad veil over both. He kisses the altar, and descends from the sanctuary, in order to pronounce the prayer of absolution in behalf of those who assist him; but if the patriarch is present, it is his business to pronounce the absolution. After this the priest goes up to the altar, and incenses it, repeats another prayer, and intercedes with the Divine Being to assist him in offering up the sacrifice. After this he walks round the altar, and perfumes it with incense, and kisses it. He likewise incenses every person in the congregation one by one, on which occasions, all those who are called the faithful stand up, and this is done, in order to distinguish them from infidels or heretics, who are not supposed to be acquainted with such ceremonies. If any person refuses to stand up when the priest comes with the censer, he is instantly excluded from the congregation, as one who had no right to be among them.

The priest then returns to the sanctuary, where he repeats several prayers for the people, and then the epistle is read both in the Coptic and Arabic languages, that all the people present may understand

it. The lessons are next read in the same manner, and then several psalms or hymns are sung alternately, by the priest and the people. The singing being over, the priest and deacon walk round the altar to represent the promulgation of the gospel, which at this time is carried before them.

Before the gospel is read, the priest, standing before the sanctuary, opens the book which was before laid upon the altar, to denote that the words therein contained, and going to be read, proceeded from the mouth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He makes all the church officers approach him to behold the gospel, who kiss the book as it lies open; but the laity are only permitted to kiss it when shut, and on such occasions it is carried to them covered with a veil. The next part of the ceremony consists in singing the Nicene Creed, perfuming the altar three times by the priest, while he looks towards the east, the washing of hands, the blessing of the people with the sign of the cross, and the prayer for the kiss of peace, after which all the congregation bow to each other, as a sign that they are living in a state of brotherly love and Christian friendship together.

With respect to the oblation itself, which corresponds with the canon of the mass among the Roman Catholics; the priest in the first place breaks the host into three pieces, and joins them again so artfully, that they do not seem to have been divided.—This ceremony is accompanied with several prayers and other acts of devotion, suitable to the occasion. They invoke the blessing of the Holy Ghost upon the sacred elements, and they commemorate all the saints, and the faithful departed this life.

When the priest elevates the bread, he says, "Holy things are for those who are holy." The deacon holds up the wax taper and the cross, and the people lay prostrate on the ground, crying out with an audible voice, "Lord have mercy upon us." If the elevation be on a Sunday, the people stand bare-headed in an humble posture, but on all working days, they worship with their faces fixed down close to the ground, with their caps off.

Previous to this part of the ceremony, the deacon says, "Bow down your heads before the Lord," and the priest standing with his face towards the congregation, with the host upon the patin, elevates it, and says, "Behold the bread of the saints." Then the people bow their heads low, and say, "Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord."—Profound reverence, and that of bowing the knee, is in all eastern countries considered as a just mark of respect, due to an earthly sovereign, and therefore we need not be surprised, that the ceremony is carried further, even to prostration, when the Divine Majesty is the object they consider themselves as approaching.

The Copti monks are, in all respects as ignorant, and equally as much despised as those in Russia, or among the Greeks in the Levant. They are obliged to live in a continual state of celibacy, to forsake their friends and relations, and look down with contempt upon all the good things of this world. They work hard in cultivating the ground for a subsistence, which shews that at least, they are not such idle drones as some of the same order in other countries. They dress in coarse woollen cloth with a leathern girdle round their loins, and at nights lie upon a mat upon the ground. Before they lie down in the evening, they prostrate themselves one hundred and fifty times, with their hands folded in the form of a cross.

As soon as they have finished these prostrations, which no doubt are extremely painful, they rise up, and make the sign of the cross seven times, and then retire to rest. In every convent there is a particular saint, and many ridiculous stories are told by the monks, concerning miracles wrought by him.—They keep lamps constantly burning in their churches before the images of their saints. These lamps hang directly before the image, so has to be seen by the priest, and on each side of them are ostrich eggs, to remind him that he ought to be vigorous and circumspect in the exertion of his sacred function.—This custom took its rise from the vulgar notion, that the ostrich has her eyes continually fixed upon her eggs, and by that means hatches them.

They begin their year on the 8th of September, and they observe the Epiphany in a manner different from the Russians, or any other whom we have hitherto mentioned. The midnight service being over, the patriarch, or whoever officiates, retires to the vestry but returns in a short time dressed in all his pontifical vestments, attended by a priest and a deacon. As soon as they come to the conservatory, the patriarch begins the benediction of the water, by reading several lessons, some in the Coptic and others in the Arabic language, out of the Old Testament. He then mixes the water, and stirs it several times cross-ways with his pastoral staff.—The priests who are present, repeat the same ceremony after him, and during this benediction there is a large iron sconce, with three branches about six feet high, and in each of them a wax candle burning.

When the benediction is over, the people plunge themselves into the water, without any regard to common decency or modesty in their behaviour.—After the men have washed themselves, they withdraw to the choir, and then the women move forwards with the same irregularity, to bear a part in this immodest religious ceremony, which is not unlike some of the festivals of the ancient Pagans.

They have a festival which is perhaps the most ridiculous of any of those observed throughout the



world, by persons calling themselves Christians.—It is called the festival of the Apparition of Saints, and seems to be the effect of the grossest ignorance. They are of opinion that this apparition happens in the church of Gemiana, near to which is a chapel, where the construction is such, that the reflection of light upon different objects, lays a foundation for their superstition. Here is great reason to believe, that the priests do all in their power to cultivate this notion; which is not at all to be wondered at, when we consider that men, who spend most of their time in idleness under the sanction of a sacred character, are generally engaged in hatching new schemes, and such as will support their own grandeur.

Sometimes they imagine they see the appearance of a man on horseback, and this phantom is worshipped as St. George, because that nominal, or rather imaginary saint, is always represented under such a figure. This apparition makes its appearance three days together, and the devotions of the people consist in loud acclamations of joy, and hymns sung in commemoration of the saints, which are followed by all sorts of diversion and festivity.—The only inference we can draw from such a religious ceremony is, that it must have taken its rise in the dark ages of Christianity, when designing priests invented whatever they pleased, and when the people were ready to swallow the grossest absurdities.

Another festival common among them, is called the Exaltation of the Cross, which is likewise observed by the Roman Catholics, but with very different ceremonies, of which the following is a genuine account.

It is well known that the fertility of Egypt depends upon the annual inundation of the river Nile, which commences about the beginning of June, and ends in the beginning of September. In times of Paganism a virgin was thrown into the river; but that barbarous custom is now abolished, to make way for superstitious ceremonies of a more innocent nature. The Mahometan ceremonies, on this occasion, will be taken notice of in their proper place, but at present we must attend to those of the Copti.

These people, on the twelfth day of June, assemble together in their church at Cairo, and having consecrated a cross, they carry it in solemn procession to the banks of the river, where the patriarch, bishop, or priest, incenses it three times, and then throws it into the Nile, as an acknowledgment that all the benefits of creation and providence flow from the bountiful hand of the Divine Being. This is such a heathenish custom, that we are surprised how it could ever enter into the minds of people, professing themselves to be Christians, to embrace it; but then we must remember what was seen in a vision by St. John (Rev. xii.) that when the woman sought refuge in the wilderness, the dragon spewed

out a great flood, and the earth drank up the flood. Now the meaning of this is, that when the inhabitants of the world had forsaken the pure truths of the gospel, the grand adversary of mankind taking advantage of their ignorance and superstition, and improving upon their natural depravity, sent false teachers among them, and the multitude greedily swallowed the infectious doctrines.

The Jesuits in their account of this ceremony are much to be blamed, for although enemies to the Copti, yet they throw the whole odium of the idolatrous part of the practice upon the Mahometans. Here is an error indeed, but such as might be expected to come from the pens of men prejudiced in favour of a particular system. It is well known that the Mahometans abhor all sorts of image worship, and although they may have some ridiculous ceremonies amongst them, yet they have never been proved to be idolators. Every Mahometan is obliged to acknowledge that both the Jewish and Christian dispensations were of divine original, and that neither the one nor the other could have been rendered ineffectual, unless the professors of them had dishonoured God by their disobedience, trampled upon sacred institutions, and set at nought the moral precepts in the law of Moses, and even rejected the gospel of Christ.

With respect to the nuptial ceremonies of the Copti, they are in many respects similar to those of the Greeks in the Levant, nor indeed much different from those of the ancient Jews, of which we have already given a copious account. All the eastern Christians have something so similar among them in religious rites and ceremonies, that we are under the necessity of believing, that whatever sentiments of purity they once embraced, yet, consistent with the corruptions of human nature, and the degeneracy of the times, they returned back to heathenish customs, and are at present little better than Pagans.

When the midnight service of mass is over, the bridegroom and bride are conducted from their own apartment to the church, accompanied by a long train of attendants with wax tapers and other lights. During the procession, several hymns are sung in the Coptic language, and the attendants join in concert with the music. The bridegroom is put into the choir of the church, and the bride into the place appointed for the reception of the women. Then the priest and the people begin several hymns which they sing within the choir, and this part of the ceremony takes up a considerable time. The priest then goes up to the bridegroom and reads several prayers, making the sign of the cross at the beginning and ending of each, after which the bridegroom is ordered to sit down with his face towards the altar, and the priest, holding a silver cross over his head, repeats two or three more prayers.

Whilst this ceremony is performing in the choir, the sacristan, who in general is a deacon, places a form or bench at the outer door for the bride to sit on with one of her relations. In that attitude she remains till the priest, with his attendants, conducts the bridegroom from the choir, and makes him sit beside his spouse. After this he spreads a napkin over both of them, and then anoints their foreheads and wrists with oil, joining their hands together, as a signal of their never being separated till the hour of death. Several prayers follow, and the whole ceremony is concluded by the new-married couple receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, which is administered to them at the altar.

In their funeral solemnities they are not much different from some of the other Greek Christians, whom we have already mentioned, only that, as the Greeks in the Levant hire female mourners to make a hideous noise at the grave of the deceased, here they hire both male and female. The interment is generally on the third day after the decease of the person to be buried, and it seldom happens, let their circumstances be ever so poor, that they have less than three or four hundred mourners, for it is nothing at all to them whom they hire, so as they can only make a noise, which has the same effect upon the populace as if they were parties concerned.

When the body is laid in the grave, the face is turned eastward, and then all the hired mourners kneel down and make the most hideous lamentations. Several priests dressed in black attend on these solemnities, and as they are generally dressed like poor ragamuffins, so they make a most despicable appearance. They do not use any coffins, which undoubtedly was the original way of interment, but the deceased is laid in the ground, dressed in the clothes he wore before he was taken ill. The priest throws the mould over the corpse in the form of a cross, and every one present follows his example. Upon the whole we may learn from what has been here related, that the Christian religion was early established among these people, but that while the western or Latin church was endeavouring to establish the papal supremacy, those in the east were equally assiduous to obscure the glory of the gospel. The Roman pontiffs conducted their schemes upon principles of the most refined policy, and made use of Pagan ceremonies as far as they suited their purposes. The eastern Greeks, on the other hand, being depressed by tyrannical powers, sunk into the most abject state of slavery, and introduced into their worship such Pagan rites and ceremonies as were most agreeable to their perverse notions.

## RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE MARONITES.

THE Maronites, although extremely numerous in the east, yet are but little known to the Europeans, for most of our modern travellers have confounded them with the Greeks, who reside in the Lesser Asia. But this is a very gross mistake, for they not only hold opinions contrary to those people, but there is likewise a great difference in their ceremonies. Some time ago, as will appear from the following narrative, they embraced some of the customs of the church of Rome; but although the latter pretends that both have been reconciled together, yet the Maronites still retain most of their ancient customs.

It is a very difficult matter justly to determine the origin of the Maronites. Such as go under that denomination, however, insist, that one Maro, an abbot, who lived in the fifth century, and whose life was written by Theodoret, was their first founder. This notion, approved of by Brerewood, is strenuously supported by Sacchini the Jesuit, who, with

the modern Maronites, insist that these people never separated themselves from the church, and are looked upon as schismatics, only because the revival of their union with the Catholic church has been mistaken for an actual return to the Catholic faith, and that the erroneous tenets which have been discovered amongst them, have been laid to their charge, as if they had actually been the authors; whereas that misfortune arose from the heretics residing among them. But how probable soever this opinion may seem at first view, there is no manner of foundation to support it; and the testimonies of Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, William of Tyre, James of Vitry, and several others, are so many incontestible demonstrations, that this nation has actually espoused the tenets of the Monothelites. Such as look on Monothelism as a heresy, must likewise pronounce Maro to be a heretic, although the Maronites mention him as a saint in their liturgy. This, therefore, must be allowed beyond all con-

tradition, that these people, after they had dissented from the church for five hundred years, made a public recantation of their real or imaginary heresy before Aymeric, patriarch of Antioch, who was contemporary with William of Tyre. Before that time they owned but one will and one operation in Jesus Christ, notwithstanding they acknowledged both his natures.

The Maronites have a patriarch who resides in the convent of Canubin, upon mount Libanus, and assumes the title of patriarch of Antioch. He never concerns himself with the administration of any civil affairs; but there are two lords who are distinguished by the name of deacons, or administrators, and govern all the country which is under the jurisdiction of the Turks, to whom they pay very considerable tributes. This patriarch is elected by the clergy and people according to the ancient constitutions of the church. Twelve of their chief priests, who represent, without doubt, the twelve apostles, meet together in the convent of Canubin for this election.—This method of proceeding is by scrutiny; and when they are all agreed, the clergy and the people jointly confirm their choice. If this scrutiny should happen to fail of success, they proceed to election by way of arbitration, that is to say, three out of the twelve are chosen to make the election, which is afterwards confirmed by the people. Ever since they have been partially reconciled to the Romish church, the patriarch elect has been obliged to procure the pope's bulls of confirmation. He and his suffragan bishops are obliged to live in an uninterrupted state of celibacy; and it is remarkable, there are two sorts of prelates amongst them: One sort are actually bishops, having an actual title, and people under their jurisdiction; the others are, properly speaking, no more than abbots of convents, and have no cure of souls. These latter wear no episcopal habit, nor have any particular mark or badge of their preference, but a dress like the other monks, except when they sing mass, and then indeed they wear a mitre and crozier by way of distinction. The patriarch, not being able to visit all mount Libanus himself, has always two or three bishops ready to assist him. Besides the bishops who reside at mount Libanus, there are others at Damas, at Aleppo, and in the island of Cyprus.

As to the other ecclesiastics, they have free liberty to marry before their ordination; nay, the patriarch not long since obliged them either to enter into the married state, or to turn monks, before he would admit them into holy orders; for the people, who are naturally jealous, cannot endure to see young priests unmarried. However, since there is a college at Rome, where some of their ecclesiastics have their education, they are allowed to live single without molestation on that account. Before they studied

at Rome, they were very little wiser than the common people, and never aimed at any higher qualifications than barely reading and writing. They are thought learned, who, besides the Arabic, which is the mother tongue, have some knowledge of the Chaldaic, because their liturgies, and other office books, are written in that language.

The monastic life is no less in vogue amongst the Maronites than amongst the other eastern nations. Their monks are of the order of St. Anthony, and in all probability they are the remains of those ancient hermits who resided in the deserts of Syria and Palestine, for they live retired in the most secret places amongst the mountains, and the most distant from all commerce and conversation. Their habits are poor and coarse; they eat no flesh-meats, though never so much indisposed, and seldom, if ever, drink any wine. They have no notion of making solemn vows and engagements; but when they are admitted into the convent, one of the society, with a book in his hand, reads over some few of their rules, and exhorts them to be mindful of their duty; as for instance, to be chaste, and that is deemed sufficient without making vows, as they do in the Romish church, strictly to observe and practise that virtue. They have money and effects of their own, which they have a power to devise and dispose of at their decease. And when their inclination leads them to quit one convent, and live in another, they may do it without asking leave of their superior. They can perform no ecclesiastical office, such as preaching, or confessing; so that their devotions are all private, without any public worship for the help of their neighbours. They are all handicrafts-men, and practise agriculture, according to their first institution. They are hospitable to the last degree, particularly those in the convent of Canubin, who keep open house all the year round. We shall take no notice here of their tenets, because there is no other difference between them and the other people of the east, but in their schism, which they have at present renounced, being partially reconciled to the church of Rome. They even consecrate the eucharist with unleavened bread: it is very probable they never observed that custom till their reconciliation with Rome, notwithstanding the modern Maronites insist, that they never made use of leavened bread for that sacrament.

Their mass is very different from that of the Latin, but since their missal has been reformed at Rome, they are strictly enjoined to make use of that, and no other. Every part of their divine service is celebrated with abundance of incense, especially their mass, wherein they made use of no manipule, nor stole as the Latins do, nor even of chasubles, except since they have had some sent them from Rome. But instead of a manipule, they wore two



small pieces of silk, or stained linen upon each arm, either sewed to their albe, or laid loose upon it. The priests never celebrate the mass separately as the Latins do; but all together surrounding the altar, where they assist the celebrant who administers the eucharist to them all. The laity receive the communion in both kinds, but the pope's missionaries are daily introducing the custom of administering it in one only; they are not of opinion that the consecration consists in these words, "This is my body, &c." "This is my blood, &c." but in a much longer form of words, wherein is included that prayer which is generally called the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. At present, however, they follow that particular, and several others, the opinions of the Latin divines, which they have learnt at Rome. As to their other offices, they perform them in the church, to which they resort at midnight to sing matins, or rather the night office. They say lauds, which may properly be called their prime, at break of day.—Tierce is rehearsed before mass, and sexte immediately after it. Nones are sung after dinner, and vespers at sun-set; and lastly, complines, after supper, before they go to bed. There is an introduction, besides two or three, and sometimes a greater number of prayers, with the like number of hymns in every office. They have, moreover, particular offices for the week-day, for Lent, Moveable-feasts, and other holy-days. The priests and other inferior clergy thought themselves excused from the performance of divine service, when they could not assist at the choir, till the Latins lately obliged them to say them in private notwithstanding.

The Maronites always begin their offices with several prayers, which are addressed to Jesus Christ, as their Mediator and Redeemer. They never pray to the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, separately from Jesus Christ. They testify, however, a peculiar veneration for the former, and in their commemoration of her, are lavish in her praises:—which, according to Father Simon, from whom we have extracted these remarks, are introduced only to honour her extraordinary merit. The Maronites, when they pray, never implore either her or any of the saints mediation; for they acknowledge Jesus Christ as the only Mediator. Yet they humbly beg that by their prayers, &c, they would aid and assist them to obtain the divine mercy.

Their fasts are very different from ours. They keep only Lent, during which they never eat till two or three hours before sun-set. They never fast in the ember-weeks, nor on the vigils of any of the saints' days, nor before any other festivals whatsoever; but instead thereof, they have other stated times for fasting, which they observe with the utmost strictness and austerity; for they abstain from flesh, eggs, and milk twice a week, that is to

say, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and upon those days, nothing ever enter their lips till noon; after which they indulge themselves as much and as often as they think convenient. They fast 'after the same manner twenty days before the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour. Their monks extend the observance of it much longer. Before the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, they all fast fifteen days, and as many before the assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

Their bishops never wait as is the practise of the Latin church, till the ember-weeks, for the ordination of the clergy; but give holy orders on any festival whatsoever. Before the late reformation was introduced into their church, they conferred in one day, on the same person, the several orders of reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, arch-priest, and bishop; and all within the compass of two or three hours. It is observable, that the ceremonies of making any arch-priest, are as solemn as for conferring other orders, and it seems, they look upon it as a distinct order from the rest.

They preserve no water in their founts that has been consecrated on Easter eve for the administration of the sacrament of baptism, as is done in the Latin church: But whenever, and as often as any one is to be baptised, they bless the water with a great number of prayers; then they plunge the person to be baptised, three times into the water, which is made warm before-hand, or pour some of it upon him three times. They pronounce, however, the form of words requisite but once naming the person. They never use any salt, and not only anoint the head but the breast likewise, with the palms of their hands. They moreover, anoint their bodies from head to foot, both before and behind. Besides this unction, which is performed before baptism, they have another subsequent to it, which is, properly speaking, the confirmation among the eastern nations; but that custom has been abolished ever since the reconciliation with the Roman church, and their administration of that sacrament according to the Latin form. At their baptism, the godfather never holds the infant at the font; but the priest takes it out of the font, and wraps it up in a linen cloth.

Formerly, they concerned themselves very little about confession before their receiving the holy communion, but the Romish missionaries have lately obliged them to it. The priest likewise in general had an equal authority in all matters relating to penance before their reformation. There were no particular cases reserved to their patriarchs or bishops. Dandini complains that the duty of confession is most shamefully neglected by the Maronites. It must be acknowledged, that not only they, but

the eastern nations in general, are much more remiss in this particular, than the Latins. As to the posture, some confess themselves standing, others sitting, but most of them upon their knees. Their ghostly fathers impose upon them public penances, for public offences, and private, for secret sins.— Their penances consist principally in fasting, alms-deeds, pilgrimages, and prostrations. their father confessors are, for the generality, directed by the penitentials, or penance-books, published for their assistance on these occasions. Amongst those who neglect confession, some under pretence of confessing their sins to God alone, will whisper their transgressions through the crannies which they meet with in the church walls. Before their conversion to popery, in some measure, they shewed little veneration for the blessed sacrament of the eucharist, which was locked up in a box, without any lights, and hid in some hole or corner of their churches.— Neither did they publish the bans of matrimony in their churches, before the nuptials were actually solemnized; they applied themselves to the first priest they could find upon these occasions, not thinking it necessary to have recourse to the particular curates of their respective parishes. Moreover, before that time, young people were married under twelve and fourteen years of age. And as to the legal impediments of matrimony, their custom was vastly different from that now practiced in the Roman church; for in their table of degrees of consanguinity, they not only traced their lineage from the head but they included the two branches which shoot from it, imagining that two persons, though in the same degree, as for instance, two brothers made two degrees; so that though they married but in the sixth degree, according to their calculation, they married in effect in the third; and on the other hand, they looked upon that to be an impediment which was none, for they would not allow two brothers to marry two sisters, nor a father and a son to marry a widow and her daughter.

They make use of a particular unction for their sick; which they call the lamp, because they actually make use of the oil which is contained in such vessel, after the following manner. They make a little cake, something larger than a host, and put upon it seven pieces of cotton twisted with little pieces of straw, and put altogether into a basin with some oil in it: After that, having read a gospel, and an epistle of St. Paul, with some prayers, they set fire to all the cotton. In the next place, they anoint with this oil, the forehead, breast, and arms of all those who are present, and the sick person in particular, saying at each unction, "May the Almighty by his sacred unction pardon all thy sins, and strengthen thy limbs, as he did those of the poor man who was troubled with the palsy." Then they

let the lamp burn till all the oil is exhausted; and as this oil is blessed by a priest only, abundance of people have imagined, that this ceremony is not the sacrament of extreme unction, since it is frequently administered to such as are but slightly indisposed. Such, however, as have an idea of the oriental theology, will be readily induced to believe, that those people had no other sacrament of extreme unction before the innovations made by the Latins: for the term of extreme unction is peculiar to the Romans; because they never anoint their sick but when they are in danger of death; which is a custom the Christians of the Levant are strangers to.

Before we conclude this dissertation on the Maronites, we shall give the reader an abstract of father Besson the Jesuit's reflections upon them in his treatise, entitled *Syria Sacra*, wherein he takes notice chiefly of those Maronites, who reside in that part of Mount Libanus, called Quesoran. This Jesuit is of opinion, that the Maronites are derived from St. Maro a Syrian abbot, and not of Maro the arch-heretic; and amongst several other proofs which he produces, he insists that it is customary for the Maronites, after their clergy and the people have elected a patriarch, to have recourse to the pope for his confirmation. But he ought to have considered that they had no recourse to Rome on that account, till since their strict alliance with the Latins. He adds, moreover, that John of Damas could not possibly be a stranger to the heresy of the Maronites, in case they had been heretics in fact, because he was their neighbour: and yet he has not so much as once mentioned them in his long catalogue of heresies; but that was not necessary, as they are comprehended in the heresy of the Monothelites.

The author before-mentioned briefly relates what Dandini the Jesuit, and some others of his fraternity have done amongst the Maronites, and we have related it more at large, and added thereto some necessary reflections. All that can be said is, that this missionary is, in our opinion, more weak than the others, where he treats of the religious principles of the Maronites. For which reason we believe one ought not to give any credit to a miracle produced by him as an incontestible proof of the orthodoxy of the Maronites. He insists, that about three miles from Canubin, not far from a town called Eden, there is a metropolitan church, that goes by the name of St. Sergius, upon the top whereof there is a chapel dedicated to St. Abdon, and St. Sennan, and a fountain of water which runs under the altar, during the celebration of mass, on the festival observed in commemoration of these two saints. He adds, moreover, that notwithstanding this remarkable day is one of their moveable feasts, being always annexed to the first Sunday in the month of May, there is no variation in the current of this fountain,

which is constantly regulated by the first Sunday in May, and has been so ever since the calendar has been reformed by pope Gregory the XIIIth. We are very well satisfied, however, that this story was invented purely to serve a turn, and in all probability to give a sanction to the reformation of that calendar, which these people have refused to admit of on several occasions. But what is a still more manifest testimony that this miracle is spurious, is, as our author assures us, that this fountain, which thus runs under the altar during mass, has a more rapid stream when the priest elevates the host; not considering, that the Maronites never elevate the host as the Latins do. Father Besson, however, relates this miracle, as sufficient to justify that extraordinary veneration which the Maronites have for the Roman church, in opposition to the other eastern nations, and at the same time to establish the reformation of the calendar. In that account, likewise, we are informed, that the Maronites are very courteous, and make use of the most obliging terms to assure their friends of their readiness to do what is desired of them; that it is a common expression amongst them, God Almighty is a good and gracious Being, and will give success to their undertakings; that the name of the Lord or some of his divine attributes are introduced in every sentence almost of their common conversation.

If these people, however, are naturally so affable and complaisant, they are likewise (says the same author) very fickle and inconstant. When they have heard a very pathetic sermon, you shall find them all fully bent on conversion and an unfeigned confession of all their sins; but when they come to the trial, they seem altogether stupid and insensible.— Their women, indeed, are extremely modest; but the richer they are, the less they go to church; insomuch that in order to express a lady's quality, it is customary to say of her, that she never goes to mass but at Easter, and that not every year. When a young virgin is married, she will stay at home for two years together, without once attending mass, and will yet go to the public baths, or any solemn marriage entertainments. They are banished, as it were, from their churches, as the Turkish women are from their mosques. There is a convent of nuns, however, of the order of St. Anthony, the members whereof are highly esteemed for their sanctity.— This edifice is, indeed, no more than a church, wherein these nuns are stowed up close, like pigeons in their holes, in little corners, artfully contrived between the elevation of the arch-roof and the terras.

Although what has been already offered with respect to the Maronites, may seem grounded on a very solid foundation, yet a learned Maronite who was professor of Arabic in the college of science at Rome, has used his utmost endeavours to demon-

strate, that his countrymen were never guilty of the heresy imputed to their charge, and that Maron was no heretic, but, on the contrary, a holy and orthodox Christian. Gabriel of Sion, and after him Abraham Ecchellensis likewise, proposed to write in defence of the Maronites and their favourite founder, but their apologies never appeared in public. Faustus Nairon, however, the above-named Abraham's relation and successor, not long ago published an apology for them in a dissertation printed at Rome, wherein, according to the received notion of the Maronites, he proves from the testimonies of Theodoret, St. John Chrysostom, and several other authors, that Maron, from whom the Maronites have their denomination, is the very individual person who lived in the year 400, and who is particularly mentioned in the Mythology of the Greeks. He adds, that the disciples of this abbot Maron were dispersed all over Syria, where they erected several convents, and amongst others that famous one under his own name, situated near the river Orontes. The same author insists, moreover, that all those amongst the Syrians, who were not infected with any heresy whatever, sheltered themselves under the protection of these disciples of abbot Maron, whom the heretics of those times called Maronites for that very reason. It would have been a great satisfaction had Nairon produced some testimonies in favour of this notion, which were not so remote from those times; neither ought we entirely to rely on the authority of Thomas archbishop of Kfartab, who lived, as is asserted, about the eleventh century, notwithstanding that prelate was one of the Monothelites; for upon a strict and impartial examination, we shall find that these authors were very incorrect with respect to historical facts; that they mentioned as ancient occurrences, the more modern transactions of their own times, and even borrowed them from such books of the Maronites as were published since their reconciliation with the church of Rome.

What Nairon in his apology for his countrymen has produced to invalidate the testimony of William of Tyre, who is an accurate author, and has mentioned the heresy of the Maronites, as being an eye-witness of it, seems most likely to be true. For he assures us, that the before-mentioned William has taken the greater part of his history from the annals of Said Ebn Batrick, otherwise Eutychius of Alexandria; and that as Eutychius is very incorrect in abundance of facts which he relates, it is not any ways surprising that William of Tyre should be misled and be guilty of the same mistakes. Eutychius according to Nairon, assures us, that Maron the Monothelite flourished in the reign of the emperor Mauricius, notwithstanding there was no such thing, at that time, as Monothelism ever heard of. But if the authority of the Arabian historians is to



be looked upon as invalid, on account of their inaccuracy in point of chronology, we must in short reject them all. In the point before us, we should not rely so much on the authority of William of Tyre, with respect to his quotations from the annals of Euthychius, as to his own particular testimony, treating of an occurrence in his own time, under Aymeric, patriarch of Antioch, who caused the Maronites of that country to renounce their pretended errors.

There is no manner of probability in what Nairon has quoted from an Arabian history, which had long before been produced by Quaresimus, viz.—That Maron went from Antioch to Rome, with a legate or envoy of pope Honorius, who constituted Maron, on account of his orthodox principles, patriarch of Antioch. We shall omit several other records of the like nature, which are no where to be met with but in the Arabian histories, which were composed after the reconciliation of the Maronites with the Romish church. Such as are ever so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history may easily imagine, that these histories have no foundation in antiquity, and that the Maronites and other eastern nations, who are no critics in history, have related several things as transacted in ancient times, which were never heard of till a century or two ago. It is likewise on the same foundation, that the authority of John Maron is rejected, whose annotations on St. James' liturgy, are not so ancient as some have imagined, containing several facts of more modern date by several centuries. However the Maronites, who insist they have all along preserved their faith entirely pure and uncorrupted, impute the errors which are to be met with in some of their own authors, to the heretics their neighbours, who have sown those tares amongst them, and even prevailed on some of the Maronites to embrace their erroneous tenets; and thus, although the Maronites insist, that they have never deviated from the true faith, yet it must be acknowledged, that there have been some of their countrymen, who have maintained the very same principles as the Jacobites. Peter, patriarch of the Maronites, in a letter of his to cardinal Caraffa, assures him, that the errors which have crept into some of their writings, ought to be imputed to their neighbours.

We think it highly requisite to insert in this place, the chief articles of the belief of the ancient Maronites, and some particular tenets ascribed to them before their reconciliation with the Latin church. Besides their doctrine relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost, which was the same with that generally received amongst the Greeks, and the heresy of the Monothelites which has been ascribed to them, some have also imputed to their charge, the following extraordinary notions: that

all the three persons in the sacred Trinity became incarnate; that there is no original sin nor purgatory; that the souls of men, at their departure from their respective bodies, neither take their flight to heaven nor descend to hell, but that they wait for the general day of judgment in some place where they are altogether insensible; that all souls were created from the beginning of the world; that it is no crime to renounce their faith outwardly in case they retain it in their hearts. They were of opinion also, as we are informed, that a husband might put away his wife for the guilt of adultery, or any other heinous offence, and marry again; that such heretics as renounce their errors ought to be rebaptized; that a child ought not to be baptized till the days of its mother's purification should be accomplished; the female sex ought to be excluded from the assemblies of the faithful, and be debarred from receiving the eucharist during their periodical purgations. Moreover, they administered the communion with unleavened bread, and always refused giving it to the sick when in danger of death. They never eat any animal whatever that had been strangled in its blood. And in fine, they ordained children subdeacons at five or six years of age. We shall purposely avoid the repetition of several customs, and several of the points of doctrine which have already been sufficiently discussed, and shall also omit some others, which are of little or no importance, and shall only mention some ceremonies which are peculiar to the Maronites, and some customs which, in our opinion, are worthy of the reader's attention.

These Maronites retain a kind of veneration for their cedars, and visit them with much devotion, especially on the festival of the transfiguration. On that day a solemn mass is celebrated at the foot of a tall cedar, on a rural altar, made of stones laid one upon another. They carry the testimonies of their reverence and respect to their priests so far, as never to meet them without asking their blessing; nor undertake an affair till they have not only asked, but obtained that favour. This veneration likewise for their priest deters them, when at table, from eating or drinking any more after the priest has closed the meal by the sign of the cross, and the recital of some prayers. Dandini, the pope's nuncio, informs us that Maronite priests say but one mass a day in one place, and that some of them perform it bare-foot; that on their fast days they do not say mass till noon, and during Lent till two or three hours before sun-set. Most of them, continues he, spread their fingers as wide after consecration as before, and make no scruple of touching any thing whatsoever.

The women are never placed at church amongst the men. The latter place themselves at the upper

end of the church, the former at the lower, as near as possible to the door; that they may withdraw as soon as divine service is over, and be seen by nobody. And father Besson informs us that the men have not only distinct places from the women, but different curates. Dandini the missionary, however, assures us that the women visit the convents, walk round their gardens, and eat and lodge there.

We have already observed, that the Maronites never publish the banns of marriage as the Europeans do. They have no recourse to their proper parish priest, when they want to be married, but without distinction, make use of the first they can find. To conclude, they never register the names of the bridegroom or bride, nor of the witnesses, nor in short, the time when, or the place where, their nuptials are solemnized, which shameful neglect gives a sanction to divers ill practices amongst them.

Extreme unction is also omitted by them, and their sick persons who are past recovery are equally disregarded; for after they have supplied them with a cross and a little incense, they let them expire without any further ceremony. They bemoan the loss of the dead, with outcries and hideous lamentations, accompanied with many contorsions, which is a demonstration, as we have before observed, that all people observe the customs peculiar to their respective countries. There are no provisions, for decency sake, dressed for some considerable time at the house of the deceased. The relations and friends bring victuals and drink with them, and there eat with, and endeavour to alleviate the sorrows of the mourners.

In their funerals they have many customs, entirely heathenish, which is not much to be wondered at, when we consider how long it is since the gospel

was first preached among them; for every thing, let it be ever so valuable, is soon corrupted, when men introduce into it something inconsistent with it. It was owing to this, that all the innovations we meet with in the different professions, forms, systems, rites and ceremonies of the Christian religion took place. The Roman Catholics have gratified ambition by policy; the Greeks by a pusillanimous meanness, have nourished ignorance; the Russians, notwithstanding all the real, or pretended improvements they have made in the arts of war, and in commerce, yet pay very little regard to the interests of religion, which is the grand ornament of human life. The real truth is, the Russians are more eager to imitate the follies of their neighbours, than make any improvement upon their own manners; and the Greeks in the Levant, have neither learning, knowledge, virtue, fortitude, nor ambition. The picture here drawn is undoubtedly in sable shades, but while the author writes he feels as a man, and pities as a Christian. He is affected to find that the most divine knowledge in the world, should be in a manner totally neglected, or at least but little regard paid to it. But if it is so in Russia, where power is not wanting, and in Greece, where the oppressed people pay little regard to their eternal interests; what shall we say of these nominal Christians, of whom we have now given an account. However, to conclude this melancholy detail, we shall mention the rites and ceremonies of another sect, which although called Christians, scarcely deserve the name, but indeed they have different appellations, which are not worth being attended to. A general account of these people will naturally lead us to the Tartars and Mahometans, according to the plan laid down in the beginning.

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## OF THE NASSERIES, KELBITES, AND CHRISTIANS OF ST. JOHN.

**T**HE Nasserics are to be distinguished from the Nazariens, or as the Mahometans call them, Nasairous, who constitute a sect amongst the disciples of Ali. The Mahometan Nazariens are of opinion, that the Deity can unite itself corporally with the human nature. Upon this principle, borrowed from the Christian system, they believe that the deity is strictly united with several of their imaginary saints, or Mahometan prophets, and particularly with Ali. The Nasserics of whom we are

speaking, are in truth neither Mahometans nor Christians. What follows is the clearest account we can find of the Nasserics: Kelbia is the name of a country inhabited by these Nasserics, a name which in Italian is Christiannaccio, that is to say, a bad Christian. The extent of the country where they reside is two days journey in length, and the same in breadth, by the sea coast from Tortoza to Laodicea. these Nasserics are very much addicted to pilfering and stealing; but in other respects they

are very chaste. Their women appear abroad unveiled, which is a custom observed by none of the eastern nations but themselves. If a stranger happens to pass by, and desires to be directed in his way, a courteous young damsel will sometimes accompany him for three or four miles together; but this is attended with dangerous consequences, for should the traveller cast an amorous glance upon his indulgent guide, so as to create in her the least suspicion, she will murder him if she can, or otherwise, by her cries, alarm the neighbourhood, who will assassinate him for her. The same happens when the women sit at table in a private family.—They detest the Mahometans, and their Alcoran, notwithstanding they affect being called Turks, to secure them from their tyranny and oppression.—The secrets of their religion are not much known; for their women and common people are absolutely enjoined not to learn it. None but the Santons, and those persons whose peculiar province it is to read prayers, to teach the creed, &c. are entitled to that privilege.

They have a gospel, which is read to them by one of their elders; and, as we are informed, they believe in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; they observe Easter, and several other Christian festivals; the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour, the Circumcision, and the Epiphany. New Year's Day they call Istrenes, which doubtless is a corruption of the French term Etrenes, that is, a New Year's Gift, and they have a peculiar veneration likewise for St. Barbara. Their assemblies are very private; they pronounce several prayers over the wine, which is distributed amongst all that are present. They observe no fasts, and abstain from nothing but eating the females of all living creatures whatever. It is very observable, that they swear by St. Matthew and St. Simon, though they are perfect strangers to the history of either of them, and they have likewise a church, much like one of ours.

This obscure people, though planted in the very centre of Syria, seem to have something of the Mahometan, the ancient Persian, and the Christian in them. They eat no swine's flesh with the first; they pay divine adoration, as some authors assure us, to the sun, according to the custom of the second; and in derision of the Turks' abstinence, they drink wine with the third; and what is still more remarkable, they pray for the coming of Christ. Arabic is their mother-tongue. They constantly carry about them Talismanic billets for the preservation of their health; but this is a superstitious custom which prevails throughout the east.

There is little or no difference, in all probability, between the Nasserites and the Kelbins, or Kelbites, which appellation signifies dogs, and was given them out of contempt. But we find likewise that they

were so called from the worship which they paid to a black dog. The reader is desired, however, to remember, that the ancients have made mention of the Calbii, as inhabitants of Mount Libanus. We are indebted to Hyde for this observation, and the Amedians, who are described by several other historians, as a kind of Barbarians, without the least civil, or ecclesiastical government, and who reside in the forests and caverns of Mount Libanus, profess likewise an intermixture of Mahometanism and Christianity; and though they chuse rather to say they are Mahometans than Christians, are, notwithstanding, sworn enemies to the former. These Armeidians, whom Hyde calls Homcidians, may very probably be the same people as the Nasserites; and we very much question, whether the Druses, of whom we shall in the next place give some short account, differ much from either.

Some are of opinion that these Druses, says father Besson, very sagely, whom we have just quoted on the subject of the Nasserites, were originally natives of the city of Dreux, the ancient seat of the Druids; and there still remains amongst them, if we may rely on his veracity, abundance of that wilkie temper of the English, which rendered our ancestors so formidable to the Infidels. These people, who are the remains of those Christians who went to the holy wars, entrenched themselves in Mount Libanus and Antilibanus, where, for a long while, they bravely maintained their rights and liberties, as well as their religion, till a false apostle preached a new law to them, and left behind him a dissertation upon wisdom, entitled Achmè. These are the words of father Besson, but this honest missionary, in all probability, never heard that the Druses are taken notice of in Herodotus. The Mahometans frequently call the Druses of Mount Libanus, Molhedites, an Arabian term, signifying profligate wretches, or, according to Herbelot's construction of it, men who have renounced Mahometanism, and turned to some other sect. This appellation, however, of Molhedites, more particularly denoted a sect of Ismaelians, which rendered themselves formerly very famous in Asia, particularly in Persia, Assyria, and the parts adjacent, where their sovereigns for a long time were distinguished by the title of kings of the Assassins. This prince, our ancient historians call the old man of the mountain, for want of knowing, that the term Gebal, which signifies a mountain, is the name which the Arabians have given to a particular province in Persia. The Ismaelien Assassins were likewise called Bathenians. Herbelot informs us, that Bathen signifies the secret knowledge of mysteries, and their illumination. Now as the blind obedience of these Assassins was grounded on a kind of illumination, or rather enthusiasm, the origin whereof was the reward of Paradise, and the promise



of a state of everlasting bliss made to all such as entirely devoted themselves to death and slaughter, and were ready at all times to embue their hands in blood where and whenever their prince shall please to command them. It is on this account, in our humble opinion, that they have been called Bathenians, as some now-a-days call several sorts of enthusiasts and fanatics, men of illumination.

Purchas, and several other authors, give us a very infamous character of these Druses. They live, say they, in constant practice of the enormous sin of incest. At their most solemn festivals they lie together promiscuously, fathers with their daughters, and brothers with their sisters. They are of opinion, that the souls of the righteous enter into the bodies of new born infants, but that the soul of a wicked man resides in a dog. What we have further to add, with respect to the morals and religious tenets of these Druses will not be altogether so odious. Notwithstanding they call themselves Christians, none of them are baptized, on the contrary, many are circumcised. However, they have some idea of Jesus Christ, and believe that there will be rewards and punishments in a future state. Father Besson reduces their creed to the seven following articles:—First to be a Christian with the Christians, a Jew with the Jews, and a Turk with the Turks. Secondly, never pray to God, because he knows our necessities before we ask him. Thirdly, to honour the four evangelists, and read their gospels. But they have no ceremonies, nor any religious assemblies. The two churches or mosques, which were subsisting in father Besson's time, were not made use of for the exercise of any religious duties. Fourthly, to honour our Lord Jesus Christ, and his mother, the Blessed Virgin, and to be mindful of the law of Mahomet. Fifthly, to confess themselves, the men to the men, and the women to the women. Sixthly, to receive the communion, which consists of a small piece of bread dipped in mulled wine. The seventh relates principally to their monks, who, as our missionary assures us, are very strict in their fasting, and live retired in deserts, which they, notwithstanding, sometimes abandon for the promulgation of their Achmè. These Druses abhor and detest usury to that degree, that they wash all the money which they receive, for fear it should have contracted a kind of pollution in passing through the hands of some mercile ss usurers.

We shall here introduce the Curdes, otherwise called Turcomans, after the Druses. These Curdes are for the generality a parcel of strollers and vagabonds: and perhaps it may be said, without any manner of injustice, that their religion is as uncertain as the place of their abode. Some have observed, that the footsteps of Manicheism are plainly to be discerned amongst the Curdes-Jasidies; for they ac-

knowledge, as we are informed, two principles, and call the devil their doctor, or head; and pay no divine adoration to the Deity, though they acknowledge his existence. This is at least a reflection cast upon them by the Christians and Mahometans, who are equally their implacable enemies. Some likewise confound these Jasidies with the Kelbins, and assert, that they have a peculiar veneration for black, as being the colour of the devil. The Christians, as we are informed, frequently divert themselves with making a circle of earth round these Jasidies, who are afraid to leap the walls of their imaginary prisons, till the circle be broken, and all the time they are thus confined, the Christians, with a sneer, bid them damn the devil.

The Christians of St. John are, for the generality, confounded with the Sabeans. We shall not here expatiate on the religion of the latter. As for the former they derive their denomination from their baptism, and from the peculiar veneration which they have for St. John the baptist. De la Valla is of opinion, that these Christians might possibly be the remains of the ancient Jews, who received the baptism of St. John. Their religion seems to be a compound of the Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan. Tavernier is more copious and particular in speaking of these Christians than any other traveller whatsoever, and says, that there are abundance of them at Balsara, or Bassora, and the parts adjacent. We shall therefore give the reader, in this place, an abridgment of his account of them, and of the most material facts mentioned by other travellers.

The Christians of St. John at first inhabited the country about Jordan, but some time after the decease of Mahomet, the persecutions of the Caliphs, his successors, obliged them to fly for refuge into Mesopotamia and Chaldea. There they were under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Babylon, but at the close of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth century, they dissented from him. They reside in no city or town, but what is built upon the banks of some river, and their archbishops say, that there are near twenty-five thousand families at least of these Christians in those parts. Their belief is very fabulous, and full of the grossest errors, extracted from a book which they call the Divan.—The Persians and Arabians call them Sabi, but in the sequel of this dissertation we shall shew, that there is a wide difference between the Sabeans and the Christians of St. John. As for the latter, they distinguish themselves by the name of Mendai-Jahaia, that is, the disciples of St. John; and assure us that they have received from him their faith, their religious treatises, and their customs. They celebrate a solemn festival once a year, which is continued five days successively; at which time they present themselves in a numerous body before their

bishops to receive, or more properly speaking, to repeat this baptism of St. John. They never baptize in any place but in rivers, and at no time but on a Sunday; for on that day the validity of their baptism entirely depends, though an infant should be in danger of death. The infant, before it is baptized, is brought to church, where the bishop reads some prayers over it, suitable to the occasion. From thence the infant is carried to a river, where both the men and the women who are present at the ceremony go up to their knees in water with the bishop. The form of their baptism runs thus: "In the name of the Lord, the first and most ancient of the world, the Almighty, who knew all our actions before the beginning of light, &c." After that, he throws water upon the infant three times successively, and after a third aspersion, as soon as the bishop, or some priest his assistant, begins to read again, the godfather, that is, the person who has the child in his arms, plunges it into the water.

This is the ceremony of their baptism, which is performed, as is evident, in the name of God only; for they neither acknowledge Jesus Christ to be God, nor the Son of God, but look on him as a person far inferior to St. John the baptist. We are informed, however, that they call him, as the Mahometans do, the Spirit of God. They acknowledge, according to Tavernier, that Jesus Christ became man, to deliver us from the guilt of sin, but pretend he was conceived in the womb of the Blessed Virgin by the influence of the water of some particular fountain of which she drank; that afterwards the Jews would fain have crucified him, but that he vanished out of their sight, and left only an apparition which they crucified in his stead. In short, every thing they say, both with relation to Jesus Christ and his mission, is all a medley of absurd and ridiculous fiction contained in their Divan, nor have they a better notion of the third person in the sacred Trinity.

This Divan of their is, as we are informed, the only book which is now extant amongst them; for their ancient sacred books, which were written in Syriac, are all lost. In this Divan, however, is comprised their doctrines, and the mysteries of their religion. God is there described as a corporeal being, and as having one son, whose name was Gabriel. Their angels and their demons are all corporeal likewise, some male and some female. They marry, and propagate, and believe that God created the world by the ministry of Gabriel, and was assisted in that operation by fifty thousand demons. They believe the world floats upon the water like a foot-ball, and the celestial spheres are surrounded with water; the sun and the moon sail round about it in their respective vessels. The earth was so fruitful at the first moment of its creation, that what was sown in

the morning was fit to be gathered in the evening.— Gabriel taught Adam the art of husbandry, but his first transgression made him forget the instructions which were given him, and he could recover no more of it than we know at present. The other world is infinitely more beautiful and more perfect than this, but in all other respects much like it. The inhabitants of it eat and drink, and there are cities, houses, and churches, in which the spirits perform divine service, sing, and play upon musical instruments.— The demons attend a sick man at the hour of his death, and conduct his soul through a road where there are innumerable wild beasts: If the deceased was a righteous person, his soul is admitted immediately into the presence of God, having trodden under foot those savage creatures who sought to impede his journey. On the other hand, the soul of a wicked man is almost torn in pieces by those savages before it is qualified for its admission into the divine presence. At the last day, two angels shall weigh impartially the actions of all mankind in a balance; but there shall be a general pardon for all those of their sect. They shall be one day saved after they have suffered the punishments due to their demerits. This is the whole substance of their doctrine.

Some historians tell us, that they have a peculiar veneration for the cross, and that they are frequently making the sign of it. The world, according to their notion, is a cross, because it is divided into four parts. They say there are several crosses in the sun and the moon; nay, that the mast of the vessel in which the former sails is likewise a cross.

St. John the baptist is, as we have already observed, their most illustrious saint: but, however, not the only one, for they acknowledge likewise the sanctity of Zacharias, Elizabeth, the Blessed Virgin, and the twelve apostles. We shall not here introduce a tedious detail of the incredible miracles, which either preceded, or accompanied the nativity of St. John, nor of those which are ascribed to the before-mentioned Zacharias and Elizabeth, the parents of St. John, nor of the absurd romantic life of this forerunner of Jesus Christ. As to all these particulars, we shall refer the curious reader to Tavernier, for according to their traditions, the sepulchre of St. John is near Chuster in the province of Chusistan, where there are multitudes of these Christians of St. John.

The sacerdotal habit of their priests is a kind of red stole over a surplice, and they have the different degrees of priests and bishops amongst them, but they have no established rule, no ceremony, in short, no religious rites observed by any Christians to create such difference between their superior and inferior clergy. Children succeed their parents in the ministerial office, and if a priest dies without issue,

the next akin is promoted to his place. The bishop himself very frequently recommends his own son to the people, who first elect him, and then present him in form to his father to consecrate him. This ordination consists in some particular prayers, which are said for six or seven days over the postulant or novice, who is obliged to fast all the time. The son may succeed his father if he be but sixteen or seventeen years of age; and all these ecclesiastics are obliged to marry, but then their brides must all be virgins. Neither can any one be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, except his mother was found a virgin when first married. All these priests wear long hair and a small cross upon their clothes.—Their sacrament of the eucharist, and their mass, if they may properly be called such, consist in the observance of the following custom. They take a small cake, kneaded with wine made of raisins infused in water, and with oil: The flower and the wine represent the body and blood of our Blessed Lord; the oil, which is the emblem of that charity and grace which accompanies the sacrament, is a representation of the people. For the consecration of the whole, they pronounce several long prayers over this cake, which tend to the praise and glory of God, without making any mention of the body of our Blessed Lord, there being no absolute necessity for it, as they say, since God Almighty knows their intention. After that, they carry the cake in procession, and when that ceremony is over, the celebrant distributes it amongst the people.

Besides this grand festival of which we have been speaking, and which lasts for five days successively, they have another that holds three days, appointed for the commemoration of the creation of the world, and the parents of mankind: and another of the same duration kept in August, called the festival of St. John. We shall take no notice of their fasts, nor of their oblation of a ram, which they sacrifice in a hut, composed of palm-branches, and purified beforehand with water, incense and sundry prayers; but one of the most important ceremonies of their religion, is the sacrifice of the hen. A priest, known to have kept his chastity, and for being the son of one who was an approved virgin at her nuptials, is the only person who is intitled to the celebration of this sacrifice. In order to the due performance of which the priest repairs to the bank of some river, drest in all his sacerdotal ornaments which are white linen garments which he throws over him, another with which he girds his loins, and a third which is his stole. Thus equipped, he takes the chicken, plunges it into the water for its better purification, and turning his face towards the east, he cuts its head off, holding the fowl by the neck till it has done bleeding. During the time of the blood's trickling down on the ground, the priest

repeats several times the following prayer, with abundance of fervour and devotion, and lifting up his eyes to heaven:—"In the name of the Lord, may this fesh be a blessing to all those who shall partake thereof." No woman nor laymen must presume to kill any hens. The former are prohibited, because they look upon them as persons impure, and who for the same reason according to Tavernier, are excluded from the church. They observe much the same ceremony in killing their sheep, and their fish: But they are not so punctual as to the hens.

These ministers or priests of St. John, are it seems, butchers by profession, for as they imagine no person pure and undefiled but themselves, they will never drink out of a cup, that any one, who is not of their own sect, has before made use of; and if a stranger has used it, it is immediately broken to pieces, for fear any of the faithful should be so unfortunate as to be defiled by drinking after them. They have also an inveterate aversion to any thing that is blue, because, say they, the Jews, who were conscious by their revelation, that the baptism of St. John would abolish their law, threw a large quantity of indigo into the river Jordan, in order to defile the waters: This profanation would have hindered St. John from baptizing Jesus Christ, had not God Almighty prevented the malicious intention of the Jews, and sent an angel to draw some water out of the river whilst it remained pure and undefiled.—This is the received opinion of the vulgar, but their aversion, in reality, arises from the dog's dung which is thrown into the composition of this colour; a dog being looked by the Christians of St. John as a very unclean animal. The aversion which they have to the Mahometans, their ancient persecutors, gives them also an equal distaste to any thing that is green, which is the sacred colour of Mahomet.

We shall now proceed to the nuptial ceremonies. The priest and the relations of the intended bridegroom wait on the young lady proposed to be his bride, in order to ask her, whether she is a virgin or not; her answer is foreseen; she says, yes; but she is not believed upon her bare affirmation. She is obliged to take her solemn oath: the priest's wife searches her, and gives in her deposition likewise upon oath. After which the bridegroom and the bride are conducted to a river, and there baptized. As soon as they are come within a small space of the bridegroom's house, he takes his bride by the hand, and conducts her to the door, and after that returns with her to the same place where the ceremony began, which he repeats seven times successively, the priest following them all the time, and reading in his ritual several prayers. Then they go into the house, where they are seated by the priest



under a canopy with their heads and shoulders close to each other, whilst he reads a long service over them, which is followed with a lesson out of their Psal, or Book of Divination, which he consults in order to find out the critical minute for a happy consummation of their nuptials. As soon as that is over, both parties wait upon the bishop, and the husband deposes before him, that he found his wife a virgin; and then the bishop marries them, puts several rings upon their fingers, and baptizes them again. If the bridegroom finds himself deceived, as to his wife's virginity, and is notwithstanding determined to wed her, he must make application to a priest, and not to the bishop, to complete the ceremony. But the people are so fond of being married by the bishop, and it is such an infamy to have the ceremony performed by any one else of inferior dignity, that a marriage with one who is discovered to have lost her honour before-hand, but very seldom, if ever, holds good.

Tavernier gives for a reason of this strict inquiry with respect to the virginity of their wives, the right of the bridegroom which he ought to maintain with the utmost rigour and severity; to which we may add, that the honour and interest of families in a great measure depend upon it, and they design, by this prudent precaution, as our traveller expresses it, to bridle their daughters. These Christians of St. John are allowed to marry several wives, but only of their own family, and their own tribe, and this custom is derived from the Jews, for their widows are not allowed to marry again, and their men are debarred the invaluable privilege of putting away their wives.

We shall close this dissertation with an account of a pretended sect called the Abrahamites, who, if we credit an anonymous traveller's voyages printed in the year 1724, are also to be met with in Egypt; but we suspect the veracity of the author, since no traveller but himself, as we know of, ever made any mention of these Deists of Egypt. Besides, the way of thinking of these Abrahamites is, in our opinion, so conformable to that of those free-thinkers who dogmatize in England and Holland, without the least apprehension either of dragoons, galleys, or inquisitions, that it is very probable, he has formed his Abrahamites upon the same model. Moreover, the character of this bold adventurer, and of those who assisted him in the method of compiling his romantic treatise, is very different: but though the general idea which is entertained of them, will never prejudice any one in favour of that performance, we shall notwithstanding include the fundamental tenets of these imaginary sectaries.

The Abrahamites, who are very few, acknowledge no other law but that of nature, which God, they say, delivered to Abraham, from whom, as

they pretend, they originally descended. They constantly read those sacred books, wherein the history of the creation is included, though widely different from that of Moses, which they look upon as a mere romance. As to Moses, the Abrahamites are of opinion, that he was the ablest and most learned physician, and best chemist till that time; that his miracles were wholly due to his extraordinary skill in physic and chemistry. They do not look upon him as a prophet, but as a wise legislator, and compare him to the law giver of the Chinese. Jesus Christ, whose law we have corrupted, never, say they, pretended to be God; his morals however, must be allowed to be extremely just, pure and refined. The fathers of the church are men either too illiterate or too hypocritical. The Abrahamites reflect very severely upon the ceremonies, the divine worship, and the festivals of the Christians. They despise and turn to ridicule the mysteries of Christianity; and to conclude, they affect to worship one Supreme Being, and him only: and to love their neighbours as themselves; yet think their destiny uncertain, and look upon the immortality of the soul only as a modern system, yet comfortable and grounded upon reason.

From all that has been said concerning these Greeks, whom those who dwell in the Levant call Schismatics, we may draw the following useful reflections. First, that as the corruptions among them are in some measure universal, so this, as an effect, must have originally flowed from a cause of the same extensive nature. For had not the whole Christian world been at one time totally corrupted in sentiments concerning the truth, those fatal effects would not now have been discovered or felt.

Secondly, the least deviation from truth in religion or in morals, is generally attended with the most fatal consequences. Complaisance to the heathens, and the vain ambition of making numerous converts, induced the Christians, after the time of Constantine the Great, to adopt many idolatrous ceremonies.—The progress was gradual, and the poison spread itself furiously, till the gospel of Christ became little better than a system of heathenism. In all these corrupted churches, where poverty, in all temporal things is conspicuous, and where ignorance is rather sought after than avoided, we find the wretched people fond of image worship, and a thousand other popperies.

Thirdly, as the corruption was gradual, and is now become, as it were, inveterate, a reformation must likewise be gradual. How far distant that period may be, no man can say. It is much to be wished for by all those who seek to promote the happiness of their fellow-creatures, in time and eternity; and, consistent with the divine perfections, we may hope for it. God may in justice punish men,

by withdrawing his favours when they forsake his laws and despise his ordinances; but no sooner do they return to their duty, like the prodigal in the gospel, than they are received with open arms of affection.

Lastly, let us as Protestants, who are favoured with the holy scriptures and the gospel in its purity, endeavour to set a proper value upon such undeserved and inestimable privileges. Let our consciences never upbraid us with the horrid sin of ingratitude to our most generous benefactor, but let us shew ourselves worthy of his mercies, by living as obedient children. And to conclude, let us consider that we cannot give a stronger proof of our grati-

tude for the favours and blessings he has bestowed, than in praying that he would graciously please to open the eyes of those who sit in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death. It is the character of the devil, 'to wish every creature as miserable as himself; but a Christian of a noble, generous disposition, knowing the happiness of his own condition, wishes all mankind to be equally so.—Our Saviour has commanded us to pray that his kingdom may come, the meaning of which words are, that we should earnestly desire to see the gospel promulgated over the whole habitable world, as an emblem of the kingdom of glory that must succeed it.

## RELIGION OF THE MAHOMETANS.

WE are now in the course of this work, obliged to enter upon a melancholy subject indeed, we feel for the heathen nations who know nothing of God or Christ Jesus; but when we meet with a body of people who actually believe in Divine Revelation, but pay more regard to an imposition than to the truth, we are apt to make use of the expressions recorded by Knowles, "O! why will ye believe in lies." The most judicious of our Christian commentators, whether ancient or modern, are of opinion that the locusts mentioned in Revelations ix. 3, allude in all respects to the Mahometans. Nay, it would seem that there could be no manner of doubt concerning the truth of this opinion, especially when we consider the similarity of circumstances. Locusts, as we are assured by the learned Dr. Shaw, come from the north to the south of Asia, in such amazing numbers, that they even darken the air, and it is well known, that first the Arabians and then the Turcomans, both of whom established Mahometanism, marched in such armies together, that they carried destruction before them. Like the army of Xerxes they darkened the sun, which circumstance induced the Athenian to say, "We shall fight in the shade."

Again, to go on with the parallel, locusts are produced by a corruption in the air, and all our ecclesiastical historians acknowledge, that during the sixth century, the Christian church was so much corrupted, particularly in the east, that little beside the name was left. Poetry itself has been brought in to support the assertion; for on this melancholy subject, Mr. Hughes wrote the siege of Damascus,

one of the finest compositions this country ever produced.

As the swarms of locusts destroy every herb of the field, and leave neither food for man nor beast, so in the same manner the Mahometans destroyed most of the remains of antiquity, and converted the Christian churches into mosques. Nay, they even destroyed the food necessary for the support of the intellectual faculties, namely, books and the seats of learning. The comparison indeed, might be carried much farther, but the following narrative renders it unnecessary. We shall therefore begin with the life of the arch impostor Mahomet, and then proceed to describe the ceremonies of his religion.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, a city of Arabia, and descended from the ancient tribes of Korashites, who had long enjoyed the regal dignity, so that this impostor was far from being descended of such mean parents as has been generally represented. Indeed, it seldom happens, that men who are no ways connected with illustrious families, are fired with that sort of ambition which creates a name. But when a man has been told that his ancestors were revered for actions, which have rendered their names famous, they are stimulated on to imitate them, or at least to attempt to do so.

The father of Mahomet was Abdollech of the royal family of Arabia, and his mother's name was Amena. He was born in the year of our Lord 571, Justin the second, then emperor of Constantinople, and Cheroses the first king of Persia. It happened, however, from a variety of causes, that in his youth

he was in very indigent circumstances, for his father dying before he was two years of age, he was left in a manner destitute of subsistence, and as for education in letters, it appears he had none. His mother died when he was about eight years of age, and then he was left to the care of his grandfather, who died within a year afterwards, and then Taleb his uncle took him under his protection, to bring him up as a merchant, a name much esteemed among us at present, but at that time signifying a robber.

In this manner Mahomet was brought up till he arrived at years of maturity, and then he was sent to conduct a caravan to Syria. It was in Bostra, a city of Syria, that Mahomet was first taken notice of by a Nestorian monk, whose name, according to the Christian historians, was Sergius, but according to the Arabians, Bahira. But let his name be what it will, it is here necessary to observe that this monk, who seems to have been an abandoned vagabond, saluted Mahomet in the crowd of merchants, and told him that he was to be the third light of the world. "The law of Moses, said he, is now totally abolished, the Christians have corrupted their holy religion, and therefore God has raised you up to reform the world and establish a pure religion." There cannot remain the least doubt but this declaration, fired with ambition the mind of our young adventurer, but for some time he concealed his real sentiments, till he was about twenty-five years of age, when he married Cadigba, a rich widow in Mecca, who made over her whole fortune to him, and for three years longer he continued to travel with his caravan to Damascus. It was then that he began to form some hopes of making himself sovereign over all the Arabian tribes, but he had many difficulties to struggle with, the greatest of all being that of religion, or rather superstition.

Having maturely weighed all these circumstances, he concluded that no project bid so fair as that of establishing a new form of religion. Many circumstances concurred to facilitate his design; for the Arabians his countrymen had all that time little or no knowledge of religion, and as he had conversed with the Jews and corrupt Christians while he carried on merchandise with the Syrians and Egyptians, so he had learned as much as to enable him to form a new system composed of all the errors of the Jews and Christians, mixed with a considerable share of heathenism. He had observed, that the Arabians his countrymen, who attended him, were acquainted with some of the notions espoused by the Syrian Christians, and likewise with those of the Jews, which naturally led their minds from idolatry, and rendered them susceptible of any impostures, however erroneous in their nature, or pernicious in their tendency.

He was now about thirty-eight years of age, but

as his life had been extremely vicious, he, like an artful impostor, considered himself as under very delicate circumstances. He therefore formed the resolution of withdrawing from company, and spending part of his time in the desert, under pretence that he was employed in heavenly exercises. The place he went to was a cave near Mecca, called the cave of Hira, and there it was he first formed his Alcoran, which he had drawn up in writing by some of his associates, particularly Sergius the monk, whom we have already mentioned.

In the evenings he returned home, and told his wife what revelations had been made to him, and his design in doing so was to induce her to bring the women over to his party. At first his wife did not believe those stories, which grieved Mahomet considerably; but as he acted consistent with the character of impostors in general, so he prevailed with a fugitive vagabond monk to tell her that he had had the same revelation intimated to him. This had such an effect on the woman, that she renounced her former religion, and became a proselyte to that system of imposture first invented by her husband.

Having gained his end so far, he continued his austerities two years longer, till he had arrived at the age of forty, and then he acquired such a reputation for sanctity, that he took upon himself the name of apostle of God, setting forth that he was come to reform the world, by establishing a divine revelation from God. For four years longer he did not venture to make his opinions public, contenting himself with conversing with a few friends in private, and there he procured such influence over them that they became his disciples, believing that all he taught them was truth. Zagad, one of his slaves, having embraced this new religion, Mahomet granted him his pardon, and ever since it has been a maxim among the Mahometans, that when a slave who is of another religion submits to be circumcised, and to embrace the Alcoran, he is then made free. This was carrying the principles of liberty to a greater extent than amongst the Jews of old, but there are such a variety of different circumstances in the moral government of this world, that unless we attend to them with care, we can never form a proper conception.

And here it is necessary to observe, that Mahomet first laid the foundation of his religion at the same time that the bishop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the tyrant Phocas, assumed the title of universal head of the church, and thereupon claimed to himself that supremacy which he and his predecessors have ever since been endeavouring to establish over the church of Christ. Nay, it may be further added, that both endeavoured to establish sovereignty by imposture, and support themselves by coercive measures. Mahometanism was propa-



gated by fire and sword; popish idolatry by the same means.

Mahomet, having procured a considerable number of disciples, began to publish his opinions openly to the people of Mecca, and the first doctrine that he taught among them was, that there was but one God, and that he only is to be worshipped; that all idols should be taken away, and their worship utterly abolished; and that those who say God has sons or daughters, or that there are any other gods associated with him, are impious and ought to be abhorred.—By denying him sons or associates, he reflected on the doctrine of the Trinity; for although the Mahometans allow Christ to have been a prophet, yet they deny that he was the Son of God. By denying that God had daughters, he insinuated that the Arabians were idolaters, because they believed, that some eminent women, who had lived among them, ought to be worshipped. He allowed the scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, but at the same time, insisted that both Jews and Christians had forsaken God, so that they were rejected. Happy for the world had not this assertion, especially with respect to Christians, been too true.

He pretended to receive all his revelations from the angel Gabriel, and that he was sent from God on purpose to deliver them unto him. And whereas he was subject to the falling sickness, whenever the fit was upon him, he pretended it to be a trance, and that the angel Gabriel was come from God with some new revelations unto him, the splendour of whose appearance he not being able to bear, caused him to fall into those trances, in which the angel conversed with him, and delivered to him those messages from God, which he was sent to reveal unto him.

His pretended revelations he put into several chapters, the collection of which makes up his Alcoran, which is the bible of the Mahometans. The original of this book he taught them was laid up in the archives of heaven, and that the angel Gabriel brought him the copy of it, chapter by chapter, according as occasion required they should be published to the people. Part of these he published at Mecca, before his flight from thence, and the other part at Medina, which he did after this manner. When he had forged a new chapter, which he intended to publish, he first dictated it to his secretary, and then delivered the written paper to be read to his followers, till they had learned it by heart; which being done, he had the paper brought to him again, and he laid it up in a chest, which he called the chest of his apostleship. This he did, we suppose, in imitation of the ark or holy chest among the Jews, in which the authentic copy of their law was deposited. This chest he left in the keeping of one of his wives, and out of it, after his death, was the

Alcoran compiled, in the same manner as Homer's Rhapsodies were out of the loose poems of that poet. Abu Beker first made the collection, but Othman afterwards revising and new-modelling it, formed into that shape in which we now have it.

On his first appearing publicly as a prophet, the people laughed at him for the ridiculousness of his pretence; some called him a sorcerer and a magician, others a liar, an impostor, and a teller of old fables, of which he often complains in his Alcoran; so that for the first year he prevailed nothing among them, nor got any thing else by his publishing those chapters of his Alcoran which he had then composed, or his preaching to them the doctrines of them, but scorn and contempt. But this did not discourage him from still proceeding in his design, which he managed with great art, for he was a man of a ready wit, and a very acceptable address; he bore all affronts, without seeming to resent any; and applied himself to all sorts of people, without contemning the meanest; was very courteous both in giving and receiving visits; the great men he soothed with very flattering praises, and the poor he relieved with gifts and alms; and towards all men managed himself with that art of insinuation (in which he exceeded all men living) that at length he surmounted all the difficulties which so bold an imposture in the first venting of it must necessarily be liable unto, and several other new proselytes joined themselves unto him, among whom was Omar Ebno'l Chattab, who was one of his successors, and then a considerable man in the city. His example was soon followed by several others, so that in the fifth year of his pretended mission, he had increased his party to the number of nine and thirty, and himself made the fortieth.

On his having made this progress, several began to be alarmed at it. Those that were addicted to the idolatry of their forefathers, stood up to oppose him as an enemy of their gods, and a dangerous innovator in their religion. But others, who saw further into his designs, thought it time to put a stop thereto for the sake of the public safety of the government, which it manifestly tended to undermine for the establishing of tyranny over them; and therefore they combining together against him, intended to have cut him off with the sword. But Abu Taleb, his uncle, getting notice thereof, defeated the design, and by his power, as being chief of the tribe, preserved him from such other like attempts as were afterwards formed against him. For although he himself persisted in the paganism of his ancestors, yet he had that affection for the impostor, as being his kinsman, and one that was bred up in his house, that he firmly stood by him against all his enemies, and would suffer no one to do him any hurt as long as he lived. And therefore being safe under so

powerful a protection, he boldly went on to preach to the people in all public places of the city, where they used to assemble, and published unto them more chapters of his Alcoran, in the order, as he pretended, they were brought him by the angel Gabriel. The chief subject of which was to press upon them the observance of some moral duties, the belief of the unity of God, and the dignity of his own pretended apostleship, in which, indeed, besides some heathen and Jewish rites which he retained, consisted the whole of his new-forged religion.

The main arguments he made use of to delude men into this imposture, were his promises and his threats, as being those which easiest work on the affections of the vulgar. His promises were chiefly of paradise, which he so cunningly framed to the state of the Arabians, as to make it totally consist in those pleasures which they were most delighted with. For they being within the Torrid Zone, were, through the nature of the clime, as well as the excessive corruption of their manners, exceedingly given to the love of women; and the scorching heat and dryness of the country making rivers of water, cooling drinks, shaded gardens, and pleasant fruits, most refreshing and delightful unto them, they were from hence apt to place their highest enjoyment in things of this nature: and therefore to answer the height of their carnal desires, he made the joys of heaven (which he proposed for a reward to all those that should believe in him) to consist totally in these particulars. For he tells them in many places in his Alcoran, that they shall enter into pleasant gardens, where many rivers flow, and many curious fountains continually send forth most pleasing streams, nigh which they shall repose themselves on most delicate beds adorned with gold and precious stones, under the shadow of the trees of paradise, which shall continually yield them all manner of delicious fruits, and that there they shall enjoy most beautiful women pure and clean, having black eyes, and countenances always fresh and white as polished pearls, who shall not cast an eye on any other but themselves, with whom they shall enjoy the continual pleasures of love, and solace themselves in their company with amorous delights to all eternity, drinking with them most delicious liquors, and most savoury and pleasant wines, without being ever intoxicated or overcharged by them, which shall be administered to them by beautiful boys, who shall be continually running round their beds to serve them up unto them in cups of gold, and glasses fixed on diamonds. And as thus he framed his promises of reward in the life hereafter as might best suit with the sensual appetites and desires of those to whom he proposed them; so on the contrary, he described the punishment of hell, which he threatened to all that would not believe in him, to consist of such torments as

would appear to them the most afflicting and grievous to be borne. As that they should drink nothing but boiling and stinking water, nor breathe any thing else but exceeding hot winds, things most terrible in Arabia; that they should dwell for ever in continual fire excessively burning, and be surrounded with a black, hot, and salt smoke as with a coverlid; that they should eat nothing but briars and thorns, and the fruit of the tree Zacon, which should be in their bellies like burning pitch. In the proposing of these promises and threats to the people he was very frequent and sedulous, making them to ring in their ears on all occasions, whereby he failed not of his end in alluring some, and affrighting others in the snare he laid for them.

And that he might omit nothing whereby to work on their fear, which is usually the most prevalent passion of the ignorant, he terrified them with the threats of greivous punishments in this life, as well as in that which is to come, if they would not hearken unto him. And to this end he did set forth unto them on all occasions, what terrible destructions had fallen upon the heads of such as would not be instructed by the prophets, that were sent before him. How the old world was destroyed by water, for not being reformed at the preaching of Noah; and Sodom by fire from heaven, for not hearkening to Lot, when sent unto them. How the Egyptians were plagued for despising Moses; and how Ad and Thamod, two ancient tribes of the Arabs, were totally extirpated for the same reason. His stories of the two last were fables of his own invention, which he related unto them after this manner. That Ad the grandson of Aram, the son of Shem, planted himself after the confusion of languages in the southern parts of Arabia, where his posterity falling into idolatry, the prophet Hud, whom the commentators on the Alcoran will have to be Heber, was sent unto them to reclaim them to the true worship, but they not hearkening unto him, God sent a violent hot wind, which in seven days time destroyed them all, excepting only the prophet, and some few who were reformed by him.

As to Thamod, his story was, that they were an ancient tribe of the Arabs dwelling on the confines of Syria, and that on their revolt to idolatry, God sent to them the prophet Saleh; that on their demand of a miracle to testify his mission, he caused a rock to bring forth a camel in the sight of them all; that they notwithstanding, in contempt wounded the camel, and that thereupon God sent terrible thunders, which in three days time destroyed them all, excepting Saleh, and some few who believed on him.

And the like fable he also told them of Chaib, another prophet of the ancient Arabs, sent to the tribe of Madian, and how that tribe was in like man-

ner destroyed by thunder for not hearkening unto him. For the sake of these stories, which he was very frequent in inculcating into the people, and very often repeats in his Alcoran, those who believed not on him, called him a teller of old fables; but notwithstanding they wrought upon the fears of others, and by this and other such artifices, he still went on to increase his party, to which two of his uncles, Hamza and Al Abbas, at length joined themselves. But the rest of his uncles approved not of his designs, and although Abu Taleb still continued to befriend him, because of the affection which he bore him, the nine other had not this regard to him, but joined with his enemies, and opposed him all they could, as a man, that under the false mask which he had put on, carried on dangerous designs to the prejudice of his country.

But that which grieved him most, was: that his opposers demanded to see a miracle from him. For say they, Moses and Jesus, and the rest of the prophets, according to thy own doctrine, worked miracles to prove their mission from God; and therefore if thou be a prophet, and greater than any that went before thee, as thou boastest thyself to be, do thou work the like miracles to manifest it unto us. Do thou make the dead to rise, the dumb to speak, and the deaf to hear, or else do thou cause fountains to spring out of the earth, and make this place a garden adorned with vines and palm-trees, and watered with rivers running through it in divers channels, or else let us see come down from heaven some of those punishments which thou threatenest us with. Or do thou make thee an house of gold, adorned with jewels and costly furniture; or let us see the book thou wouldst have us believe to come from heaven, descend down to us from thence legible in our eyes, or the angel which thou tellest us doth bring it unto thee, and then we will believe in thy word. This objection he endeavoured to evade by several answers. One while he tells them, he is only a man sent to preach to them the rewards of paradise, and the punishments of hell. At another time, that their predecessors contemned the miracles Saleh, and the other prophets, and that for this reason God would work no more among them. And a while after, that those whom God had ordained to believe, should believe without miracles, and those whom he had not ordained to believe, should not be convinced, though all those miracles should be wrought in their sight, which they required, and therefore they were totally needless.

But this not satisfying, as being a plain confession that he wanted that power of miracles which all other prophets had to prove their mission, several of those that were his followers departed from him, of which he complains in his Alcoran. And therefore finding that this would not do on his coming to

Medina, and having there taken the sword in hand, and gotten an army to back his cause, he began to sing another note. For his doctrine then was, that God had sent Moses and Jesus with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word, and therefore he had now sent him in the last place without miracles, to force them by the power of the sword to do his will. And pursuant thereto, he forbid his disciples to enter into any further disputes about his religion, but instead thereof he commanded them to fight for it, and destroy all those who should contradict his law, promising great rewards in the life to come to such as should take up the sword in his cause, and the crown of martyrdom to all those who should die fighting for it. And upon this head, some of the Mahometan doctors argue with subtilty: For, say they, the prophets of God are of divers sorts, according to the divers attributes of divine nature, which they are sent to shew forth. That Jesus Christ was sent to manifest the righteousness, the power, and the knowledge of God; that he shewed forth the righteousness of God in being impeccable, his knowledge in that he knew the secrets of men's hearts, and foretold things to come; and his power in doing those miracles which none else but God could. Further, Solomon was sent to manifest the wisdom, the glory, and the majesty of God; and Moses, his providence and his clemency: none of them carrying with them a power to force men to believe, miracles were necessary in their missions to induce them thereto. But Mahomet was a prophet sent principally to shew forth the fortitude of God, by the power of the sword, which being of itself alone sufficient to compel all men into the faith without any other power accompanying it; for this reason, say they, Mahomet wrought no miracles, because he had no need of them, the power of the sword, with which he was sent, of itself alone sufficiently enabling him to accomplish his mission by forcing men to believe therein. And from hence it hath become the universal doctrine of the Mahometans, that their religion is to be propagated by the sword, and that all of them are obliged to fight for it. And for this reason it hath been a custom among them for their preachers, while they deliver their sermons, to have a drawn sword placed by them, to denote thereby, that the doctrine which they teach them, was with the sword to be defended and propagated by them.

However, it is not to be denied, but that there are several miracles reckoned up, which Mahomet is said to have wrought; as that he did cleave the moon in two; that trees went forth to meet him; that water flowed from between his fingers; that the stones saluted him; that he fed a great company with a little food; that a beam groaned at him; that a camel complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton



told him of its being poisoned; and several others. But those who relate them, are only such who are reckoned amongst them as fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned doctors renounce them all, as doth Mahomet himself, who, in several places in his Alcoran, owns that he wrought no miracles.—But when they are pressed, how without miracles they can prove his mission, their common answer is, that in the stead of all miracles is the Alcoran. For that Mahomet, who was an illiterate person that could neither read nor write, or that any man else by human wisdom alone should be able to compose a book so excellent in eloquence, and so excellent in doctrine, as they will have that to be, is what they will not admit to be possible, and therefore they alledged the excellency of the book for the truth of all contained therein, and will have that to be a proof equivalent to the miracles of all the prophets that went before him, to manifest that it came from God. And on this the impostor himself often insists in his Alcoran; challenging, in several places of it, all men and devils by their united skill to compose another book like that in eloquence and instruction, or any one chapter that can be compared in excellency with the meanest chapter therein:—Which they taking for granted, that both together cannot do, will have this to be a clear manifestation beyond all contradiction, that this book could come from none other but God himself, and that Mahomet, from whom they received it, was his messenger to bring it to them.

As to the particulars in this argument alledged, it must be allowed, that the Alcoran, bating the folly, the confusedness, and incoherence of the matter contained therein, is, as to the style and language, the standard of elegance in the Arabic tongue, and as to Mahomet, that he was in truth, what they say, an illiterate barbarian, that could neither write nor read. But this was not so much a defect in him, as in the tribe of which he was born, with whom it was the custom as to all manner of literature to continue in the same ignorance with which they came out of their mothers' bellies unto their lives end.—And therefore at the time when Mahomet first set up for a prophet, there was not any man of Mecca that could either write or read, excepting only Warakah, a kinsman of Gadagah, who having first turned Jew, and afterwards Christian, had learned to write Arabic in Hebrew letters. And for this reason, the men of Mecca were called the illiterate, in opposition to the people of Medina, who being the one half Christians, and the other half Jews, were able to write and read; and therefore were called the People of the Book. And from thence several of Mahomet's followers, after he came to Medina, learned to read and write also, which some of them had begun to learn before, of Bashar the

Cendian, who having sojourned at Anbar, a city of Erac, near Euphrates, there learned the art, from whence coming to Mecca, and marrying the sister of Abusophian, he settled there, and from him the men of Mecca are first said to have received the art of letters.

Among the followers of Mahomet, Othman was the greatest proficient herein, which advanced him afterwards to be secretary to the impostor. But for want of paper at first, as in a place where there was never before any occasion for it, they were forced to make use of the blade-bones of shoulders of mutton to write on, which was a device anciently made use of by other tribes of the Arabs, who had letters, but wanted trafic to accomodate them with more convenient materials for this purpose, and therefore their books, in which their poems, and other materials they delighted in were written, were only so many of those blade-bones tied together upon a string. This Bashar afterwards became one of Mahomet's disciples, and followed him in his wars, till poisoned at Chaibar, as shall be hereafter related.

But these particulars being thus allowed, that the Alcoran of the Mahometans is of so elegant a style, and the supposed author thereof such a rude and illiterate barbarian, it will be here asked who were the assistants by whose help this book was compiled and the imposture framed? And there will be the more reason to ask this, because the book itself contains so many particulars of the Jewish and Christian religion, as necessarily imply the authors of it to be well skilled in both, which Mahomet, who was bred an idolator, and lived so for the first forty years of his life, among a people totally illiterate, cannot be supposed to be. But this is a question not so easily to be answered, because the nature of the thing required, should be concealed.—The Mahometan writers, who believe in the imposture, as they will allow nothing of this, so to be sure they will say little of it; and the Christians, who abhorred his wickedness, are apt to say too much. For it was usual with them, as it is with all other contending parties, to snatch at every story which would disparage the religion they were against, and believe it right or wrong, if it would serve their purpose this way. And from hence it hath proceeded, that we have so many fabulous and ridiculous accounts both of Mahomet and his imposture, go current among us, which serve only to the exposing of us to the laughter of the Mahometans, when related among them. And beside the scene of this impostor, being at least six hundred miles within the country of Arabia, amidst those barbarous nations, who all immediately embraced it, and would not afterward permit any of another religion so much as to live among them; it could

not at that distance be so well searched into, by those who were most concerned to discover the frauds of it, and therefore an exact account cannot be expected in this particular. However, that we may give all the satisfaction therein, that we are able, we shall here lay together whatsoever we can find in any credible author concerning it, and give the best judgment hereof that the matter will admit.

That Mahomet composed his Alcoran by the help of others, was a thing well known at Mecca, when he first broached his imposture there, and it was often flung in his teeth by his opposers, as he himself more than once complained. In the 25th chapter of the Alcoran, his words are, they say, "That the Alcoran is nothing but a lie of thy own invention, and others have been assisting to thee herein." Where the commentators say the persons here meant, were the servants of a certain sword-smith at Mecca, who were Christians, with whom Mahomet was used often to converse for the better information of himself from them in the Old and New Testament. And from hence it is, that Bellorinus tells us, that Mahomet found at Mecca two Christians, who had with them copies of the Old and New Testament, and that he was much helped by them in composing his Alcoran. But this is too open work for so secret a design. They that upbraided him with being assisted by others, meant not those whom he publicly conversed with, but the private confederates, whom he secretly made use of at home, in the framing of the whole imposture, and the writing for him that book, which he pretended was brought to him from heaven by the angel Gabriel. And what he says in another place of his Alcoran, doth particularly point at once to those, who were then looked upon to have had a principal hand in this matter. For in the sixteenth chapter his words are "I know they will say, that a man hath taught him the Alcoran; but whom they presume to have taught him, is a Persian by nation, and speaketh the Persian language. But the Alcoran is in the Arabic tongue, full of instruction and eloquence." Now, who this Persian was, Friar Richard, in his confutation of the Mahometan law, helps us to understand. For in his thirteenth chapter of that tract he tells us, that Mahomet being an illiterate person, he had, for his helper in the forging of his imposture, among others, one Abdia Ben Salon, a Persian Jew, whose name he afterwards changed to make it correspond with the Arabic dialect, into Abdollah Ebn Salem; and Cantacuzenus, and cardinal Cusa say the same thing.—And most others that write of this imposture make mention of him, as the chief architect made use of by Mahomet in the framing of it. And that he was the Persian pointed at in this passage of the

Alcoran, we have last-mentioned, the same Friar Richard, in the sixth chapter of the same tract, expressly telleth us. And he is the same person whom Elmacinus calleth Salman the Persian, who by his skill in drawing an intrenchment at the battle of the Ditch, saved Mahomet and all his army, where otherwise he must necessarily have been overpowered by the numbers of his enemies, and totally ruined. For he was a cunning, crafty fellow, and so thoroughly skilled in all the learning of the Jews, that he had commenced Rabbi among them. And therefore from him Mahomet seems to have received, whatsoever of the rites and customs of the Jews he hath ingrafted into his religion. For this making a very considerable part of it, and many of the particulars being drawn from the abstruser parts of the Talmudic learning, this necessarily shews so able an helper to have been in the whole contrivance. And what Johannes Andreas, an Alfacki, or a doctor of the Mahometan law, who turned Christian, writes of him, further clears this matter. For he tells us from authentic testimonies of the Arab writers, in which he was thoroughly versed, that this Abdollah Ebn Salem, who he, or rather his interpreter, corruptly calls Abdalla Celen, was for ten years together the person by whose hand all the pretended revelations of the impostor were first written, and therefore no doubt he was also a principal contriver in the forging of them. There is extant in the end of the Latin Alcoran, published by Bibliander, a tract translated out of Arabic into Latin, by Hermannus Dalmata, which by way of dialogue between Mahomet and this Abdollah, lays before us a great many of the fooleries of the Mahometan religion, which tract helps us to correct the name, which is in Friar Richard's tract very corruptly written, as being only a translation at the third hand. For that tract of Friar Richard's which we now have, is no other than a translation from the Greek copy of Demetrius Cydonius, who translated it into that language for the use of the emperor Cantuzenus, from the original Latin which is now lost.

Besides this Jew, the impostor had also a Christian monk for his assistance; and the many particulars in his Alcoran, relating to the Christian religion, plainly prove him to have had such an helper. Theophanes, Zonarus, Cedrenus, Anastasius, and the author of the *Historia Miscella*, tell us of him, without giving him any other name than that of a Nestorian monk. But the author of the disputation against a Mahometan, which is epitomized in Vincentius Bellovacensis's *Specula Historicum*, and from thence printed at the end of Bibliander's Latin Alcoran, calls him Sergius; and from thence it is, that he hath been ever since so often spoken of by that name amongst the western writers. But in the

east he is totally unknown by it, he being never, as much as we can find, made mention of by that name by any of their writers. For all there, that speak of this monk, call him Bahira, and Friar Richard, who, in the year of our Lord 1210, went to Bagdad on purpose to search into the mystery of Mahometanism, by reading their books, and on his return wrote that judicious confutation of it, which we have afore-mentioned, tells us of this Bahira, as an assistant to Mahomet in the forging of his imposture, and so doth also Cantaczenus, Bartholomæus Edessenus, and the other Greek authors of the confutation of Mahomet, published by Le Moyne: But not one of them says any thing of Sergius; so that it is plain that Sergius and Bahira are only two different names of the same person.—He was a monk of Syria, of the sect of the Nestorians. The Mahometans will have it, that he first took notice of Mahomet, while a boy after that prophetic manner as is before related; but according to that account he would have been too old to act his part in this imposture so many years after. The truth of the matter is, Mahomet did not fall acquainted with him till a long while after, when he was projecting his wicked design in his head; in order to the better forming of which, being very desirous to acquaint himself with the Jewish and Christian religions, he was very inquisitive in examining into them, as he met with those who could inform him. And in one of his journeys into Syria, either at Bostra, as some say, or at Jerusalem as others, lighting on this Bahira, and receiving great satisfaction from him, in many of those points which he desired to be informed in, did thereon contract a particular friendship with him. And therefore not long after, this monk, for some great crime, being excommunicated and expelled his monastery, fled to Mecca to him; and being there entertained in his house, became his assistant in the framing of that imposture, which he afterwards vented, and continued with him ever after; till at length the impostor having no farther occasion for him, to secure the secret, put him to death. If Sergius was the name which he had in his monastery, Bahira was that which he afterwards assumed in Arabia, and by which he hath ever since been mentioned in those eastern parts, by all that there write or speak of him. The word in the Arabic language signifieth a camel, which after some extraordinary merit, according to the usage of the ancient Arabs, had his ears slit and was turned forth from the rest of the herd at free pasture to work no more. And no doubt, this monk having told the tale of his expulsion from his monastery so much to his advantage, as to make it believed at Mecca to be drawn upon him by that, which was reckoned there as meritorious, had from thence this name given

him, as suiting that notion which they had of his condition among them.

As to his other helpers, if he had any such, what is said of them is so uncertain, and that so little, as is not material here to relate. We may suppose from the very nature of his design, it being to impose a cheat upon mankind, that he made as few as possible privy to it. And the two above-mentioned being sufficient for his purpose, it doth not appear likely that he admitted any more into the secret of it. Neither indeed is there any more room in it for another to act. For, his religion being made up of three parts, whereof one was borrowed from the Jews, another from the Christians, and a third from the heathen Arabs, Abdollah furnished the first of them, Bahira the second, and Mahomet himself the last; so that there was no need of any other help to complete the imposture.

We know there are many other particulars go current of this matter, both as to the coming of the forgery, and also the manner of the first propagating of it; as that the impostor taught a bull to bring him the Alcoran on his horns in a public assembly, as if it had this way been sent to him from God; that he bred up pigeons to come to his cars to make shew thereby, as if the Holy Ghost conversed with him, and many other such stories, which being without foundation or likelihood of truth, we pass them over as idle fables not to be credited, although we find some very great men have been too easy to swallow them, as particularly Scaliger, Grotius, and Sionita, have that of the pigeons. Such tricks as these would have been easily seen through by the Arabians, they being men naturally of as subtle and acute parts as any in the world. And therefore Mahomet never as much as offered at any thing of this among them; but disclaiming all miracles, thereby avoiding the necessity of hazarding his design upon any such open cheats, where it would be so liable to be totally blasted by a discovery.

The whole of this imposture was a thing of extraordinary craft, carried on with all the cunning and caution imaginable. The framing of the Alcoran, wherein lay the main of the cheat, was all contrived at home in as secret a manner as possible, and nothing hazarded abroad, but the success of preaching it to the people. And in doing this, no art or cunning was wanting to make it as effectual to the end designed as possible; and therefore whatever stories are told of this matter that are inconsistent with such a management, we may assure ourselves are nothing else but fables foolishly invented by some zealous Christians to blast the imposture, which need no such means for its confutation.

In the twelfth year of his pretended mission, is placed the Mesra, that is, his famous night-journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from thence to



heaven, of which he tells us in the seventeenth chapter of his Alcoran. For the people calling on him for miracles to prove his mission, and he being able to work none, to salve the matter, he invents this story of his journey to heaven, which must be acknowledged to have miracle enough in it to all those who have faith to believe it. And it being believed by all that profess the Mahometan religion, as a main article of their faith, and as such set down in all the books of their authentic traditions, how absurd soever it be, since our design is to give as full an account as we can of this man's imposture it obligeth us to relate it. His relation of it is as follows.

At night, as he lay in his bed with his best beloved wife, Ayesha, he heard a knocking at his door, whereon arising he found there the angel Gabriel, with seventy pair of wings expanded from his sides, whiter than snow and clearer than chrystal, and the beast Alborak standing by him, which they say is the beast on which the prophets used to ride, when they were carried from one place to another, upon the execution of any divine command. Mahomet describes it to be a beast as white as milk, and of a mixed nature between an ass and a mule, and also of a size between both, and of that extraordinary swiftness, that his passing from one place to another, was as quick as lightning; and from hence it is that he hath the name of Alborak, that word signifying lightning in the Arabic tongue.—As soon as Mahomet appeared at the door, the angel Gabriel most kindly embracing him, did, with a very sweet and pleasing countenance, salute him in the name of God, and told him, that he was sent to bring him unto God into heaven, where he should see strange mysteries, which were not lawful to be seen by any other man, and then bade him get upon the Alborak. But the beast, it seems, having long lain idle, from the time of Christ till Mahomet, there having been no prophet in all that interval to employ him, was grown so rusty and skittish, that he would not stand for Mahomet to get upon him, till at length he was forced to bribe him to it by promising a seat in paradise; whereon having quietly taken him on his back, the angel Gabriel leading the way with the bridle of the beast in his hand, he carried him from Mecca to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye. On his coming thither all the prophets and saints departed, appeared at the gate of the temple to salute him, and from thence attending him into the chief oratory, desired him to pray for them, and then departed.—Whereon Mahomet with the angel Gabriel going out of the temple found there a ladder of light ready fixed for them, which they immediately ascended, leaving the Alborak there tied to a rock till their return.

On their arrival at the first heaven, the angel Gabriel knocked at the gate, and having informed the porter who he was, and that he brought Mahomet the friend of God with him by the divine command the gates were immediately opened, which he describes to be of a prodigious largeness. This first heaven, he tells us, was all of pure silver, and that he there saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold, each being of the bigness of mount Noho, near Mecca in Arabia, and that in these stars angels kept watch and ward for the guard of heaven to keep off the devils from approaching near it, lest they should over-hear what was there done. On his first entering into this heaven, he said, he met an old decrepid man, and this was our first father Adam, who immediately embraced him, giving God thanks for so great a son, and then recommended himself to his prayers. As he entered further, he saw a multitude of angels of all manner of shapes; some in those of men, others in those of birds, and others in those of beasts of all manner of sorts.—And among those who appeared in the several shapes of birds, he there saw a cock of colour as white as snow, and of so prodigious a bigness that his feet standing upon the first heaven, his head reached up to the second, which was at the distance of five hundred years journey from it, according to the rate as usually travel here on earth. But others among them, as they relate this matter from their prophet, hyperbolize much higher concerning it, telling us that the head of this cock reacheth up through all the seven heavens as far as the throne of God, which is above seven times higher; and in the description of him, say, that his wings are all over decked with carbuncles and pearls, and that he extends the one of them to the east, and the other to the west, at a distance proportionable to his height. Concerning all these, the impostor tells us, the angel Gabriel informed him, that they were angels which did from thence intercede with God for all living creatures on the earth. That those who interceded for men, had there the shape of men; that those who interceded for beasts, the shape of beasts; and those who interceded for birds, the shape of birds, according to their several kinds.—And that as to the great cock, he was the chief angel of the cocks; that every morning God singing an holy hymn, this cock constantly joineth with him in it by his crowing, which is so loud that all hear it that are in heaven and earth, except men and fairies, and then all the other cocks that are in heaven and earth, crow also. But when the day of judgment draws near, then God will command him to draw in his wings, and crow no more, which shall be a sign, that that day is at hand to all that are in heaven and earth, excepting still, men and fairies, who being before deaf to his crowing, shall

not then be sensible of his silence from it. And this cock the Mahometans look on to be in that great favour with God, that whereas it is a common saying among them, that there are three voices which God always hears, they reckon the first the voice of him that is constant in reading the Alcoran; the second, the voice of him that early every morning prayeth for the pardon of his sins; and the third, the voice of this cock when he croweth, which they say is ever most acceptable unto him.

All this stuff of the cock, Abdollah helped Mahomet to, out of the Talmudists. For it is all borrowed from them, with some little variation only to make it look not totally the same. For in the tract Bava Bathra of the Babylonish Talmud, we have a story of such a prodigious bird, called Ziz, which standing with his feet upon the earth, reacheth up unto the heavens with his head, and with the spreading of his wings darkeneth the whole orb of the sun, and causeth a total eclipse thereof. This bird, the Chaldee Paraphrast on the Psalms says, is a cock, which he describes of the same bigness, and tells us that he crows before the Lord. And the Chaldee Paraphrast on Job also tells us of him, and of his crowing every morning before the Lord, and that God giveth him wisdom for this purpose. What is farther said of this bird of the Talmudists, may be seen in Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica*, cap. 50, and in Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, lib. 2. c. 20.

From this first heaven the impostor tells us, he ascended up into the second, which was at the distance of five hundred years journey above it, and this he makes to be the distance of every one of the seven heavens, each above the other. Here the gates being opened unto him, as in the first heaven, at his entrance he met Noah, who, rejoicing much at the sight of him, recommended himself to his prayers. In this heaven, which was all made of pure gold, the impostor tells us, he saw twice as many angels as in the former, and among them one of a prodigious greatness. For his feet being placed on this second heaven, his head reached to the third.

From this second heaven he ascended up into the third, which was made of precious stones; where at the entrance he met Abraham, who also recommended himself to his prayers. And there he saw a vast many more angels than in the former heaven, and among them another great one of so prodigious a size, that the distance between his two eyes were as much as seventy thousand days journey, according to our rate of travelling on earth. But here Mahomet was out in his mathematics, for the distance between a man's eyes being in proportion to his height but as one to seventy-two, according to this rate, the height of this angel must have been near fourteen thousand years journey, which is four times

as much as the height of all his seven heavens together, and therefore it is impossible such an angel could ever stand within any one of them. But notwithstanding this, here he placeth him, and in his description of him, tells us, that he had before him a large table, on which he was continually writing and blotting out; and that having asked the angel Gabriel of him, he was informed by him that this was the angel of death, who continually writes into the table which he had before him, the names of all that are to be born, and there computes the days of their life; and as he finds they have completed the number assigned them, again blots them out, and that whoever hath his name thus blotted out by him, immediately dies.

From hence he ascended up into the fourth heaven, which was all of emerald; where, at the entrance, he met Joseph the son of Jacob, who recommended himself to his prayers. And in this heaven he saw a vast larger number of angels than in the former, and among them another great angel, as high as from this fourth heaven to the fifth, who was continually weeping, and making great lamentation and mourning, and this, the angel Gabriel told him, was for the sins of men, and the destruction which they did thereby bring upon themselves.

From hence he ascended up into the fifth heaven, which was made of adamant, where he found Moses, who recommended himself to his prayers. And there also he saw a much greater number of angels than in the former heaven.

From hence he ascended up into the sixth heaven, which was all of carbuncle, where he found John the Baptist, who recommended himself to his prayers. And here he also saw the number of angels much increased beyond what he had seen in any of the former heavens.

From hence he ascended up into the seventh heaven, which was all made of divine light, and here he found Jesus Christ; where it is to be observed he alters his style. For he saith not, that Jesus Christ recommended himself to his prayers, but that he recommended himself to Jesus Christ, desiring him to pray for him; whereby he acknowledgeth him certainly to be the greater. But it was his usage through the whole scene of his imposture, thus to flatter the Christians on all occasions. Here he saith he found a much greater number of angels than in all the other heavens besides, and among them one extraordinary angel, having seventy thousand heads, and in every head seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue uttering seventy thousand distinct voices at the same time, with which he continued day and night incessantly praising God.

The angel Gabriel having brought him thus far, told him, that it was not permitted to him to go any farther, and therefore directed him to ascend up the

rest of the way to the throne of God by himself, which he saith he performed with great difficulty, passing through waters and snow, and many other such difficult passages, till he came where he heard a voice saying unto him, O Mahomet, salute thy Creator; from whence ascending higher, he came into a place, where he saw a vast extension of light of that exceeding brightness, that his eyes could not bear it, and this was the habitation of the Almighty, where his throne was placed; on the right side of which he says, God's name and his own were written in these Arabic words, "La ullah ellallah Mohammed resul ullah," i. e. "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet." Which is the creed of the Mahometans, and which words also he says, he found written upon all the gates of the seven heavens, which he passed through. Having approached to the presence of God, as near as within two bow shots; he tells us he saw him sitting on his throne, with a covering of seventy thousand veils before his face; that on his drawing thus near, in sign of his favour, he put forth his hand and laid it upon him, which was of that exceeding coldness, that it pierced to the very marrow of his back, and he could not bear it. That after this, God entering into a very familiar converse with him, revealed unto him a great many hidden mysteries, made him understand the whole of his law, and gave him many things in charge concerning his instructing men in the knowledge of it; and in conclusion bestowed on him several privileges above the rest of mankind. As that he should be the perfectest of all creatures: that at the day of judgment he should be honoured and advanced above all the rest of mankind; that he should be the redeemer of all that believe in him; that he should have the knowledge of all languages; and lastly, that the spoils of all whom he should conquer in war, should belong to him alone. And then returning, he found the angel Gabriel tarrying for him in the place where he left him, who conducting him back again through all the seven heavens, the same way that he brought him, did set him again upon the Alborak, which he left tied at Jerusalem; and then taking the bridle in his hand, conducted him back to Mecca in the same manner as he brought him thence, and all this within the space of the tenth part of one night.

On his relating this extravagant fiction to the people the next morning after he pretended the thing happened, it was received by them as it deserved, with a general boot; some laughed at the ridiculousness of the story, and others taking indignation at it, cried out shame upon him for telling them such an abominable lie, and by way of reproach, bid him ascend up to heaven by day-light, there immediately before them all, that they might see it with their eyes, and then they would believe

him. And even of his disciples a great many were so ashamed of him for this story, that they left him thereon; and more would have followed their example, but that Abu Bekker came in to put a stop to the defection, by vouching the truth of all that Mahomet had related, and professed his firm belief in the whole of it, for which reason he had ever after the title of Assadik, that is, the just, because of the extraordinary merit of his faith in this particular. And whoever becomes a Mahometan, must have the same faith also; this story being as firmly believed by all of that religion, as any thing in the gospel is by Christians. Only there has been this question moved among them, whether it were only a vision of the night, or a real journey? Those that would save the absurdity of it, would have it only to be a vision, and that most of the particulars of it are to be resolved into figure and allegory, but the major vote hath carried it for a real journey; and to this sense it being now pinned down, there is no one among them that dares in the least to doubt thereof.

The imposture was never in greater danger of being totally blasted, than by this ridiculous fable, such a stumbling-block did it lay even before those of his own party, and therefore he needed to interpose the utmost of his art to support the credit of it; for which purpose he had not only got his friend Abu Bekker to be a voucher to it, but also brings in God himself, in two places of his Alcoran, bearing witness thereto; that is in the chapter of the children of Israel; and in the chapter of the star; in the last of which he makes God to swear to the truth of it, that Mahomet related nothing in this story but what he had seen; that he was admitted to approach him in the highest heavens within the length of two bow-shots; and had seen the great wonders of the Lord, and had many hidden mysteries there revealed unto him; and that therefore men ought not to dispute any more against him concerning it.

But how ridiculous soever the story may appear, Mahomet had his design therein beyond barely telling such a miraculous adventure of himself to the people. Hitherto he had only given them the Alcoran, which was his written law, and had owned himself no farther than barely the messenger of God to deliver it to them, telling them that it was brought to him by the angel Gabriel; and that as he received it, so he published it unto them, without giving any comment, explication, or additional interpretation of his own concerning it; and therefore when gravelled with any objection from his adversaries against it, as he often was while at Mecca, where he was continually teased and perplexed with some or other of them, his usual refuge was in this saying, that the Alcoran was God's book, and that he only could explain the meaning of it; and it was



wisdom in him at first not to assume any further.— But now learning from his friend Abdollah, that the Jews, besides the written law dictated by God himself, had also another law called the Oral law, and given with it, as they pretend, to Moses himself, while in the Mount, and from him delivered to the elders of the people, and from them down to after-ages, by Oral tradition; and understanding also that this law was in as great authority with them as the other, and that it had its whole foundation in the sayings and dictates which were pretended to be from Moses, and preserved by the memories of those who conversed with him; he had a desire for the future to advance his authority to the same pitch and make all his sayings and dictates go for articles among his Musselmans, as well as those, which were pretended to be from Moses did among the Jews. And for this end chiefly was it that he intended this story of his journey to heaven. For could he once make it be believed among his followers that he had there such converse with God, as Moses had with him in the Mount, and there was fully instructed by him in the knowledge of all divine truths, as this story pretends he was, he thought he should therein have a sufficient foundation to build this pretence upon, and might by a just consequence from it, claim the whole which he aimed at; and he was not mistaken herein; for how ridiculous soever the thing at first appeared, yet in the result he carried his point, and obtained all that by the project which he proposed to himself from it. The whole of it at length going down with those who had swallowed the rest of the imposture, from that time all his sayings were looked on as sacred truths brought down from heaven, and every word which at any time dropped from so enlightened a person, as this story supposeth him to be, as well as every action which he did any way relating to his religion, were all carefully observed by them, which being after his death all collected together from the memories of those who conversed with him, make up those volumes of traditions from him, which they call the *Somah*, and which are with the Mahometans the same in respect of the *Alcoran*, that the Oral law among the Jews is in respect of the written.

And as among the Jews there are many books in which this Oral law is recited, explained and digested, under several heads and chapters by many different authors among their rabbies, who have employed their pains and studies in this manner; so also there are the like number of books among the Mahometans concerning their *Somah*, in which all the sayings and actions of Mahomet, relating to his religion, as also the constitutions of the seniors, that is, of the first caliphs that succeeded him, especially the four first, concerning the same are collected,

explained, and digested under several heads, or common places by the compilers of them, which books make up the sum of their theology, as well speculative as practical, and in them indeed is contained the whole of their religion as now practised among them. And therefore so much of the imposture, which we now undertake to give an account of, being in these traditions, and they all founded upon this journey of Mahomet to heaven, where he pretended to have been instructed in them by God himself; this sufficiently justifies our being thus long in relating this fabulous story of it.

After his publishing this fiction, and the revolt of so many of his disciples, as happened thereon, his adversaries grew in strength so fast upon him, that he could no longer protect those who adhered to him, as he had hitherto done; but some of them, to the number of about one hundred persons, having made themselves more than ordinary obnoxious to the government by some practices against it, were forced to fly from Mecca to Nagash, king of Ethiopia, where Mahomet's letters, which they carried with them, obtained their protection, though the men of Mecca sent two of their principal citizens after them in an embassy to that king, to demand them to be delivered unto them. And Mahomet with the rest that tarried behind, found it difficult for them to subsist any longer there; for after the departure of so many of his most faithful adherents into exile, the farther diminution of his number made him still less able to withstand those insults, which his adversaries were continually on all occasions making upon him. But what he lost at Mecca he got at Medina, then called *Yathreb*, a city lying at the northern end of *Hagiaz*, two hundred and seventy miles distant from Mecca, which being inhabited the one part by Jews, and the other part by heretical Christians, it seems these two different parties not well agreeing in the same city, the factions and feuds that arose between them, drove one of the parties to Mahomet; and on the thirteenth year of his pretended mission, there came to him from thence seventy-three men, and two women, who embraced his imposture, and swore fealty unto him, whercon he chose twelve out of them, whom he retained awhile with him at Mecca to instruct them in his new religion, and then sent them back again to *Yathreb*, to be his twelve apostles, there to propagate it in that town, in which they laboured with that success, that in a short time they drew over a great part of the inhabitants to embrace the imposture, of which Mahomet receiving an account, resolved to retire thither, as finding Mecca now grown too hot for him. For the chief men of the city, finding that Mahomet's indefatigable industry and cunning still kept up his party, do what they could to suppress it resolved without further delay to strike at the root,

and prevent the further spreading of the mischief, by cutting off him that was the chief author of it; of which he having received full and early intelligence, and finding no other way to avoid the blow but to fly from it, ordered all his party, whom he could prevail with to accompany him in his banishment, secretly in the evening to withdraw out of the city, and retire to Yathreb; and when he had seen them all gone, he and Abu Bekker followed after, leaving only Ali behind, who having set in order some affairs that detained him, came to them the third day after. As soon as his flight was publicly known, parties were sent out to pursue after him, and he with difficulty escaped them, by hiding himself for some time in a cave, till the heat of the pursuit was over.

Having then gained over a sufficient number of ignorant people to his errors, he began to appear in his real character, namely, that of a debauchee and a tyrant. He knew that the religion of Jesus had been propagated without any assistance from the civil power, but he knew at the same time, that the purity of that religion was in some measure extinguished before his time. As he was to change the established religion of his country all at once, so he found that coercive power was necessary.

At that time there were in Arabia a vast number of those heretical Christians called Nestorians, and as they grew daily more and more corrupt in their religion, so it was not difficult to persuade them to profess what they did not believe, and practise what they did not approve. But, however great the errors of the Christians might have been when Mahometanism made its first appearance, yet there was a circumstance still more powerful to facilitate its operation on ignorant persons, and its progress among heathens. This was the wicked lives of the Christians, for as the apostles propagated the gospel by the purity of their manners, and holiness of their lives, so the want of those sublime virtues introduced the religion of Mahomet. There are times when men are ripe for destruction, and then God withdraws from them all his paternal care.—He leaves them to be imposed on by the most designing persons, and this is one of the most celebrated acts of his justice in the moral government of this world.

From what has already been taken notice of concerning the arts made use of by Mahomet, we find that he must have been a very cunning impostor.—It was not enough for him to relate his forged visions, he had recourse to other means, as a proof of his mission. He appealed to the dispersion of the Jews, as proof that the religion of Moses was abolished, and the wickedness of the Christians was a sufficient proof that they were no longer the favourites of heaven. It is well known, that the primi-

tive Christians believed that the general resurrection was not far distant, and yet neither our Saviour nor any of his apostles, had ever taught them any more concerning it, than that it was to happen in an unexpected moment, and this was done that they might be continually on their guard. But as many of the heretics had renounced the belief of the leading principles of Christianity, because Christ had not made his second appearance, so Mahomet availed himself of that circumstance, he told his disciples that he would return from heaven at the end of a certain number of years, which answers in all respects to our 1620 of the Christian *Æra*. At that time there was a general expectation of his coming, but still his followers have been deceived. He lived to see his religion established almost all over Arabia, and laid the foundation of a government where the supreme power was vested in the high priest. At last he died in the year 632, and was buried at Mecca.

In his character he was one of the most abandoned libertines that ever existed, and it was his love of the promiscuous use of women that induced him to allow a plurality of wives to his followers. All his passions were made subservient towards promoting the objects he had in view, for he forbade wine to be used, because it did not agree with his constitution.

We have already taken notice, that his paradise, promised to his followers, was a carnal one, and nothing could be more agreeable to the depraved notions of men who were gross idolators. Christians are too apt to form carnal notions of God, heaven and divine things, and if so, then we need not be surprised to find Pagans doing the same. Indeed, when all the circumstances are considered, respecting this most extraordinary impostor, we shall not be surprised that such a new religion sprang up. An universal corruption of sentiments, joined to a total depravity of manners, and nourished by ignorance, constituted the characters of those men, who in that age in Asia, bore the Christian name. Like the children of Israel of old when they sought to return to Egypt, they longed for those indulgences which Paganism presented to them; and thus a concurrence of events, joined to military power, did more towards promoting the religion of Mahomet, than any thing else of which we can form a proper notion.

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#### *The Alcoran of Mahomet.*

WE have already taken notice, that the Alcoran, considered as a composition, is extremely beautiful, and contains some fine moral sentences, many of

which are extracted from the law of Moses, but the greater part from the writings of the Christian fathers. And here it is necessary that we should attend to one circumstance of great importance, namely, that in all ages and nations there always has been some or other system, upon which the established religion of the country was founded. Before the use of letters was known in the world, the principles of those systems were conveyed down from one generation to another by oral tradition, and such is the practice at present in many of the heathen nations. But the use of letters gave a new and more lasting form to the stability of systems, and we will join with the learned Mr. Parkhurst, in asserting that the law of Moses is the most ancient composition in the world.

At the same time it is beyond dispute, that in China, and in many parts of the East Indies, there are written systems of religion, which undoubtedly are of a much later date than the law of Moses, and the errors contained in them may serve to shew that they were not the result of divine inspiration. The gospel of Christ as contained in the New Testament, and which illustrates and proves the truth of the Old Testament Dispensation, is far superior to all others, and it may be justly called the image of God himself. It contains all that man should know, all that he should believe, and it lays down an unerring rule for his conduct. It does not extol the virtues of the pious beyond their proper bounds, nor does it conceal the faults of those who are held up as objects of imitation. This is the grand distinguishing characteristic of Divine Revelation, by these marks we know it came from God, and we are encouraged to trust in what appears to us as the naked truth, without any deceit or false colouring.

Mahomet, one of the most artful impostors that ever lived in the world, was sensible of this, and therefore he endeavoured to transplant into his system every thing of a moral tendency which he found in the sacred scriptures. But still it was his conduct in the compiling of his Alcoran to mix things together, so as to comprehend a jumble of sentiments as should include, as proselytes to his doctrine, both Jews and Christian heretics, well knowing that the Heathen Arabians would not be averse to any thing that gratified their ambition, and satisfied their lusts.

The manner in which this work was compiled has been already taken notice of, we must now present the reader with the matter; and here it is not necessary that we should transcribe the whole, but only the leading principles, so far as contains all the doctrines in that famous system of imposture. The whole is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters, some being long and tedious, others short

and comprehensive, but to understand them properly; we shall abridge them in the manner they follow in the book, and insert every one of the sentiments upon which that false system is founded. Every chapter begins with an address to the Divine Being, constantly in the same words, but a single specimen of that will be sufficient, so that there will be no necessity for repeating any of the others.

"In the name of God, gracious and merciful: praised be God, gracious and merciful: King of the day of judgment. It is Thee whom we adore; it is from Thee we require help. Guide us in the right way, in the way of them that thou hast gratified; against whom thou hast not been displeased, and we shall not be misled."

There is no error in this book, it guideth into the right way, those that are righteous, who believe what they see not, who make their prayers with affection, and dispense in alms a part of the goods that we have given them. Such as believe the things that are inspired into thee, in those that have been preached before thee, and at the end of the world are not ignorant, they are guided by their Lord, and shall be blessed. Misery is upon unbelievers. Whether thou prove them, or do not prove them, they will not be converted, God hath shut up their hearts, their ears, and eyes, and they shall suffer great torments. Many men say, we believe in God, and the day of judgment, and do not believe; they think to deceive God, and them that believe in God; certainly they deceive themselves, and know it not. God will augment the infirmity which they have in their heart, and they shall undergo the rigours of an infinite pain, by reason of their lying. When it was said to them pollute not the earth, they said, we are true observers of the law of God; notwithstanding, they were they that polluted the earth, but they knew it not.

Say not, that God hath a companion equal to him, because you know the contrary. If you doubt that I have sent my servant, come and bring some chapters like to the Alcoran, and call to witness the idols that you adore; if you are good men, if you have not done it, or cannot perform it, fear the fire of hell prepared for infidels and idolaters; and declare to true believers who do good works, that they shall enjoy the immense pleasures of Paradise, wherein flow many rivers; they shall there find all sorts of fair and savoury fruits, which God hath prepared for them; they shall consider, if they be like to such as had before in the world: They shall there have wives fair and delicate, and shall dwell in eternal felicity. God is not ashamed to compare a little thing to an extreme greatness.

Such as in their heart incline to depart from the truth, do often follow their inclination, desirous of sedition, and to understand the explication of the



Alcoran; but none understand its explication but God, and such as are profound in learning; they say, we believe in God, all things proceed from his divine wisdom, nevertheless none remember but the wise. Lord, cause not our hearts to err, after thou hast guided us into the right way, give us thy mercy, thou art most bountiful towards thy creatures. Lord, thou art he that shalt assemble the world at the day of judgment, at which day nothing shall be found doubtful, when thou wilt not go against thy promises, and when wealth and children shall not serve to the wicked, but to kindle the fire of hell. The infidel lineage of Pharaoh, and those that preceded him, blasphemed and abjured the law of God, but he surprized them in their sin; he is grievous in his chastisements. Say to the infidels, they shall be vanquished, and shall be gathered together into the fire of hell, that is prepared for them.

You have an example in the two troops that fought for the glory of God, they beheld with their eyes, infidels become true believers, like unto themselves; God strengtheneth with his aid, whom it pleaseth him; this shall be for example to such as shall clearly see. The love and desire of women, of children, of riches, abundance of gold, of silver and of horses, cattle, and of tillage, are pleasing to men; such are the riches of the life of this world, but the most assured refuge is in God. Say unto them, I will declare unto you things much better for them, that shall have the fear of God before their eyes: They shall dwell eternally in Paradise, where flow many rivers, with women, beautiful and lean, and all manner of content. God beholdeth them that adore him, and that say, Lord, we believe in thy law, pardon our sins, and deliver us from the torments of fire. The patient, the persevering, true believers, the obedient, the good men, such as beg pardon of God in the morning, the angels, the learned that love justice, testify that there is but one only God. The law of salvation, is a law pleasing to his Divine Majesty; no man contradicteth this truth, among such as know the written law, but through envy. He that shall not obey the commandments of God, shall find his Divine Majesty very exact to call him to an account. If the impious dispute with thee, say to them, I am wholly resigned to the will of God, with all such as have followed me. Ask of such as know the written law, and them that know it not, if they resign themselves to God, if they do, they will follow the right way; if they go astray, thou hast none other obligation, but to preach to them; God beholdeth them that adore him. Declare grievous torments to those that conceal his commandments, that kill the prophets, and injure them that instruct the people in justice; the good works that they do, shall be unprofitable to them on earth, and they shall be in the other world

deprived of protection. Seest thou not a party of them that know the written law, how they were called to a lecture of the book of God, to the end they might judge with equity the differences that are among them? but many are returned to their sin: they contemned the scripture, in that they said, the fire shall not touch us, but for a certain number of days; they are deceived in their blasphemies, what will become of them, when we shall assemble them at the day of judgment, when nothing shall be doubtful, and every one shall be recompensed as he shall have merited? No injustice shall be done unto them. Say, Lord, thou possessest the kingdoms of the world, thou givest royalty to whom thou seest good; from thy hand, O Lord, proceedeth all good; thou art omnipotent; thou causest day to enter the night, and night the day; thou causest life to come out of death, and death out of life; thou enrichest without measure whom thou seest good.

The Jews conspired against Jesus, and God caused their conspiracy to turn against them, he knoweth the designs of conspirators. Remember thou, how the Lord said, O Jesus I will cause thee to die, I will elevate thee to myself, and remove thee far from infidels, and prefer those that have obeyed thee, to infidels at the day of judgment. That day shall assemble you all before me; I will judge the differences between you, and will punish the impious in this world, and in the other; none among them shall be of power to protect them, I will reward them that shall have believed in my law, and have done good works; God loveth not the unjust. I relate to thee these mysteries, and teach thee the Alcoran; Jesus is with God, as is Adam, God created him of the earth: he said, be thou, and he was: This truth proceedeth from thy Lord, of the number of them that doubt; If any one dispute with thee concerning thy doctrine, say to them, come, call together your children and ours, your wives and ours, let us assemble and address our prayers to God; I will lay the curse of his Divine majesty upon liars. This discourse is most true, there is no God, but God alone the omnipotent and wise. If they depart from his commandments, he shall well observe the unbelievers; say to them, Oh he that knows scripture! come with words alike true between you and us: Do I worship other than God? I do not associate him with any one, and acknowledge no other Lord but him; but if they turn aside from the way of faith, God knoweth them that shall pollute the earth; say to them, be ye witnesses, that we believe in God. Oh ye that understand scriptures, dispute, not the law of Abraham, to wit, if he observed the Old Testament or the gospel, they were taught after him, perhaps you will acknowledge your error. Oh ye that have disputed what ye know not! Abraham was no Jew, nor Christian, he professed the unity of

God, he was a true believer, and not of the number of infidels.

The people, and particularly those that followed him, of his time, as also the prophet Mahomet, and all true believers have known the truth of his law. Part of them, to whom heretofore was given the knowledge of the Scripture they desired, seduced you from the right way, but they themselves erred, and they knew it not. O ye that know the scriptures! do not maliciously conceal the commandments of God, cover not the truth with a lie, neither willingly hide it. Many of them that know the written law, said from the break of day, believe in what hath been taught them, that believe in the law of God: Nevertheless, at evening, they were themselves of the number of infidels, peradventure they will be converted. Believe not but such as follow your own law: say to them, the true guide, is the guide of God. The knowledge that was given to you, was not given to any other, but you: If the infidels shall dispute against you, before your Lord, at the day of judgment, say to them, Grace proceedeth from the hand of God: He is bountiful, and omniscient; he pardoneth whom he pleaseth, and is altogether merciful. If thou intrusteth thy wealth to the hands of many of them that know the written law, they will faithfully restore it to thee.

I increase the wealth of infidels to augment their pain, they shall in the end feel grievous torments. God will not leave the faithful in the state that you are in; he will one day separate the good from the evil; he doth not teach you what is to come; he, for that effect chuseth among the prophets whom he seeth good. Believe therefore in God, and his prophets; if you believe in God, fear to offend him, you shall be rewarded. Believe ye that such as are too sparing, and avaricious of the wealth that God hath given them, do well; on the contrary, they do very ill, what they spare without reason, shall strangle them at the day of judgment. The inheritance of heaven and earth is God's, he knoweth all things. Certainly God heard the speech of them that said, God is poor, and we are rich; he hath said, I will write what they have spoken, and keep an exact account of the murders they have unjustly committed on the persons of the prophets; I will say to them at the day of judgment, taste of the torments of hell fire, which you have deserved. God doth not lead into darkness them that worship him. There be, that say, God hath commanded us not to believe the prophets, until their sacrifice be consumed by fire: say to them, there came to you prophets heretofore with miracles that you demanded, you had not slain them, had you been righteous; if they belie thee, know, they belied the prophets that were before thee, that came with miracles, the psalter, and the book

of light. Every man shall taste of death, and your reward shall be paid at the day of judgment; he that shall depart from the fire of hell, and enter into Paradise, shall be happy. The wealth of this world is but a matter of pride, that you may be tried in your riches and persons. Hearken not to the Jews and Christians, that have known the written law before you, neither to them that believe in many gods, they offend God through their blasphemies: if you have patience, and fear God, you shall make a very good resolution. God hath accepted the speech of them that know his written law, when they promised him to preach to the people his commandments, and not conceal them; nevertheless they have condemned them, and changed them for profit of little value, and have gained nothing but misery: think not that such as rejoice of the evil they have done, and affect to be commended for what they have not done, have escaped the punishment of their crimes, they shall certainly suffer great torments. The kingdom of heaven and of earth is God's, he is omnipotent; the creation of heaven and earth, the difference of day and night are evident signs of his omnipotence; to such as have judgment. Such as have, remember God, standing, sitting, or lying down, and considered the creation of heaven and earth have said, Lord, thou hast not created these things in vain; blessed be thy name, deliver us from the torments of hell fire, thou wilt render miserable him that thou shalt thither precipitate, and the wicked shall be deprived of protection at the day of judgment. Lord, we have heard them that say, believe in your Lord, we believe in thy unity, pardon our faults, blot out our sins, and give us grace to die in the number of the just; bestow on us what thou hast promised by the prophets, and suffer us not to be miserable at the day of judgment; thou dost not contradict what thou dost promise.

If you fear to do injury to orphans, fear also to do wrong to women; marry those that please you. Two, three, or four: if you apprehend you shall not be able to entertain them equally, marry but one, or the slaves that you shall have acquired; this is most necessary to the end that you offend not God. Give to women their dowry with a good will; if they give to you any thing that is pleasing to you, receive it with affection and civility. Bestow not on fools the wealth that God hath given you for subsistence; assist orphans, give to them the garments that shall be necessary for them, and entertain them honestly; instruct them until they have attained to years of discretion, and are capable of marriage: if you believe they demean themselves, wisely restore to them their faculties, and devour them not unjustly before they be of age. He that shall be rich, shall attain from their goods, and he that is poor, shall take with

honesty, according to the pains he shall undergo for them : when you make to them restitution for their goods, take witness of your actions : God loveth good accounts. The children shall have a good part of what their father, and mother, or parents left after their death, of little or of much there appertaineth to them a portion prefixed and limited. When they divide their goods, the kindred shall have care of the poor and orphans ; do good to them, and honestly entertain them. Such as fear to leave after them a weak progeny of little children, ought to fear to wrong orphans, they must fear God, and courteously entertain them. Those who unjustly devour their substance, swallow fire into their bowels, and shall burn in a great furnace. God commendeth to you your children, the son shall have as much as two daughters ; if there be more than two daughters, they shall have two thirds of the succession of the dead ; if there be but one, she shall have the moiety, and her kindred a sixth part of what shall be left by the dead ; if there be no children, and the kindred be heirs, the mother of the dead shall have a third ; if there be brethren, the mother shall have a sixth, after satisfaction of the legacies contained in the testament, and of the debts.

O ye that believe in God ! it is not lawful for you to inherit what is your wives by force, take not violently away what you have given them, unless they be surprised in manifest adultery ; see them with civility, if you have an aversion from them, it may chance that you hate a thing, wherein God hath placed much good ; but if you desire to repudiate your wives, to take others, and that you have given them any thing, take not any thing that appertaineth to them. Will you take their wealth with a lie and a manifest sin ? How shall you take it, since you have approached each other, and that you have promised to use them civilly ? Marry not the wives of your fathers ; what is past was incest, abomination, and a wicked way. Your mothers are forbidden you, your daughters, sisters, aunts, nieces, your nurses, and your foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives, the daughters that your wives had by other husbands, of whom you shall have particular care. The daughters of women that you shall have known, are also forbidden you : if you have not known them it will be no sin ; the wives of your sons are also prohibited, and two sisters : for what is past, God is gracious and merciful : Married wives are likewise forbidden you, except the women slaves that you shall have acquired. God hath so commanded you, except what is above forbidden, it is lawful for you to marry at your pleasure. If you desire women for money, and neither commit concubinage, nor adultery, give them their salary for which you shall agree, so you shall not offend God, he is omniscient, and most wise. He that shall not be able to es-

pouse women of free condition, shall marry such women or maids, that are slaves, as shall please him. God knoweth the faith of the one, and the other. Marry your wives with the permission of their parents, and give them their dowry with honesty : If women of free condition, that have committed neither concubinage, nor adultery, secretly nor publicly, fly into second nuptials, and come to commit adultery, they shall be doubly punished, more than the daughters of love. The marriage of slaves is for them that fear whoredom : If you abstain from marrying them, you shall not do amiss. God is gracious and merciful ; he is willing to teach you his law, and direct you in the way of them that preceded you ; he is gracious and merciful to his people.

Such as follow the appetite of the wicked, decline extremely from the truth. God willeth that his law be a light unto you, for that man was created weak. O you that believe in God, devour not your substance among you with usury ; but if you traffic, be peaceable in your affairs ; slay not one another. God is merciful to them that obey him : He that disobeyeth, through malice and injustice, shall burn in the fire of hell ; it is an easy thing for God to punish them. If you depart from mortal sins, I will cover your faults, and cause you to enter into paradise : covet not through envy, what God hath given to your neighbour ; men and women shall have the wealth they have gained ; beg grace of God, he knoweth all things. Give to your associates what appertaineth to them. We have ordained a portion, prefixed to the one and the other, in the succession of your father, mother, and kindred, God seeth all. The men shall have authority over the women ; they shall have them in their keeping ; they shall have in their power the wealth that God shall give them ; and shall have a care of what shall be convenient to be expended for them. Discreet and obedient wives observe, in the absence of their husbands, the commandments of God ; make remonstrances to them that shall be disobedient, and remove them from your bed, chastise them.

If any one be in necessity, and eateth of what is prohibited, without a will to sin, God shall be to him gracious and merciful. They will demand of thee, what is permitted them to eat ? Say unto them, it is lawful to eat all sorts of beasts that are not unclean, and whatever hath been taught you from God, touching beasts that hath been wounded by lions or dogs, eat the beasts you shall take, and remember God in blooding them : fear God, he is exact to take account. This day it is lawful that you eat what is not unclean, and the meats of them that know the written law, their meats are lawful for you, and yours for them. You are permitted to espouse maidens and women of free condition, that



are of your religion, and maidens and women of free condition, that know the written law, giving them their dowry with civility; commit neither concubinage, nor adultery with them, neither secretly nor publicly, the good works of him that shall renounce your law, shall be unprofitable, he shall be at the day of judgment in the number of the damned. O ye that believe in God, when ye would make your prayers, wash your faces, your hands to the elbow, and pass your hand over your head, and over your feet to the ancles. If you be polluted, purify yourselves; if sick, or in a journey, or about to discharge your belly, or have known women, and find no water to wash you, lay hand on the sand, pass it over your visage, and wipe therewith your hands. God enjoineth you nothing irksome, but willeth you to be clean, and desireth to accomplish his grace upon you; peradventure you will give him thanks. O ye that believe in God! obey his commandments, and be true in your testimonies, take heed that no man move you to offend God, in diverting you from what is just; render justice to all, his fear inviteth you to it; have it before your eyes, he knoweth all your actions; hath promised his grace, and great recompences to the true believers, that shall do good works in this world and hath prepared hell to punish infidels. O ye that believe in God! remember his favour towards you, when some persons would have extended their hands upon you, and how he delivered you from their malice; fear him; all true believers ought to resign themselves to his will. God received the promise of the children of Israel to observe his commandments; he established among them twelve captains, and said, I will be with you when you shall make prayers; pay your tithes, believe in the prophets, defend them, and lend to me any alms; I will cover your sins, and cause you to enter paradise, wherein flow many rivers: and he among you that shall be an infidel, shall be entirely erroneous from the right path.—When they swerved from what they had promised, we gave them our curse, and hardened their heart: they have altered the words of the scripture, and abused what they had approved:

We have sent to thee the scripture written in vellum, the unbelievers have handled it with their hands, yet say it is evident sorcery and enchantment, that they will not believe therein, unless they see an angel descend to confirm it. Should we have sent an angel, they had perished by his presence, unless we had sent him under the figure of a man, like unto them, and clothed as they are. They derided the prophets and apostles, thy predecessors; derision is fallen upon such as contemned them. Say to them go through the world, and consider the end of them that abjure the law of God; say to them to whom appertaineth whatsoever is in heaven and

earth? It is God's. He will employ his mercy to save you; doubtless he will assemble all of you at the day of judgment. Nevertheless infidels believe not in his unity; they consider not, that whosoever moveth by night and by day, and whatsoever is in the world, belongeth to his divine majesty, who understandeth and knoweth all things. Say unto them, require you other protection than that of God the Omnipotent, creator of heaven and earth, who nourisheth all things, is nourished by none? Say to them, I have received a command to embrace the law of salvation. Be not ye in the number of unbelievers; I fear to disobey my Lord, and fear the torments prepared for the wicked at the day of judgment: he that shall deliver himself, shall enjoy the grace of God, which is supreme felicity: If God will punish you, none shall deliver you from his punishment; if his will be to do good to you, he is omnipotent, always victorious, and hath all power over his creatures; he is most wise and omniscient. Say to them, what better testimony is there in the world than that of God? Say to them, he shall testify between you and me, to whom he hath inspired the Alcoran to instruct you: Will any among you that shall learn it, say there is any other God, but Elohim; I will not say so; there is but one God, and I am innocent from the sin you commit, in associating him with a companion equal to him; many of them that understand the written law, have knowledge of the truth of the Alcoran, their children also know it, but such as forsake their own souls, will not believe in God. Who more unjust than he that blasphemeth against God and his commandments? Certainly the wicked shall be miserable; I will assemble all of them, and say, where are the gods which you did associate with God? They shall have none other excuse, but to say, by God, Lord, we were of the number of idolators.—Consider how they will lie, and disavow their blasphemies: some there be among them that hearken to thee, we have hardened their hearts, they will not learn the Alcoran, because their ears are stopped. When they shall hear related all the miracles of the world, and shall see them with their eyes, they will not believe until they have disputed against thee.

Such as believe not in the resurrection, are wretched men, they shall be afflicted for their sins at the hour whenever death shall surprize them; they shall bear on their backs the burden of their crimes, and avouch the life of this world to be but deceit and vanity, and the life of the other to be full of felicity for the righteous; nevertheless the wicked are not converted, I know thou wilt be incensed against such as will say, they desire to obey thee, and shall renounce thy doctrine; they that contemn the commandments of God are impious, they have

belied the prophets thy predecessors; the prophets endured their lies, and were patient, until we destroyed them; God declineth not what he hath promised. Thou knowest what the prophets foretold: If men abandon thee, canst thou covet to continue on earth, and to be in heaven at the same time, to cause prodigies appear, testimonies of thy mission. Had it so pleased God, he had brought them all into the right way, nor had they been in the number of the ignorant. Certainly he heareth the prayers of the righteous, that hearken to his word; he will give resurrection to the dead, and assemble them to receive recompense according to their merits. They have said, we believe not in the prophet, if he shew not to us some miracle from his Lord: Say unto them, God hath shewed you many miracles, but most of you do not understand them: the beasts that walk upon the earth, and the birds that fly into the air, are of the number of his creatures: We have not omitted to write any thing that is written in the book kept in heaven; all men shall one day appear before God, such as shall not have believed in his law, shall be deaf and dumb, and inhabit darkness; God misleadeth whom it pleaseth him, and guideth in the right way whom he seeth good. Say unto them, have you felt the punishment of God?

It is God that sendeth the winds to dissipate the rain, when they carry the clouds; we drive them charged with water, into places dry, dead, and ruined, and causeth the rain to fall there, that they may produce herbs and fruits; so will we cause the dead to arise again; perhaps men will remember the good land bringeth forth good fruits, through the permission of its Lord, and the bad land produceth only daniell. I teach my commandments to such as are not ungrateful; certainly we sent Noah to instruct men; he said, O ye people, worship one God alone: if you adore other than him, you shall be punished at the day of judgment; their rulers answered, O Noah, thou art in a great error; he replied, I err not, I am a messenger sent from God to preach his will, I give you most wholesome advice, God hath taught me what you know not: Is it strange to you, that he hath sent you his commandment by the tongue of a man like yourselves, to declare to you the torments of hell? Fear God, he will pardon your sins; but they belied Noah, we saved him in the ark, with his retinue, and drowned those that contemned our law, they were altogether blind. We sent Hiod to his brother Aad, and to his retinue, he said, Oh ye people! worship one God alone, whom will ye adore, or whom fear, but God? The teachers answered, thou art in an extreme ignorance; we believe thee to be in the number of liars; he replied, I am not a liar, I am a messenger sent from God, to preach his commandments,

I give good and salutary advice, wonder not that God teacheth you his precepts by the tongue of a man like you, who declareth to you his pleasure. Remember that he left you on the earth after Noah, that he increased you in number, force, and power; call to mind his grace, you shall be happy. They answered, are we come to this, to worship one God alone, and to relinquish what our fathers adored? He said, the wrath and indignation of God shall fall upon you; will you dispute with us of the names that you and your fathers imposed on your idols! God did not enjoin to worship them, neither have you reason to do it; expect your punishment, I will expect it with perseverance.

A letter patent from God, and his prophet, to the unbelievers with whom ye have made a truce.— Travel in safety the space of four months, know, ye shall not render God impotent, and that he will lay shame upon your forehead. Advice for the people, at the great day of pilgrimage from God, and his prophet; God approveth not the actions of them that adore idols, his prophet is innocent from that sin; if ye repent, ye shall do well; if ye abandon the law of God, know, ye shall not escape the punishment of your crime; preach to the unbelievers, that they shall suffer grievous torments, except those with whom ye have made a truce, who fall not from what they have promised, and that protect none against you. Observe exactly until the prefixed time, what you have promised them. God loveth them that fear him; when the month of Hiram shall be past, kill them where you shall meet them, take them, slaves, detain them prisoners, and observe where they pass to lay ambush for them, if they be converted, if they pray at the time appointed, and pay tithes, leave them quiet, God is merciful to them that repent. If the infidel demand quarter of you, give them quarter, to the end they may learn the word of God, teach them his commandments, for they are ignorant. How should they have truce with God and his prophet? if they believe neither the one nor the other, except them with whom you entered truce in the temple at Mecca? If they observe their promise to you, observe what ye promised to them; God loveth such as have his fear before their eyes; how shall they have truce with you? If they have advantage over you, they will respect neither your alliance nor confederacy.

They will speak well of you, and condemn you in their hearts: the greater part of them are iniquitous, they have preferred the riches of this world to the commandments of God, and have hindered the people from following his law, as if they knew not what they did; they bear no respect to the true believers, wherein they are exceedingly to blame. If they turn and make their prayers at the time ap-

polluted, if they pay tithes, they shall be your brethren in God. I teach the mysteries of faith to such as have understanding to comprehend them, if they break their promise and disturb them of your religion, kill their captains, as persons without faith, they will perhaps put an end to their impiety. Slay such especially that renounce their faith, who have endeavoured to drive the prophet from Mecca, and have begun to slay you, will you fear them? Will ye be terrified by them? It is reasonable that ye fear God; if ye believe in his law, fight them, God shall chastise them by your hands, he shall render them dishonourable, and protect you against them, he shall fortify the hearts of true believers, and expel melancholy, he pardoneth whom he seeth good, knoweth all things, and is most prudent in what he ordaineth: Think ye to be forsaken of God, and that he discerneth not them that have fought gallantly for his law, from such as have adored idols, and disobeyed the prophet.

Such as have believed in God, as have departed from the wicked, and employed their wealth and persons to fight for his law, shall have a particular degree, and a particular place near to his Divine Majesty, they shall be the more happy. God through his goodness, declareth to them, that they shall enter into delicious gardens, where they shall remain eternally; there is with God a great reward. O ye that believe! Obey not your fathers, nor your brothers, that love rather to follow impiety than the faith. Such as shall obey them, shall offend exceedingly; if your father, your children, your brothers, your wives, your parents, your friends, the wealth that you have gained, the fear of losing your riches, and apprehension of poverty, have more power over you than God and his prophet, and hinder you to fight for the faith, the commandment of God shall be executed against you, he guideth not the wicked, and hath protected you in many occasions. Remember the day of the battle of Hainin when ye rejoiced in the multitude of your men, it did not advantage you, fear made you find the place too narrow for flight, and ye turned the back as vanquished; Remember that God at that time, put his prophet and the true believers in a place of safety, and sent invisible troops to chastise the infidels, he pardoneth sins as seemeth good to him, he is gracious and merciful.

True believers will not excuse themselves from fighting or employing their wealth and persons for the law of God; he knoweth such as fear him.—They that believe not in God, neither the day of judgment, refuse to go with thee, they doubt the mysteries of faith, but shall continue in their doubt, to their confusion; had they inclined to go out against the enemy, they had arms to perform it; God contemned their going out, rendered them

negligent, and caused them to remain with the sick, the women, and children; had they gone forth with you, they had brought with them more of disorder than affection to the service of his Divine Majesty; they hate you, nevertheless you hearken to them; God knoweth them that are to blame, they hateth thee heretofore, accused thee of all their mischief, until, through the permission of God, the truth appeared against their will: many of them said, excuse us, and scandalize us not, and they fell themselves into scandal and impiety; but hell is the habitation of those wicked persons; if good happen to you, they are discontented; if evil befall you, they say, they took heed to themselves, and foresaw it, and departed from you with joy: say unto them, nothing befel us, but what God hath ordained, he is our Lord; all true believers are resigned to the will of his Divine Majesty.

There is no excuse for you, ye are truly impious; if God pardon any one of you, he shall rigorously punish such as persist to offend him. The wicked teach among them impiety to their posterity, they depart from the truth; they go hand in hand, and agree to disobey God; they forget God, and God forgetteth them; he hath prepared hell for them, where they shall remain eternally; he hath cursed them, and they shall feel the torment of infinite pains. The wicked that were before you, shall undergo them like you, they were more powerful than you, they possessed store of wealth, and had many children, they possessed part of their substance, as did your predecessors; ye were plunged into impiety, as they were plunged, but the good works that they have done in this world, shall be to them unprofitable, and at the day of judgment they shall be in the number of the miserable. Have they not known the history of their predecessors, the history of the people of Noah, of Aad, of Temod, of Abraham, and the cities that were subverted.

The prophets preached to them the commandments of God, who did to them no injustice; they drew affliction on themselves, through the enormity of their crimes. The true believers mutually obey each other: they command to do what things are honest, prohibit to act what is not approved; they make their prayers at the time appointed, distribute tithes, obey God and his prophet; God shall remit to them their sins, he is omnipotent, and hath promised to them gardens, wherein flow many rivers, and an habitation full of content in Eden; he hath promised them his grace, which is the perfection of felicity. O prophet! fight against the infidels, fortify thyself against them, hell shall be their habitation; they shall swear by the name of God, that they have not traduced thee; nevertheless they have detracted and uttered words, full of impiety; they



have denied to have been enriched through the grace of God, and of his prophet; if they turn, they shall do well; if they abandon the faith, God shall punish them in this world, and in the other, with grievous torments, and on earth they shall find no protector, there be of them, who have inclined to capitulate with God, and have said, if God doth good to us, we believe in him: when he did good to them, they were niggards and avaricious; they have erred and disobeyed his commandments, but he chastised them, because of their impiety, he hath imprinted it in their hearts until the day of judgment, for that they have disobeyed him, because they violated their promises, and by reason of their lies; know they not that God understandeth what they conceal in their hearts? and that he knoweth what is present, past, and future.

Be thou not astonished, neither at the abundance of their wealth, nor the number of their children, God will make use of them, to chastise them in this world, and will destroy them in their impiety.—When command was sent to them to believe in God, and fight with his prophet, the most powerful among them desired thee to excuse them, and said, leave us with them that continue in their houses, and desire to remain with the sick, the women, and little children: God hardened their hearts, and they shall never learn to trust. The prophet and believers that were with him, and fought, and employed their persons, and goods for the service of God, shall be blessed; he hath prepared for them gardens, where flow many rivers, with perfection of felicity.

Some of the Arabians came to excuse themselves of going to the war, and such as renounced God and the prophet, remained in their houses, but they shall resent grievous torments, because of their wickedness; the sick, the impotent, and those that want means to be present at the war, offend not God in abiding in their houses, provided they be faithful to his Divine Majesty and his prophet. The righteous are not obliged to do but what is in their power, God shall be to them gracious and merciful. Such as repaired to thee to fight and whom thou didst dismiss for want of courage, did not offend God; they returned to their houses with tears in their eyes, with discontent, to have wanted means to employ in the service of his Divine Majesty; the war is appointed to such as intreat thee to exempt them that are rich, and have wealth to subsist, they require leave to remain with their wives and children. God hath hardened their hearts, and they know it not; they shall come to excuse themselves, when thou shalt meet them; say unto them, excuse not yourselves, I do not believe you, God hath given us to understand your views, he and his prophet likewise hath rendered your good works

vain and unprofitable; ye shall one day appear before him that knoweth what is past, present, and future; he shall cause you to remember what ever you have done, and shall punish you according to your demerits. They shall conjure you by the name of God, when you approach them, to depart from them: Depart from them, they are full of uncleanness, hell shall be their habitation, where they shall be tormented for their crimes.

They shall beseech you to love them; if you love them, know that God abhorreth them that disobey him, the Arabians, who observe not the precepts which God hath sent to his prophet: are ye more impious and ungrateful? God knoweth all things, and is most prudent. There be persons among the Arabians who account it lost money that they expend for the service of God, and protract their departure to retard yours, and make you to attend: the wheel of misery is upon them, God understandeth whatever they say, and knoweth all their actions; there are some among them who believe in God, and the day of judgment; they esteem that their expense for the service of God draweth them nigh to his Divine Majesty, and they invite the prophet to pray for them. God shall give them his mercy, he is gracious and merciful to them that obey him.—They that first arrived at Medina, the first of them that went out of Mecca, to depart from the wicked, such as were at the battle of Beder, and such as imitated them in well doing, shall enjoy the grace of God, he hath prepared for them gardens, wherein flow many rivers, with supreme felicity.

They that esteemed, that the temple built by unbelievers, to seduce the righteous, to distinguish the wicked from the good, and to observe such as had before fought against God, and against his prophet, in the temple of his Divine Majesty, swear that they desire to do well, and that their intention is most honest, but they are liars, and God shall be witness of their falsehood: make not thy prayers in that temple, make thy prayers in the temple founded on the fear of God, that is reasonable: there be persons in that temple who desire to be purified. God loveth such as have a clean soul; who is he that buildeth best, he that foundeth his building upon the fear of God, or he who layeth the foundation of his building upon the brink of a ditch of sand, which falleth and ruineth itself? They who esteem the temple built by unbelievers, to seduce the people, to be the temple of God, shall be with that temple, and with the infidels that built it, burnt in the fire of hell; God guideth not the unjust; their building shall only serve to torment them, God knoweth their designs, and is most wise: he purchaseth of true believers their souls and goods, and giveth them paradise; if they be slain, or if they slay when they shall fight for the faith, they shall have what he hath pro-

inised to them in the Old Testament, the gospel, and in the Alcoran: Who better satisfieth what he hath promised than God? Declare to them, that they have made a good purchase, they have gained the height of felicity. Such as are firm in the faith, who pray, honour, and worship God, who observe his commandments, and all true believers, shall enjoy the delights of paradise with all manner of content.

The prophet and true believers ought not to ask pardon of God for infidels, notwithstanding they be their parents, having had knowledge that they are damned, because of their infidelity. Abraham prayed not for his father, until he had professed one God alone; when he knew his father to be an enemy to God, he declared himself to be an enemy to his sin; he ceased praying for him, although he was exceedingly charitable and patient in his afflictions. God misleadeth not them that he hath put into the right way, he giveth them to understand what they ought to do, he knoweth them that deserve to be seduced and such as merit to be guided through the right way. The kingdom of heaven and earth is God's, he giveth life and death to whom he seeth good: Who except God shall protect you? he hath given his grace to the prophet, and to such as follow him in his affliction, although it wanted but a little, that the hearts of many of them inclined not to the party of the unbelievers, but he pardoned them.

O ye that believe in God! Fight against them that would cause you to be defiled in impiety, be valiant, and know that God is with them that have his fear before their eyes. When God caused to descend from heaven, any chapter of the Alcoran, some of them said, through disdain, that will increase the faith of this people. Certainly it augmenteth the faith of true believers, it rejoiceth them, and inflameth the wrath of his Divine Majesty upon infidels, who persist in their pollutions, and die in their wickedness. They know not that God trieth the good, once or twice a year, they will not be converted, it is lost time to preach to them. When God sent from heaven any chapter of the Alcoran, they beheld each other, and said, doth any one see us? They returned in their impiety, and God turned their hearts from the right way, for that they would not learn the truth. God hath sent you a prophet of your own nation, who, with passion, desireth to deliver you from your obstinacy, and is extremely affected to instruct you in the way of salvation, God is mild and pitiful towards true believers. If they abandon the faith, say unto them, God is my protector, there is but one sole God, I recommend myself to the will of his Divine Majesty, he is the Lord of the majestic throne.

God doth not aid the infidels that worship what can neither benefit nor hurt them, and say, their

idols shall intercede for them; will you instruct God in any thing that he knoweth not, of what is in heaven or in earth? Praised be God, he hath no companion. Men were all of one religion before infidelity took place, and if God had not said that he would defer the punishment of the wicked until the day of judgment, he had destroyed them in this world, because of their impiety. They say, we will not believe in the prophet, if God make not some miracles to appear in him: Say unto them, God knoweth what shall be; expect, I will expect with you: when we gave them to taste of content after their affliction, they had subtilty upon our commandments: Say unto them, God is more subtle than you, his messengers shall write your subtilties; he it is that made men to travel upon the earth and sea; it is he that sendeth them a favourable wind to rejoice them in their ships; when tempest surpriseth them, they believe that the waves will overwhelm them, then they invoke God, with desire to embrace his law, and say, if God doth deliver us from this danger, we will believe in his unity, and return him thanks for his mercy; but being delivered from peril, persist in their wickedness.

O my people! You draw mischief on yourselves, you require nothing but the wealth of this world; you shall all appear before us to be judged according to your works; the life of the world is like to the rain, which we cause to descend from heaven, it causeth with mixture all sorts of herbage to spring forth, for the nourishment of men, and beasts.—When the earth is adorned with flowers, and enriched with its fruits, the inhabitants oftentimes believe they have the power to cause their production; then send we our chastisements day and night upon the earth, and render it as mown, and as if the day before it had brought no fruit. Thus do I discover mysteries to such as have knowledge to comprehend them. They beg their salvation of God; he saveth and putteth in the way of salvation whom it pleaseth him. He shall not cover the visage of them that have done good works, they shall appear without shame and dwell in paradise; where they shall remain eternally; and such as shall have done evil shall be punished after their demerits, they shall be covered with shame, and none shall be able to protect them, they shall be as if a great part of the obscurity of the night had covered their countenance, they shall be condemned to the fire of hell, where they shall dwell eternally. Think on the day, wherein we will assemble all the world, and will say to the infidels, hell shall be your habitation; where be the idols you adored: we have separated you from each other. Their idols shall say to them, you have not worshipped us, God is witness; was there any thing between us and you, that rendered

us ignorant of your adoration? Are your idols able to conduct you into the right way? God guideth the people into the way of salvation. Who ought rather to be followed, he that guideth the people into the right way, or he that misleadeth them? What reason have ye to follow the evil way; the greatest part of them that follow but their own opinion, but their opinion is not conformable to the truth; God knoweth all their actions, there is no falsehood in the Alcoran, it confirmeth the ancient scriptures, and perspicuously explaineth them; there is no doubt, but it proceedeth from the Lord of the universe. They say Mahomet hath invented this book: Say unto them, come and bring any thing that resembleth it in doctrine and eloquence, and call the idols which ye adore, we shall see if you are sincere; on the contrary, they have talked of what they understood not, when they heard the exposition of the Alcoran. Thus did their predecessors; but consider what is the end of the unjust. There be among them, who believe in this book, and others that do not believe; thy Lord knoweth them that defile the earth; if they slander thee, say unto them, I will answer with my actions, and ye shall answer yours, ye are innocent of what I act, and I am innocent of what ye do.—There be persons among them that have inclination to hear thee, but art thou able to cause the deaf to hear? Should they not be deaf, they would learn nothing. Others there be, who look towards thee, but art thou able to guide the blind? Should they see clearly, they would not follow the right way; God doth no injustice to men, they do injury to themselves, through the enormity of their offences. I will cause them to rise again at the day of judgment, as if they had remained but an hour of the day in the grave; they shall know each other, and the wicked who have not believed in the resurrection shall be damned.

I will shew thee many of them whom I will chastise; I will cause thee to die before they are chastised, and they shall all appear before me to be judged; God is witness of their actions, he shall punish them according to their demerits: every nation of the world hath had a prophet sent from God, who hath judged with reason and without injustice, the differences that were amongst them touching religion: They have said, at what time shall the wrath of God appear? Say unto them, I of myself, can neither procure good nor evil, if God doth not permit it; every one hath his destiny, when the time of his destiny arriveth, they can neither retard nor advance it one hour. Have ye considered the punishment which God heretofore sent, by day, and by night against the wicked? When ye felt it, ye believed it, and fell into it headlong. It shall be said to the wicked at the day of judgment, taste

eternal torment; shall you not be punished according to your demerits?

Afflict not thyself for the words of the impious, virtue proceedeth from God, he understandeth and knoweth all things; whatsoever is in heaven and in earth appertaineth to him. They who worship idols, follow but their opinions, and are liars; God hath created the night for repose, and the day for labour; such as hear his word, find therein marks of his omnipotency. They have said, do ye believe that God hath a son? Praise be God, he is most rich, and hath no need of any person, he possesseth whatsoever is in heaven and earth; you have no reason in what ye alledge; will you speak of God what ye know not? God doth not assist in this world them that blaspheme against him, he shall cause them to feel after their death great torments, because of their impiety: Instruct them in the history of Noah, how he spake to his people, and said, O people! if my abode with you, and the preaching of the commandments of God, be irksome to you, know that my support is in God; assemble your doctors, with your idols and conceal not what ye do: go whither ye will, ye shall find none to protect you, if ye condemn my instructions. I require not of you a reward for my pains: I desire to receive of none than God the omnipotent, and recommend myself to the will of his Divine Majesty.—They slandered Noah, then did we save him in the ark, and them that were with him; we prolonged their posterity on earth, and drowned the wicked; consider the end of such as heard the word of God, and contemned it. We sent to them other prophets after Noah, they made them to see miracles, and gave them most salutary instructions; but they did not believe in what they had no will before to believe.

If thou sayst to the wicked, that they shall rise again after their death, they will say, it is but witchcraft and sorcery; if retard some time to chastise them, they say, there is no punishment for their crimes; but they shall not avoid it, in the day when it shall appear, and they shall feel the rigour of the pains which they condemn. If we confer riches, and health on the impious, and deprive them of them, they despair in their impiety; if we give them good after their evil, they say, misery hath forsaken them; they rejoice, and become arrogant. Such as are humble and patient in their afflictions, and do good works, shall obtain pardon of their sins, and a very great reward. Perhaps thou wilt forget to teach something of what I have inspired into thee, and be afflicted, because they say that what thou speakest shall bring thee no profit. Certainly, thou art sent only to reprove them of their sin, the Lord is omnipotent, and shall chastise



them after their demerits. Assuredly, they will say, thou hast forged the Alcoran, and that it is of thy invention: Say unto them, come and bring with you ten chapters of your invention, like to the Alcoran in instruction and eloquence, and call to your aid the idols that ye adore; if they hear not your prayers, neither afford you succours, know then, that the Alcoran descended from heaven, through God's permission, and that there is but one sole God, will ye not trust in him? I will bestow the riches and honours of the earth, on many persons that affect them, and in the end they shall be confined in the fire of hell, and the good works that they shall do in this world, shall be unprofitable in the other. They who observe what God hath ordained, study the Alcoran, and believe that it proceedeth from his Divine Majesty, to teach the right way, and to obtain his mercy, as it was before the book of Moses. Such as shall believe in the Alcoran shall be happy; doubtless the fire of hell is prepared for the infidels who will not believe therein, but the greatest part of the world is incredulous; who is more impious than they who blaspheme against God? Such men shall not see his face; the angels shall say, at the day of judgment, behold them that have been impious, a curse is upon them, and upon the unjust that have misled the people from the right way, they were indeed infidels. Such men shall not escape the punishment of their crimes on earth, they shall find none that is able to protect them but God, he shall augment their pains, because they would not abandon their wickedness, neither receive the light of faith. Such as are miserable men, their idols shall not afford them succours, they doubtless shall be eternally damned: and such as shall believe in God, do good works, and be converted shall dwell for ever in paradise. The wicked are as deaf and blind, and the true believers are like those who have good sight and perfect hearing; shall they be in parallel with each other? Will ye never consider it? We sent Noah to reprove men for their sins, he said to them, worship but one God alone, otherwise I fear ye shall be chastised at the day of judgment.

The doctors of the infidels answered him, we see thee to be a man, like us, and such as follow thee are poor people, blind, and without counsel; we perceive not that thou hast any grace, that ought to prefer thee to us; contrariwise, we believe thee to be a liar. He said, Oh people! know ye not that God hath taught me what I preach to you, that he hath given me the grace of prophecy, and deprived you of it? Shall I exhort you to acknowledge his grace, seeing ye abhor him? Oh people! I require no recompence of you for my pains, God will reward me largely. I desire not to banish true believers from my company, they shall one day appear

before their Lord, but I perceive that ye are ignorant. Oh people! who shall hinder God to punish me, if I abuse true believers? Will ye not consider it? I say not that I possess the treasures of God, I know not what shall be; I say not that I am an angel, I say not to them whom you countem, that God shall enrich them, God knoweth what is in their souls; should I maintain such discourse, I should have great blame. They said, Oh Noah! we have a long time disputed together; if thou art sincere, let us see the pains which thou preachest to us; God, said he, when it shall please him, shall cause you to see them, you shall not escape them, my instructions shall be to you unprofitable; if God will prove you, he is our Lord, and you shall one day be assembled before him to be judged.

Pray to God evening and morning, and a part of the night; prayers blot out sins; it is the doctrine of preachers; be patient, and persevere, God will not deprive the righteous of their reward: He prohibited your predecessors and their posterity to defile the earth; nevertheless there were few among them that abstained; the unjust acted whatever pleased them, and were guilty before God: He shall not destroy Mecca, if the inhabitants thereof obey his commandments; and if it pleaseth him, the whole world should be of one religion, to them whom he giveth his grace, transgress not his will, his word shall be accomplished, and hell shall be filled with devils, and the wicked of all nations.

We have caused to descend from heaven the Alcoran, written in the Arabic tongue, peradventure ye will learn it. I deliver it unto thee in the Alcoran, one of the best things that I have inspired into thee. Thou wert before the coming thereof, in the number of the ignorant. Remember thou, that Joseph said to his father, my father, I saw in my dream eleven stars, the sun, and the moon, I saw them adoring me. My son, said his father, discover not thy dream to thy brothers, they will conspire against thee, the devil is an open enemy to men, thou shalt be elected of the Lord in this world, he shall teach thee the explication of dreams, he shall accomplish his grace upon thee, and upon the lineage of Jacob, as he did accomplish it upon thy fathers, Abraham, and Isaac; the Lord knoweth all things and is most wise.

The history of Joseph shall serve for example to posterity; remember thou how his brothers said, our father loveth our brother Joseph more than all of us together, he is in an exceeding great error, let us kill Joseph, and cast him into some secret place remote from us, his absence will render the face of our father more gentle towards us; after his death we will be converted. One of them said, you shall not do well to kill him, but cast him into the well, some passengers will take him, and carry him into

an unknown country: They said to their father, wherefore dost thou not send Joseph into the fields with us? We will be very careful, he shall sport and recreate himself? I fear, said he, that you will neglect to preserve him; dost thou fear said they, that a wolf should devour him in our presence, and that we want strength to defend him? In the morning they led him with them, and cast him into a well. We inspired him to prophesy to them what would befall them for the mischief they acted, but they wanted knowledge to comprehend it; they in the evening returned to their father's house, with eyes full of dissembled tears, and said unto him, father, we sported, and ran who should run the best, Joseph remained with our baggage, a wolf came and devoured him; thou wilt not believe us although we speak the truth; then they shewed him his shirt which they sprinkled with blood; it is you that hath done it, said he, you shall answer it before God, he is my protector, and was patient, without lamenting.

There past that day, a caravan near to that well, who desiring to draw water to drink, let down a bucket, on which Joseph took hold to get out: they gave him clothes, led him away secretly, and sold him at a good rate for ready money; they would not kill him, in which they were honest men. He that brought him into Egypt, commanded his wife to have care of him, that he might one day be useful for their service, and be to them instead of a son. Thus did we establish Joseph in the country of Egypt, and taught him in the exposition of dreams. Thy Lord is omnipotent, but few men know him; when Joseph came to the age of manhood we gave him knowledge and prudence; thus do we reward the righteous. His master's wife became amorous of his beauty, she one day shut him into her chamber, and solicited him with love; God defend me, said he, to betray my master, and be unchaste; he was in the number of the righteous, and fled to the door; his mistress ran after him, and to stay him, tore his shirt through the back, she met her husband behind the door, to whom she said, what other thing doth he merit, who would dishonour thine house, than to be imprisoned and severely chastised? Lord, said Joseph, she solicited me; that infant which is in the cradle said, if Joseph's shirt be torn before, she hath spoken truth, and Joseph is a liar: if the shirt be rent behind, Joseph hath delivered the truth, and she a lie: then her husband beheld Joseph's shirt torn behind, and knew that it was extreme malice, and said to Joseph, take heed to thyself, and beware this act be not divulged: do thou, speaking to his wife, implore pardon for thy fault, thou art truly guilty.

The women of the city said among themselves, that the rich man's wife was amorous of his slave,

and that she had solicited his love, and had erred from the right way, which she understanding, made them an exceeding fair feast, and caused Joseph to enter the parlour where they sat; while they carved their meat, they were so surprised, and entangled with Joseph's beauty, that they, instead of carving their meat, cut their finger. O God! said they, this is not a man, but an angel: then said she unto them, behold him whom I loved with so much passion:—She another time importuned him to satisfy her desire, and perceiving that he would not condescend to her will, menaced him with the prison, and to make him miserable. O God! said Joseph, I had rather be a prisoner than do what she desireth, deliver me from her malice, defend me from inclining to her lusts, and from being in the number of the wicked: his Lord heard his prayer, he understandeth and knoweth all things. This woman seeing Joseph's resolution, judged it requisite to imprison him for some time; he was put prisoner with two men, one of which told him that he had dreamed that he pressed grapes to make wine; the other said, that he dreamed that he carried bread upon his head, which the birds did eat, they demanded of him the interpretation of their dream, because he seemed to be a good man: he said to them, before you breakfast, I will interpret your dreams. I will first tell you what God hath taught me, and how I quit and abandon the law of infidels, and embrace the law of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: we ought not to worship many gods; such as believe in the unity of God are endued with his grace, but few men give him thanks. O prisoners! who hath more power, idols, or one sole God, who is omnipotent? The gods that ye adore are but idols, whom ye and your fathers call by such a name, as seemeth good to you, ye have no reason to worship them; God doth not enjoin you this, he commanded you to worship him alone; this is the right way, but the greatest part of the world of this are ignorant. O prisoners! the one of you shall give wine to drink to his master, the other shall be hanged, the birds shall feed on his head, the interpretation that ye have required shall be accomplished. He besought him that should be saved, to remember him when he should be near to his master, but the devil caused him to lose the remembrance of Joseph, who remained prisoner the space of nine years.

How many signs be there in heaven and earth of the unity of God? yet the people believe not therein, and most of them adore idols; assuredly God will punish them at an unexpected hour, and in time which they know not. Say unto them, Behold the right way, I call to the way of salvation and light such as follow me. I return thanks to God, for that I am not in the number of unbelievers. We sent aforetime none but men to instruct the people; will

not men consider what hath been the end of the wicked that were before them? Paradise is for them that are righteous, will ye not be converted? They caused the prophets to lose all hopes of their conversion, and believed them to be liars; but we protected them, and delivered from their malice such as seemed good to us, nothing shall exempt the wicked from the punishment of their pains; they shall serve for example to men of spirit. The Alcoran containeth no blasphemies, it confirmeth the ancient scriptures, and teacheth true believers the way of salvation.

These precepts are the precepts of the book sent to thee from the Lord; it is a thing most true, but few men incline to believe it. It is sent from God, who raised heaven without a prop, and without a column, that appeareth and sitteth on his throne, disposing all things. He causeth the sun and moon to move, until the day appointed; he disposeth all things at his will, and manifesteth to men the signs of his omnipotency. Peradventure you will believe in the resurrection of the flesh. He it is that hath extended the earth, raised the mountains, caused the rivers to flow, who created all sorts of animals, the male and female, and covereth the day with the obscurity of the night. These things are signs of his unity to such as consider them. He hath created many fields of divers sorts, and gardens filled with grapes, and many different fruits; he created date-trees, thick as groves and forests, and others that are scattered through the fields; some are moistened with waters, and others have a more pleasing taste.

Whatsoever is in heaven, and in the earth, the shadow of the morning, the obscurity of the evening, humble themselves before God, through force or affection. Say unto them, who is the Lord of heaven and earth, but God? who, except God shall protect you? Your idols can neither benefit, nor hurt you: Is the blind like unto him that seeth clearly? Is darkness like unto light? Shall they adore the creatures instead of the Creator? God hath created all things, and is omnipotent, he causeth rain to descend from heaven, and rivers covered with foam, to flow in the valleys. The gold, the silver, and metals, which ye melt to adorn and enrich yourselves, are like unto froth. Thus doth God teach what is profitable and what unprofitable: Froth suddenly vanisheth, and is of no utility to men; so falsehood vanisheth before truth. Thus doth God speak through a parable to them that obey him, and giveth them paradise. All the riches of the earth, and as much again, cannot ransom the infidels, they shall be eternally tormented in the fire of hell.—Who knoweth, that the truth contained in this book, was not sent to thee from God? He that doubteth is blind, men of spirit do not doubt. They who

satisfy what they promise to God, who transgress not his commandments, who have his fear before their eyes, who apprehend the day of judgment, who are patient in their afflictions for love of his Divine Majesty, who make their prayers, at the time appointed, who give alms privately and publicly, and blot out their offences with good works, shall be blessed. They shall enter into the garden of Eden with their fathers, their wives and families; the angels shall visit them, salute them, and say, Behold the recompence of your perseverance, behold eternal grace. Such as shall swerve from their promise, and disobey the commandments of God, and pollute the earth, shall be accursed of God, and severely chastised; he giveth and depriveth of wealth, as seemeth good to him. The unbelievers rejoice in the riches of the earth; but those riches are of little value, if they consider them of the other world.

The chastisement of God is not far remote; desire it not before its time; praised be God, he hath no companion, he causeth the angels to descend, and sendeth his inspirations to whom it pleaseth him; preach his power and the pains of hell to unbelievers; there is no God but he, fear him, he created the earth and the heavens, he is more powerful than your idols, and created man of the mire of the earth, nevertheless he is obstinate in his pride; he created clean beasts for your use, you draw from them great emolument and advantage, to clothe and nourish yourselves; ye see their beauty when they feed, and when ye lead them to pasture, they bear the burthen, and whatsoever ye will send into cities, what ye cannot carry without them, but with exceeding great travail: God is gracious and merciful towards you; he created horses and mules, and asses to bear you; he created many glorious things of which you have not knowledge. He teacheth them the right way, who observe his commandments; had it pleased him, he had guided all into the way of his law. He sendeth you water from heaven to take away thirst, and causeth plants to bring forth, and trees that nourish your flocks: he maketh the olive trees to produce, the date-trees, vines, and all sorts of fruits. These things are arguments of his unity, to such as consider them: he created the night, the day, the sun, the moon, and the stars, that move at his pleasure, these things are signs of his omnipotency to them that are wise; he created whatsoever is on earth of divers colours, kinds, and species; he created the sea, which affordeth you fish, pearls, and other precious stones to adorn you; thou seest how the ships sail upon the waters, and divide the waves for the advantage of commerce, peradventure you will give God thanks for his favours.

He raised the mountains to make firm the earth,



and to hinder it to move, he created the rivers and established ways to guide you; he made the stars to conduct you by night upon the sea, and the mountains to direct you in your way by day: Who but he could have created what he hath made? Will you never consider it? It is not in your power to keep account of your mercies, he is altogether gracious and merciful, and knoweth the secrets of your souls: The idols that ye adore can create nothing, but are things dead, without motion, and know not in what time the world shall rise again; your God is one sole God, such as believe not the end of the world, such as deny the unity, and boast of their false belief, are abhorred of his Divine Majesty; when they are interrogated concerning what God hath inspired into Mahomet, they answered, that he preached fables of antiquity, but they shall bear their burden at the day of judgment, who have seduced them from the right way, and have not known it. They that were before them were deceivers, God overthrew their habitation, the ruins fell upon them, and he chastised them when they least thought of it; he shall make them ashamed at the day of judgment, and shall demand of them where be the idols for which they disputed against true believers? Such as have knowledge of God's commandments assure that shame shall be upon the foreheads of infidels, and that the angels shall cause them to die, because of the enormity of their sins.

They will say at the hour of death, that they believe in God, and are penitent for their faults, God knoweth what they have done; he shall command them to enter into hell, where is the abode of the proud: He shall command them who have his fear before their eyes to enter the house of eternity, and the gardens of Eden, wherein flow many rivers, there shall they dwell eternally with the height of their desire. Shall the wicked continue in their sin, until the angels cause them to die, or until the day of judgment? Thus did their predecessors. God was not unjust towards them, they drew mischief on themselves through their iniquity; they were chastised, and felt their punishment which they had despised; they have said, had it so pleased God, our fathers and we had adored him: so spake their predecessors.

The Lord inspired the bee to dwell in the fields, to lodge in trees, in hives, and to eat of all sorts of fruits, it produceth honey of divers colours, that serveth for a remedy to the diseases of men; these things are signs of God's omnipotency to them that consider them. God hath created you, and shall cause you to die; there be persons among you that shall be full of ignominy in their life, to the end they may understand that God is omnipotent, conferreth benefits on some more than others. Slaves have no part in the faculties of their masters, neither are

they associate with them, nevertheless they associate to God another God equal to him, and blaspheme against his grace. God hath created you men and women, hath given you children, and children to your children, he hath enriched you with the riches of the earth; will you after this grace believe in your idols, which are things inanimate, vain, and unprofitable? Will ye be ungrateful for the benefits of God? Will ye worship what can neither benefit nor hurt you? Believe not that there is another God, companion and associate with God; he knoweth what ye know not, he teacheth you a parable: A slave that is poor cannot give alms, and he who is rich giveth alms secretly and publicly, as he seeth good: are they both alike? Ought they to be put in parallel?

Praised be God; certainly the greatest part of men know not his graces, he teacheth you a parable: Behold! two men, the one was born deaf and dumb, and given in charge to his guardian, he knoweth not how to employ him, he is capable neither of doing nor speaking well, is he like to him that speaketh, that understandeth, teacheth men justice, that followeth the right way? Whatsoever is in heaven, or on earth, appertaineth to God; when he commandeth any thing, it is performed in the twinkling of an eye, yea, sooner; he is omnipotent: He it is that causeth you to come out of the womb of your mother, that giveth you hearing, sight, and sense; perhaps ye will return him thanks; see ye not the birds that fly in the air, who sustaineth them but God?—It is an evident sign of his omnipotency for the true believers. He hath given you houses to inhabit, and the skins and furs of beasts to cover you, he hath given you their hair, and wool, to furnish your houses, and enrich you; he created trees and clouds to overshadow you; made the mountains, and caves to cover you from rain; created garments to defend you from the heat of the sun, and the rigour of cold; he hath accomplished his grace upon you, peradventure you will resign yourselves to the will of his Divine Majesty, and profess his unity.

Zachary, the servant of thy Lord, remembered his grace, when he in secret prayed to his Lord, and said, Lord, my bones are become feeble, and mine head is white with age; Lord I was never rejected in my prayers, hear my petition, give me a son to succeed me, that may be mine heir, heir of the lineage of Jacob, and be pleasing to thee. O Zachary, I declare unto thee, that thou shalt have a son named John, no man hath yet been called by that name: He said, Lord, how shall I have a son, my wife is barren, and I am too old? It was answered him, the thing shall be as I have said unto thee, it is easy to thy Lord, who created thee. He said, Lord, give me some sign of the conception of my wife; he said to him, thou shalt not speak for three nights.—

Then went he out of his oratory, and made signs to the people to make their prayers evening and morning. O John! learn the scripture with affection; we from his infancy gave him knowledge, clemency, charity, piety, affection towards his father and mother, and not violence and disobedience. We blessed the day of his nativity, the day that he shall die, and the day that he shall rise again.

Remember thou what is written of Mary, she retired towards the east, into a place far remote from her kindred, and took a veil to cover her, we sent her our spirit in form of a man; she was afraid, and said, God will preserve me from thee, if thou have his fear before thine eyes; he said, O Mary! I am the messenger of God thy Lord, who shall give thee a son, active and prudent: she answered, how shall I have a son without the touch of man? I desire not to be unchaste; he said, the thing shall be as I have told thee, it is facile to thy Lord; thy son shall be a token of the omnipotency of God, and of his special grace towards such as shall believe in his Divine Majesty; she became with child, and retired some time into a place remote from people, where she sustained the dolours of child-birth, at the foot of a date-tree, and said, why am I not dead? Wherefore am I not in the number of persons forgotten? The angel said to her, afflict not thyself; God hath placed a brook under thee, shake the foot of this palm, and the dates shall fall, gather them up, eat and drink, and wash thine eyes, say unto them that thou shalt meet, that thou fastest, and hast made a vow not to speak to any one until thy fast be accomplished.— Her parents met her while she bare her infant, and said unto her, O Mary! behold a strange thing; O sister of Aaron, thy father did not command thee to do evil, neither was thy mother unchaste: she made signs to her infant to answer them; they said, how shall the infant in the cradle speak: then her infant spake, and said, I am the servant of God, he hath taught me the scripture, hath made me a prophet, blessed me in all places, and commanded me to pray unto him; he hath recommended to me purity through the whole course of my life, and to honour my father and mother: he hath not made me violent or malicious; praised shall be the day of my birth, the day that I shall die, and the day of my resurrection.

Remember thou what is written of Enoch, he was a just man, and a prophet, and we took him up to an exceeding high place. God gave his grace to these men, among the prophets of the lineage of Adam; among them whom we caused to embark with Noah; among those of the lineage of Abraham and Israel; and among those that we assembled and guided into the right way. When the miracles of the merciful were related to them, they fell prostrate, and adored him with tears in their

eyes; their posterity forsook their footsteps, abandoned the law, and followed their own appetites; but they shall be precipitated into hell, except such as shall be converted, and do good works, they shall enter into paradise, and no injustice shall be done to them, they shall enter into the garden of Eden; what the merciful God doth promises is infallible; they shall hear nothing in paradise that shall displease them, they shall hear the salutation of angels, and morning and evening shall have what they desire; such is the paradise that God giveth to his creatures that have his fear before their eyes. I descend not from heaven, but by the permission of the Lord, he is master of our actions in heaven and earth, and of whatsoever is between them, he hath not forgotten thee, worship him, and persevere in thy adoration, knowest thou any person that is named like him? Man saith, what shall I die and rise again? He considereth not that God hath created him of nothing; I will one day assemble the infidels and devils, I will cause them to appear at the gate of hell upon their knees, and will cast upon them all manner of misery, because they have increased their impiety towards their Lord. I know such as deserve to burn in hell, they shall be thrown thither headlong, this is a most just sentence pronounced by the Lord. I will save the the righteous, and forbid infidels to fall on their knees before idols. When the unbelievers and many of the faithful heard my commandments preached, they said among themselves, that they were in a better way than their neighbour; how many have we destroyed before them in past ages, more rich than they, and hypocrites like unto them? Say unto them, God prolongeth the life of the erroneous, that they may know their errors, and learn the knowledge of the pains prepared for them; they shall understand who shall be the most miserable, and who shall have been most weak in their faith, and least affectionate to the service of his Divine Majesty; God shall increase their faith, who shall follow the right way; and such as be obedient to him shall enjoy his grace.

They say, certainly Mahomet hath dreamed what he speaketh, he hath invented it, and is a poet, we will not believe him, unless he shew some miracle, as did the prophets that were before him: we have laid waste many cities, because their inhabitants were incredulous; we sent before thee but men who were inspired of us; enquire of them, to whom heretofore was given the knowledge of the written law, if ye know it not. They were men that did eat and drink, and were mortal; we effected what we promised to them, we preserved them with such as believed, and destroyed the incredulous; we have sent you a book to instruct you, will ye understand it? How many infidel cities have we made desolate?

How many new people have we established in their place? When they felt our punishment, they fled; fly not, and return to what hath delighted you, return into your houses, peradventure ye will yet covet the riches of the earth: They said, misery is upon us, we are to blame: Thus did they talk, until they were destroyed. We have not created heaven and earth, and whatsoever is between them to sport with; had it been our will that they should have scoffed on earth they should scoff likewise in heaven. On the contrary, I oppose the truth to falsehood, to confound it, and in effect it doth confound it.—Misery shall be upon you, because of your blasphemies: whatsoever is in heaven and earth, is God's; the angels are not ashamed to worship him, they praise him day and night, and exalt his glory without blasphemy. The infidels worship gods made of earth; have they power to create anything: Were there in heaven and in earth another God, they would not accord; praised be God, Lord of the universe; what the infidels relate is untrue. He asketh no counsel when he will do any thing, as do men; will they worship any other God but him? Say unto them, produce your arguments, behold what we have to speak unto you, behold our reasons, and those of our predecessors; Certainly, the greatest part of them are ignorant of the truth, and go astray. We inspired into all the prophets which we sent, that there was but one God that ought to be worshipped. They said, believe ye that the angels are the sons of God? Praised be God; on the contrary, they are his creatures, he loveth them, they speak not but after him, and obey what he commandeth them, he knoweth all their actions past, and future, they pray for no man but through his permission, and fear to displease him. Who among them will say, I am God, instead of God? He shall be cast headlong into the fire of hell; thus do I intreat unbelievers. Know they not that the heavens and the earth were shut up? We opened them, and gave life to every thing, through the rain which we made to descend; will they not believe in my unity? We created the mountains to hinder the earth to move, we made therein ways large and spacious for our creatures, we covered it with the heaven, and have exempted it from falling, nevertheless they despise our commandment. There are those who dispute of the Deity with ignorance, and follow the will of the devil, voluntary and obstinate: It is written, he shall seduce them that obey him, and shall conduct them into hell. O ye people! If ye doubt the resurrection, consider how we created you of the dust of the earth; with a little water sprinkled upon the dust, with congealed blood, and a little flesh entirely, and not entirely formed. I form in the wombs of women what seemeth good to me, at the time appointed. I cause you to come forth

children, then I give you life, and make you to arrive to the age of virility; some die young, and others live to extremity of age, to the end they may learn to live well. Consider the earth, dry, dead, and barren, when we shall cause rain to fall, it shall change the face, shall produce and nourish its fruits of all sorts, fair and pleasing: Because God is truth itself, he raiseth again the dead, and is omnipotent. There is no doubt but the day of judgment approacheth, and that God will cause the dead to rise again. There be men that dispute of God without knowledge, without reason, without authority, and go astray from the way of his law; they shall be full of ignominy and shame in this world, and shall feel in the other, the pains of hell. God doth no injustice to his people. There be who adore him with scruple, if good befall them, they persevere to adore him; if evil, they return to their impiety, and lose the riches of earth, and the riches of heaven: These two losses are exceeding great, they invoke idols instead of God; they invoke what can neither benefit, nor hurt them; such prayers are by ways, far remote from the commandments of God; they worship that which doth rather mischief, than advantage them.

Certainly God shall make the true believers, that do good works, to enter into gardens wherein flow many rivers; he doth what seemeth good to him. He that is angry, that God giveth succour and protection to Mahomet in this world, and in the other, let him tie a cord to the beam of his house, and hang himself; he shall see if his choler will be allayed. God hath sent his Alcoran, as heretofore he sent his other scriptures; it containeth his commandments, clear and intelligible; it guideth into the right way whom it pleaseth him: He at the day of judgment shall judge the differences that are between the faithful and infidels; between the Samaritans, the Christians, and idolators; he is omniscient. Seest thou not that all that is in heaven, and on earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, trees, and beasts, adore him? Many worship him with zeal, but many likewise merit to be punished.

None shall esteem him whom God shall despise; he doth as seemeth good to him. These two contrary parties, the believers and the infidels, have disputed of the Dicty; but the infidels shall be encompassed with flames of hell, they shall have shirts of fire, boiling water shall flow in upon their heads; the fire shall burn what is in their bellies, and shall roast their skin, they shall be beaten with clubs of iron; when they think to go out of this fire, they shall enter further into it, and be eternally tormented. God shall cause the true-believers, that have done good works, to go into gardens, wherein flow many rivers; they shall be adorned with bracelets of gold, and pearls; they shall be clothed with



silk, and enjoy eternal felicity, because they have professed his unity; and the infidels shall suffer great torments, for that they have hindered the people to embrace the faith, and visit the temple of Mecca, which God hath established to be therein adored by all the world: He that shall be solicited to visit it, and shall enter it, with design to return to his impiety, shall be severely punished.

Depart from the pollution of idols, beware of bearing false witness, and be obedient to God. He that saith, God hath a companion, is like to him that fell headlong from heaven, whom the birds devoured, and the wind cast into a remote place, full of miseries. He that shall reverence the signs of the power of God, will not doubt of his law, and shall be rewarded for his good works at the time appointed, if he visit the old temple of Mecca. We have given to all nations of the world a law to offer their sacrifices, and to return thanks to their Lord for having given them advantage above all sorts of beasts. Your God is one God, obey his commandments, proclaim a great reward to them that are obedient to him, to them that tremble with fear when they hear mention of his name, that are patient in their adversity, that pray at the time appointed, and dispense in alms some part of the wealth that we have given them. We have created the female camel for a sign of our unity, she shall be profitable to you in this world. Remember to pronounce the name of God when ye shall sacrifice her, standing on her feet, when she shall fall dead on the ground, eat of her flesh, if it like you, and give to eat to such as shall require it. We have made her subject to you; peradventure you will be thankful to me for this grace. God promoteth before him, neither the flesh of this beast, nor the blood, but only the good works that ye perform.—He hath thus subjected it, that ye may exalt it, and give him thanks for having guided you into the right way. Proclaim to the righteous, that God will remove far from them the malice of the wicked; he abhorreth traitors, and the ungrateful. Declare to such as fight against infidels, to repair the injury they have done them; that God is sufficiently powerful to protect them. When they were driven from their houses without reason; they said, God is our Lord. Had not God stirred up the people against each other, the convents of the religious, the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the temples of the believers, had been ruined, through the multitude of the wicked and their malice. The name of God is exalted in the temple of believers, and therein is his law defended and protected.

O ye that are true believers, follow not the footsteps of the devil, he will enjoin you to vice and sin; had not God gratified you with his mercy, not

any among you should have been purged from that imposture; but God purifieth whom he seeth good, he heareth all, and knoweth all your intentions.—The most rich and powerful among you have not sworn to do no good to their parents, the poor, or to them that fight for the law of God, nevertheless they do it not to them, and flee them; desire they not that God should pardon them? He is neither gentle nor pitiful but towards true believers. They that accuse of immodesty, women chaste, innocent, and faithful, shall be accursed in this world, and shall suffer great torments at the day, when their tongues, their hands, and their feet, shall testify against them; shall God pay to them what shall be due unto them without injustice? and they shall know that God is truth itself.

The wicked women shall speak as the wicked men, and the wicked men as the wicked women:—The good women shall speak as the good men, and the good men as the good women: the good are innocent of the imposture of the wicked, they shall enjoy the grace of God, and the treasures of paradise. O ye that are true believers! enter not into another's house without permission, if ye salute them that dwell there, ye shall do well; peradventure ye will be mindful, if ye find none of the house enter not without permission, if they speak to you to return, ye shall return, it is better than to stay at the door. God beholdeth all that ye do, ye shall not offend God to enter into houses inhabited, if ye have affairs there, God knoweth all your intentions.

Speak unto the true believers, that they contain their sight, that they be chaste, that they do good, and that God knows all their actions. Speak unto the true believing women, that they retain their sight, and that they be chaste, that they suffer nothing of their beauty to be seen, but what ought to be seen, that they cover their bosom and their visage, that they permit them not to be seen but by their husbands, their children, the children of their husbands, their brothers, their nephews, their sisters, their women, the daughters, maid servants, and slaves by their domestics, that are not capable of marriage, by children that regard not the beauty of women, and that they move not their feet, to shew they are well shod. Implore pardon of God, peradventure ye will be happy; many maidens of your own religion, the daughters of the righteous, or your slaves, if they be poor, God shall enrich them with his grace, he is most liberal and omniscient. Such as have not means to marry, shall live chastely until God hath given them means: Such as have desired to marry their slaves, shall have power to pass a contract of marriage, if they know them to be wise, and shall give part of the wealth that God hath bestowed on them, despise not your wives that are chaste, to commit whoredom; if ye desire good

in this world, if ye condemn them, God shall be to them propitious and merciful; we have sent to you these precepts, clear and intelligible, like to them that were taught your predecessors, to be preached to the righteous : God illuminateth the heaven and the earth, as the lamp that is in the lanthorn of crystal, fed with oil of the blessed olive.

Those that believe not in the resurrection, have said, the angels are not descended from heaven, we have not seen God, they are become proud, and are fallen into an exceeding great error, but the wicked shall one day be without comfort, when they see the angel, they shall cry, help, help ! We will set before thine eyes all the sins that they have committed, the good works which they shall think to have done, shall be like to dust, which the wind carrieth away, and the blessed shall enjoy a most certain good, they shall hear of nothing but what concerneth them. When the heaven and the air shall divide themselves, and the angels shall descend, then shall the truth appear, and the merciful shall reign; that day shall be tedious to infidels, they shall bite their fingers, and say, would to God I had followed the prophet and his people ! O misery ! Would to God I had not contracted amity with such an infidel, he seduced me from the right way, he hindered me to believe in the Alcoran which God sent, certainly the devil hath tempted men. Then shall the prophet say, Lord, such as have followed me, have obeyed what is written in the Alcoran, and infidels have rejected it, we have appointed an enemy among the wicked, to every prophet of them that were before thee, but it sufficeth thee, that God guideth thee. The infidels have demanded, if the Alcoran was sent all at once; I have so done to confirm the truth in thy heart, I have sent it piece by piece, they shall not shew thee any thing like unto it; I have instructed thee in the truth, clear and intelligible; the incredulous shall be confined in the fire of hell, and be most miserable. Certainly we gave Moses the book of the law, we sent with them his brother Aaron to assist him, and said unto him, Go both of you, and preach unto infidels, we will destroy them unless they be converted. Such as believe in God, and do good works, shall enjoy the delights of paradise, and the wicked shall be chastised according to their demerits. Praise God, pray unto him evening and morning, praise is due to him in heaven and earth; pray unto him before the sun set, and at the hour of noon : He maketh the dead to come out of the living, and the living out of the dead; he causeth the barren earth to revive, and grow green after its death; in like manner will he cause you to arise again, and come out of your sepulchres; it is a sign of his omnipotency to have created you of earth, to have given you flesh and bones, and to have cre-

ated the woman of the rib of the man, to dwell with him; he hath commanded you to love mutually, and to exercise charity among you, these things are signs of his omnipotency to them that consider his grace. The creation of heaven and earth, the diversity of tongues, the difference of your visages, and of your colour, the night created for repose, and the day for travel, the lightning that terrifieth the people, and which through rain causeth the earth again to flourish, are signs of his omnipotency : It is a token of his omnipotency to sustain the heaven and the earth; ye shall come out of your sepulchres when he shall call you; whatsoever is in heaven and earth obey him; he causeth men to die, and to rise again; he alone is God in heaven and earth, is omnipotent, and knoweth all things. He speaketh to you in a parable, drawn from yourselves, your slaves; are they your companions? Do they equally partake with you in the goods which God hath given you? How then will ye say, that God hath a companion equal to him? Thus do I unfold his mysteries to persons that have not knowledge to comprehend them; certainly, the wicked have followed their appetites with ignorance; who shall guide him whom God shall cause to err? He shall find no protector; embrace the law of salvation, God hath established it, that men may observe it; it admitteth no alteration, but the greatest part of the world are ignorant of it: Fear God, make your prayers at the time appointed; be not like to them that say, God hath a companion; neither like to them that are at present in the number of heretics, and were before as ye are; every sect is pleased in his opinions, when any evil befalleth them that call upon God, and are converted: Nevertheless some of them return to their adolatri; after the reception of his grace, they are ungrateful, they shall a while be tolerated, and in the end they shall, too late, understand their error: Have we taught them reason and arguments, that prove that I have a companion?—The people rejoiced when we enlarged to them our graces; and became desperate when evil befel them; see they not that I give, and take away wealth, as to me seemeth good. This is the token of my unity to such as obey my commandments.

Give to your neighbour what appertaineth to him, and particularly to the poor, and true believers, if ye desire to see the face of God; such as shall do it, shall be blessed. The money which ye put to usury increaseth in the hands of men, God shall not suffer it to prosper; the alms which ye give shall make you to see the face of his Divine Majesty, and shall be doubly restored to you. God hath created you, he enricheth you, and causeth you to die and rise again; can your idols do as much? Praise be to God, he hath no companion; disorder appeareth in the earth, and in the sea, because of the iniquities

of men: peradventure they will be converted, when they shall feel punishment of their crimes: Say unto them, go throughout the earth, and consider the end of your predecessors, the greatest part of them were idolators; embrace the true law before the day cometh when none shall be heard; that day shall the wicked be separated from the good, the impious shall give an account of their impiety, and such as shall live well, shall enjoy the joys of paradise, the grace of God shall be their recompense; God abhorreth idolatry. It is a sign of his omnipotency; he sends the winds to bring you rain, and make you taste the fruits of his grace; the ship runneth upon the water through his permission, for the advantage of your commerce; will ye not be thankful to him for his benefits?

There be ignorant persons that dispute of the Deity without reason; when it is said unto them, do what God hath appointed, they answer, we will do what we saw done by our fathers. They consider not that the devil calleth them and their fathers to the pains of hell. He that obeyeth God, and doth good works, fasteneth him to the strongest knot, and will have a care of him at the hour of his end. The impiety of the wicked ought not to afflict thee, they shall be one day assembled in our presence, to be chastised; I will shew them all that they have done, I know what is in the hearts of men, I will prolong a while their punishment upon earth, and precipitate them in the other world, into the fire of hell. Hast thou not demanded of them, who created heaven and earth? They said, it is God; say unto them, therefore, praised be God; nevertheless, the greatest part of them are ignorant. Whatsoever is in heaven and earth is God's, he hath no want of the world, praise is due unto him in all that he doth; if all the trees of the world were pens; and the sea ink, they could not comprehend the effect of his omnipotency, he is omnipotent, and knoweth all things.

From this abstract of the Alcoran it will appear, that in many respects the Mahometans have been grossly misrepresented, and indeed this has been already taken notice of by lady Wortley Montague, Picart, and several others. That it is a jumble of morality and heresy, cannot be doubted, and, as respecting the sacred scriptures, we find truth and falsehood mixed together, so it is not possible it should be the work of one man; nay, there must have been many concerned in it, and those of opposite sentiments. The errors relating to the Old Testament are the traditions of the Arabians; for as they were descended from Abraham, by Ishmael his son, so they preserved many traditions, all which we find in the Alcoran; those parts which insist so much on the unity of God, seem to have been composed by Jews, who have always accused the Chris-

tians of worshipping three gods. The last part which falsifies the history of the New Testament, must have been written by the Nestorians, and some other Christian heretics.

The last observation to be made here is, that in all the accounts we have of the state of established religions, we find morality enjoined even in such as have the most ridiculous ceremonies; the reason is plain, because God has implanted so much fear in the hearts of men, that they are ashamed of setting up a complete system of immortality. The worst sort of people we read of were the Adamites, in the third century of Christianity, but as Mr. Bayle says, they were only a handful and soon dwindled away.

Thus it is, with great caution we should read accounts of the Turks by those travellers who have had but few, if any, opportunities of seeing them. They are not fond of writing, consequently they never publish any thing concerning their religious ceremonies. Few are permitted to go into their churches or mosques, but notwithstanding all their caution, yet they sometimes will permit persons of rank. Lady W. Montague, was in one of them, and Mr. Hanway held a conference with one of their priests. La Motte is very particular in describing their mosques, and Picart had the best information communicated to him, so that we have sufficient materials to furnish a more full account of this religion than has hitherto been published, and therefore we shall proceed to their ceremonies.

### *Ceremonies of the Mahometans.*

Circumcision comes first to be considered, it being the first ceremony of a religious nature. They seldom circumcise their children till they are six or seven years old, but this any parents may dispense with, for they sometimes baptize them at four years old, and sometimes not till nine or ten.

The day of circumcision is a day of joy for all the relations of the child. He is carried on horseback, with kettle-drums and tabors sounding, dressed in his best attire, followed by his school companions, who pronounce aloud some passages of the Alcoran. He is taken to the mosque, where he is circumcised, by cutting off part of the skin from the fore parts of the privy members.

When a grown person is become a convert, he is led out through the town on horseback, carrying in his left hand a dart with the point turned towards him, signifying that he will be put to death if ever he apostatizes from his new religion. However, these ceremonies differ in different parts; for at Algiers, all the renegado Greeks are circumcised and led about the town in the midst of a guard of bar-



barians with drawn scimitars, to let them know they are to be put in pain if they shew the least inclination to return to Christianity. Boys have a name given them on the day of circumcision, but this custom is like the other, subject to some variations. In Persia, the father gives what name he pleases to his child as soon as born, holding him in his arms and presenting him to God, after he puts salt in his mouth, and gives a name with a blessing. When a child dies before circumcision, they break the fore-finger before they are buried, and this they imagine makes an atonement to God for the want of the ceremony. Many of the Turks differ in their sentiments concerning the efficacy of circumcision, some looking upon it as not absolutely necessary to salvation, while others entertain as strong notions of its necessity, as the Roman Catholics do of baptism. Others think this ceremony confers grace and piety, and that God will not hear the prayers of one that is not circumcised; and yet, for all these differences in opinion, they seldom dispute concerning religion, which is much to their honour.

The Mahometans frequently adopt children, this custom is in some respects almost universal over the east. When the children of princes, and great lords are born, the moment of their birth is kept very secret, to avoid charms and witchcraft, and to prevent the astrologers from casting their nativity, and foretelling bad events. Nay, so blinded are they with this senseless notion, that although they know that the astrologers cannot tell one circumstance relating to themselves, yet they believe they have power over others. But the Mahometans are not the only people who are biased by frivolous fears and ill-grounded hopes. When a child is adopted, his nominal father takes off his own shirt and makes the boy pass through it, and this they call Akhrat.

Whether their children are their own or only adopted ones, they are at great pains in bringing them up, so as to prevent all manner of deformity; for they have a notion that a pure soul will not lodge in a deformed body. This is the reason so few people have any deformities in their bodies in Turkey, and their conduct in particular, ought to be attended to by all those among us, who have the care of bringing up children.

Polygamy, or the having a great number of wives, being one part of the Mahometan religion, it is not improper to observe, that in all those countries where it prevails, the people are far less numerous than where one man has but one wife. The practice of polygamy diverts the minds of the parents from doing that duty they owe to their children. It creates jealousies among the women, and if the husband is not of a tyrannical nature, he must be unhappy in his mind. To this may be added, that the favourite

women give some sorts of medicines to their rivals, in order to make them miscarry.

Their marriage ceremonies are in high esteem amongst them, but it is not celebrated by a priest, nor considered as an act of religion. They look upon it in a civil light, which is the case in many eastern nations. The parties go before the Cadi, or civil judge, and the man declares that he has bound himself to take the woman. This being done, the Cadi repeats an exhortation to them and their relations, concerning the marriage state. The husband instead of receiving a marriage portion with the bride, gives her one, and this he is obliged to do before the judge. The wife promises to be obedient to her husband, and then she is carried home in a sedan, under a canopy, accompanied with relations, friends, slaves, and music. It is reckoned among the women, that they should be admitted at least once in the week to their husband's bed, and on failure of this, they may demand it on Thursday in the week following, and even go to law about it with their husbands. If any are so bashful as to neglect this public way of obtaining justice, they endeavour to find out some other way of recompensing that loss.—When boys or girls are set free from tuition, they are taken before the judge, who asks, "Whether the devil has jumped upon his body." To which he replies, "More than once." The reason is, they believe that the devil jumped upon our first parents in the form of a serpent, and first created in them carnal desires.

The Mahometans are allowed to lay with their female slaves, and here it must be observed, that they may marry women of any religion, the tenets of which are written. All the children, whether by wives or slaves, equally inherit their father's substance, if by will or otherwise the father has made them free, for want of which the children of slaves, remain as such to the eldest son of the family.

They never marry their relations, unless they are removed eight degrees, or generations. In order to prevent divorces as much as possible, the husband is not to take the woman again. When a husband accuses his wife of adultery, and does not prove it, he is to be bastinadoed. But notwithstanding this strictness, yet there is a way to get over it. Thus when there is neither proof nor witnesses, the husband swears five times what he alleges is true, and to the last oath adds a curse, wishing he may be cursed by God and man if he lies. On the other hand, the woman is believed if she swears as often, and adds to the last oath a prayer, that God would destroy her if her husband speaks the truth. This method is of a horrid nature, for it opens a large field for gross perjury, for both cannot be right.—If the adultery is fully proved, the husband may put

her to death, which is done by sewing her up in a sack full of stones; but they are so cautious in their amours, that they are seldom detected. As for the adulterer, he is condemned to ride on an ass with his face to the tail, having on his head a crown of the guts of bullocks, and a neckcloth of the same, and at last is bastinadoed on the soles of his feet, and on the loins. If a husband suspects his wife, and she consents to part from him, he generally sends her away peaceably, and indeed it very seldom happens that any of them are put to death.

When the grand seignior intends to marry his daughters to some of his men, this is done from motives of jealousy, which the emperor conceives of their power, and is frequently a prelude to their ruin. Thus when he is apprehensive of the too great power of a bashaw, he makes him marry one of his sisters or daughters, under pretence of doing him more honour; but instead of being greater, he becomes the most abject slave to the pride and tyranny of a woman, who treats him like a footman, yet he dares not reprove, nor seem to undervalue this token of his master. He must devote himself wholly to her, and renounce all other wives and slaves, who might be the means of leading off his affections.—If he has already a sweet-tempered wife, and children by her, he is obliged to turn them out of his house, and every person who might be displeasing to his sultana, yet unknown to him.

If before the wedding she sends to ask him for money, jewels, rich furs, or any thing else, he sends them as presents with cheerfulness, or at least he must seem to do so. He is likewise obliged to settle upon her what dowry the match-makers think proper to appoint. This dowry being stipulated before a judge, he is led by two black eunuchs to the sultana's apartment, where he thanks her for the honour conferred upon him; when he enters the room she hastily draws a dagger, and haughtily demands who made him so bold as to approach her. He answers with the most profound respect, and shews her the grand seignior's orders for the wedding. She then rises up, receives him mildly, and allows him to entertain her with more familiarity.—Then an eunuch takes his slippers, and sets them at the door, as a token that he has met with a favourable reception.

A few minutes after the bashaw makes a low bow down to the ground, and drawing back, makes a speech to testify how happy he thinks himself for the honour she intends to do him. This being over, he stands silent in an humble posture, with his hands across his breast, till she orders him to bring her some water. He obeys readily, and kneeling before her, presents her with a cup, prepared for the purpose. She then raises a red veil, embroidered with gold and silver flowers, which had covered her face,

and drinks. Her women immediately bring in a low table, on which are set a couple of roasted pigeons, and some candied sugar on a plate. The gallant desires her to eat, which she refuses, till he has made her some rich presents.

This he complies with, overcomes her modesty, and sitting down to the table, she graciously receives from his hand the leg of a pigeon, and having eat some, she puts into his mouth a piece of sugar, rises up, and returns back to her place. All the company withdraw, and leave the bashaw and the sultana alone for the space of an hour, that he may converse freely with her. Then his friends come with instruments of music playing, and invites him to the anti-chamber, where he spends the night with them, in drinking and diversions. The sultana does the same in her room with the ladies.

At break of day, the princess being tired, pretends to be sick, and goes to lay herself down in bed, which is richly made, being embroidered with gold, and perfumed, and every way fit for the ceremony. One of the eunuchs gives notice to the husband by a sign, and introduces him without noise to the bed-chamber. He puts off his upper garment, kneels for some time at the foot of the bed, and the ceremony ends.

The mourning for the dead begins with such cries and lamentations made by the women, as publish the death to the most distant neighbours. In Africa, besides these customary cries and howlings, they daub their faces with soot and oil, in which much blacking has been steeped, then thirty or forty women with dishevelled hair, and some of them tearing and scratching their flesh with their nails, or with needles, enter upon the necessary preliminaries of a funeral. The custom of making loud cries and lamentations for departed friends, of rolling in the dust, or covering one's self with ashes, is of great antiquity in the east, and not much altered among the inhabitants of those countries, from what it was in the times of the patriarchs. A long black cloak, with black clothes, are the outward tokens of the sorrow of a child, a brother, a husband, or a wife, or for the death of parents.

Widows mourn longer for their husbands, and this is complied with whether the sorrow be real or feigned, in the same manner as we frequently see those whom we meet in a church, on some solemn occasion, seemingly praying and repenting to all outward appearance, with much contrition and marks of piety, lest they should be considered as Atheists. We are told by Thevenot, that those Turkish women give over crying, when there are no witnesses of their tears, being hired for that purpose: which is the same as we have already taken notice of among the Greeks. The mourning lasts several

days, and if he was a person of rank, it is renewed annually for several years together.

In order to prepare for the burial, the corpse is washed and shaved; frankincense is burnt about it, to expel the devil, and other evil spirits, which, as the Mahometans and several other people believe, rove about and hover over the dead, as much and as frequently as about the living. This part of the ceremony being over, the body is put into a burial dress without seams, that it may, as they pretend, kneel with less difficulty, when it is to be examined in the grave; for they believe, that when it is interred, an angel is sent to examine it.

The coffin is covered with a pall, preceded by several Imams, of whom more afterwards, who pray, and are followed by the relations and friends of the deceased, with the women who lament and shed tears. At the grave, the corpse is taken out of the coffin and put into the ground, and the women stay there to cry. They make a difference between the graves of the Persian Mahometans, and those in Turkey; for in Persia, a board is put over it slanting, so that one end of it touches the bottom of the grave, and the other leans against the top of it.—The Turks place a stone at the head of the corpse, for the convenience of the angels, who are to examine the deceased, and this civility they believe, will make them more indulgent.

The palls are different, and the coffins variously adorned, according to the state and condition of the deceased, to distinguish him as a priest, a soldier, rich, or poor. All their burial places are near the roads, to put travellers in mind to offer up their prayers for the dead, for which they will obtain a blessing. For this reason, those who build a bridge, or some other public structure, from motives of charity, are also buried in or near them. So many large stones are set up in some of their burying places, that towns might be built of them. After the funeral, the friends of the deceased come several days successively to pray at the tomb, beseeching God to rescue him from the torments of the black angels; and calling the dead by his name, say unto him, "Fear not, but answer them boldly." On the Friday following, which is the sabbath of the Mahometans, victuals and drink are set down at the grave, and any person going past, may partake of them. This custom of setting down victuals at the graves is very ancient, for we meet with many instances of it in scripture.

The Persian Mahometans have strange notions, namely, that the angel who presides at the birth of children, mixes some earth with the matter of which they are formed, and introduces it into the mother's womb at the instant of conception; from whence they conclude, that every one must endeavour to

die in the same place from whence the angel took that earth. But they have a more rational custom founded on principles of humanity, which is, that whoever meets a funeral procession must join the company till the corpse is interred. The same Persian Mahometans have retained in their mournings, the ancient ceremony of tearing their clothes to testify their grief; and what is much more commendable, they give alms seven days together. But, for the satisfaction of the reader, we shall point out the differences between the Persian and Turkish Mahometans in their funerals, for the Mahometans have been for many years divided into two parties. Thus the Turks say there is only one prophet, whereas the Persians admit of two. Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, is considered by the Persians as a great prophet, and the friend of God; for when the confess their faith, they say, "There is but one God, Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali is his friend."—On the other hand, the Turks say, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his friend." Mr. Hanway heard criminals in Persia repeat the first of these confessions at the place of execution, and they repeated no more.

At the first signs of an approaching death, lamps are lighted up, and set on the terrace, or flat roof of the house, and this puts the neighbours in mind to pray for the sick person. Imams, who in Persia, are called mollahs, or priests, are sent for; they preach repentance to him, mentioning such sins as they imagine he has been guilty of. To each sin mentioned, he answers I repent, and when he has lost his speech, the Alcoran is read by his bedside, till he gives up the ghost. This is soon testified to the whole neighbourhood, by excessive outcries and lamentations. The relations and other friends, rend their clothes from the neck to the girdle, tear off their hair, scratch their faces, strike their breasts, and shew all the signs of sorrow and despair, but the women exceed all bounds of moderation in their grief, with a mixture of long complaints, and affecting speeches, addressed to the deceased.

As soon as the person's breath is departed, a messenger is sent to inform the cadi, or judge, that such a person is dead. The message is delivered to the judge's porter, who says to the messenger, "May your head be sound, and goes to the judge to get him a sealed piece of paper, by which he gets leave to have the body washed. The paper costs nothing, but the porter who delivers it has some perquisite, more or less, according to the rank and abilities of those who desire it. This paper is carried to the mandahour, or body-washer, which is an office he alone can enjoy, nor can any perform it but himself, or some others appointed by him. The design is to know exactly what number of persons have died, and



of what diseases, which office is necessary in all countries, lest any should be taken off in a violent manner, and the delinquent not brought to justice.

The mandahour sends men to wash the corpse of men, and women to wash the women; the washer takes off the clothes from the corpse, and receives them as his perquisites, for no one can touch a dead body, without being defiled. In every town there are washing places, situated in the most distant parts of it. Ispahan, for instance, being divided into two parts, has two mandahours, and amongst their washing places is one very large, in a back court of the old mosque, twenty steps under ground. This ceremony of washing in those places is only for the poor, for the rich are washed at home, in a bason, covered with a tent, lest any one should see the corpse. When it is washed, all the openings are carefully stopped up with cotton, to keep the noxious vapours within it.

This being done, the body is put into a new linen cloth, on which those who can afford it cause some passages of the Alcoran to be written. In the reign of Abbas II. Sarontaky, the grand vizer, was murdered, and the linen wrapped round his corpse had the whole of the Alcoran wrote upon it with gum. But to return to the common burials.

The body being washed, is placed in a remote part of the house, and if it is to be carried to a distant burying ground, they put it in a wooden coffin filled with salt, lime, and perfumes, to preserve it. No other embalming is used in the east, nor do they take it out, for that practise seems to them unclean and barbarous. Persia being a hot, dry country, the bodies are soon put into their coffins, otherwise it would never be possible to do it, because they swell immoderately high in eight or ten hours. Their funerals in Persia are not attended with much pomp. A molla brings the coffin from the next mosque, but it is only an ill-contrived, clumsy box, made up of three boards, with a cover that turns by a peg. The corpse is put into it, and if the deceased was poor, it is carried off without any farther ceremony. The bearers only go with it, very fast, and almost running, pronouncing slowly the words, Alla, Alla, that is, God, God. But it is very different with the rich.

In the funeral of a person of quality, the ensigus, or banners of the mosque are carried before the corpse. They are long pikes of different sorts: some have at one end a band of brass, or copper, which is called the hand of Ali, others have a half moon, others the names of Mahomet, of his daughters, and of his first twelve lawful successors, done in cyphers. There are still more poles carried, at the tops of which are fixed some brass or iron plates, about three inches broad, and three or four feet long, but so thin, that the least breeze of wind makes

them bend. To them are tied long slips of taffety, which hang down to the ground. These bearers are followed by five or six horses, with the arms and turban of the deceased.

Behind the Alcoran is carried, divided into thirty parts, all wrote in long characters, each letter being an inch big. Each of the great mosques have such an one, and these parts are carried by the young students who are bringing up for the priesthood.—They read it aloud, and so quick, that the whole is read over before they come to the grave.

At the funerals of women, a pall supported by four sticks is placed over the coffin, and these are their highest forms of splendour at funerals. The neighbours, or servants of the deceased, carry the corpse, no bearers being appointed to perform that last duty. They do not bury any in their mosques, for although the bodies are cleansed and purified, yet every thing they touch is considered as defiled. In small towns in Persia, the burying grounds are on the sides of the highways without the gates, to afford a moral instruction to the living; but in great towns situated on a dry soil, several of these repositories of the dead are to be seen, so that we find a vast difference between them and the Turkish Mahometans. The graves are smaller in Persia than in other countries where the Mahometan religion is professed, being only about two feet broad, six in length, and four deep. On the side next to Mecca, they dig a slanting vault, which is as long and as broad as the first grave, and into this they thrust the corpse without a coffin, with the face towards the place where Mahomet was born, and place two tiles to cover the head from the earth, when the grave is filled up. If the deceased was rich, or a warrior, his turban, bow, and quivers full of arrows, are all placed beside him, and the vault is plastered up with tiles. The Sabicks, who pretend to be descendants of Mahomet, have no earth thrown upon them, their graves are only covered with a stone, or brick, or that sort of hard brown marble known in Persia.

At the end of each, tomb-stones are erected, with a turban, if it is a man's grave, but plain if a woman's. These tomb-stones ought not to exceed four feet in height, though commonly they are not above two. The inscriptions on them do not declare the names or qualities of the deceased, but consist of some verses out of the Alcoran. The common people begin to visit the grave at the end of eight days, particularly the women, who seldom fail; the burying grounds are most commonly full of them from morning to evening; for no sooner do some go away, than others return in their room. On some particular festivals they bring their children along with them, and lament the loss of their friends with cries and tears, beating their breasts, tearing their

hair, scratching their faces, and repeating several discourses they heretofore had with the deceased.—Every now and then saying, “Soul, spirit, whither art thou gone? Why do not you animate this body? And you corpse, what occasion had you to die?—Did you want gold, silver, clothes, or tender treatment?” Sometimes they are comforted and led away by their friends, and sometimes they leave cakes, fruits, and sweetmeats, as an offering to the angels, guardians of the graves, to engage them to be favourable to the deceased.

People of quality generally bury their relations near the tombs of some of their saints; for the Mahometans have saints as well as the Roman Catholics. They are seldom carried to Mecca, that being at too great a distance, but are interred near the sepulchre of those who were the disciples of Ali, the great prophet of the Persians, but some of them are at a vast distance.

Whilst they prepare themselves for this long journey, the coffin is put into some great mosque, where vaults are made for that purpose, which are walled up to keep the body from being seen, and they do not take it out till every thing is ready to carry it off. The Persians believe that such corpse suffer no alteration; for, say they, before they putrify, they must give an account to the angels, who stay at the grave to examine them. The funeral procession never goes through a town, for this would be a bad omen, as they think. “The dead must go out, but not come in.”

The mourning lasts forty days, but none of the mourners wear black clothes, for that is looked upon as a devil's colour, and a hellish dress. Loud cries and lamentations, whether feigned or real; sitting as if they were almost dead, with a brown gown, or one of a pale colour; fasting eight days, as if they were to live no longer; but during this mournful time, some of their friends come to comfort them. On the ninth day, the men go to the bagnio, have their heads and beards shaved, return their visits at the sepulchre, and then the mourning abroad ends, but at home the cries are renewed more than twice a week, particularly on the return of the day when the person died. Their cries gradually decrease till the fortieth day, when they utterly leave them, and the deceased is seldom more heard of. This, however, is only the case with the men, for the women are not so easily comforted, the state of widowhood in the east being generally for life. The motives for consolation alleged by the Persian Mahometans on the death of friends or relations are rational, and grounded on the best principles of philosophy.—They compare this life to a caravan, or company of travellers, all come at last to the caravancera or inn, yet some arrive soon and others late. In support of this notion, we have a most beautiful story

in one of the Persian historians, which Mr. Addison has inserted in the *Guardian*.

A caravan happening to stop one evening at a town in Persia, where a deputy prince had his palace, an aged dervise, a sort of Mahometan monk, having by mistake gone into the palace instead of the caravancera, or inn, laid himself down to rest.—He was soon discovered by the guards, who took him before the prince. The prince, with all the vanity of an eastern sovereign, asked him how he could have the assurance to come into his palace. The dervise modestly replied, I thought it was a caravancera, but if not, be so good as tell me what it is, for I did not mean to offend?

It is my palace, (said the prince :) And whose was it before you got possession of it? (said the dervise) The king's my father. And whose will it be after your death? Undoubtedly it will go to the prince my son. Ah sir, added the dervise, that palace, which so often changes its master, may well be considered as a caravancera.

Such are the funeral ceremonies of the Turks in general, and likewise of the Persian Mahometans. We may discover in both many marks of heathenism and Judaism, nay, some of them seem to have descended from the patriarchal ages. But that is not the topic we would now insist on, it is of a far more important nature, namely, why so much honour shewn to the deceased, and why so mean as to employ feigned mourners when no real ones can be found? It is not yet one hundred and sixty years since a sovereign prince in Europe, at the funeral of his father, refused to put on black, and the reason he assigned was, that he was not a hired but a real mourner. But as for the first, the respect shewn to the deceased has been already treated of in the course of this work, namely, that it inspires sentiments of humanity, because the deceased bore the image of God. But the second, why hire artificial, nominal, disinterested mourners? The answer is obvious.

There is a strong propensity in man, to appear superior to what he really is. Thus it frequently happens that men make provision for the interment of their bodies in pomp and splendour, who never paid any regard to their immortal souls. The ingenious herald may deck the hearse, and adorn it with the noblest achievements; the undertaker may, in the most solemn pomp, convey the body to the clay cold grave, a funeral oration may be repeated, setting forth the deceased as one of the most exalted characters of the human race, while the soul itself, the grand immortal part, is standing before an awful tribunal.

Vain waste of praise, since flattery or sincere,  
The judgment day alone will make appear.

There are no books in the world tell greater truths, or greater lies, than tomb-stones.

About forty-seven years ago, a very rich man was buried, who had committed every crime that degenerated nature was capable of, and the inscription on his tomb-stone makes him rather more than a saint. A lady of high rank, and the great grandmother of a noble and virtuous duke lately deceased, died, and was buried the same week, and on her tomb-stone is nothing but her name and age.

Let all just respect be shewn to the bodies of our friends and fellow-creatures, but let us never tell God idle tales. Let funerals be conducted with such decency as shall make an impression on the minds of the spectators, but let us never run into those extremes, which are first absurd, and then ridiculous.

Besides these two general divisions of the Mahometans, there are several smaller sects who are considered as heretics. These are numerous, but they may be distinguished into two sorts; the orthodox and the heretical. The former are called by the general name of *Somites* or *Traditionalists*, because they acknowledge the authority of the *Sonma*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet.

The *Somites* are subdivided into four chief sects, viz. 1. The *Hanifites*. 2. The *Malekites*. 3. The *Shafieites*. 4. The *Hanbalites*.

The heretical sects are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals, or matters of faith. The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Mahomet were dead: for the continual employment of war, during the infancy of this religion, allowed the Arabs little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries, and subtle distinctions. But no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated, than they began to examine the *Alcoran* a little more nearly: whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, was seventy-three.

These several sects were compounded and discompounded of the opinions of the four chief sects, viz. 1. The *Motazales*. 2. The *Safatians*. 3. The *Kharejites*. 4. The *Schüites*.

The *Motazales* were subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually charged each other with infidelity: the most remarkable of these were,

1. The *Hodeijians*. 2. The *Jabaïans*. 3. The *Hashemians*. 4. The *Nodhamians*. 5. The *Hayetians*. 6. The *Jahedians*. 7. The *Mozdarians*. 8. The *Basharians*. 9. The *Thamanians*. 10. The *Cadarians*.

The chief sects of the *Safatians* were, 1. The

*Ascharians*. 2. The *Moshabbchites*. 3. The *Keramiens*. 4. The *Jabarians*. 5. The *Morgians*.

The most remarkable among the sects of the *Kharejites* were, 1. The *Waidians*. 2. The *Schüites*.

The principal sects of the *Schüites* were five in number; the most remarkable were, 1. The *Gholaïtes*. 2. The *Nosairians*.

These are principal sects into which the professors of Mahometanism were very soon subdivided. Innumerable other sects have since sprung up amongst them, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Mahomet having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet, induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in the prophetic office were *Moseilama*, and *Al Aswad*. *Moseilama* pretended to be joined in commission with Mahomet, and published revelations in imitation of the *Alcoran*. During the few months which Mahomet lived after the setting up of this new imposture, *Moseilama* grew very formidable: but *Abu Beker*, Mahomet's successor, sent an army against him; and the false prophet was slain in battle, and his followers dispersed. *Al Aswad* set up for himself the very year before Mahomet died; but a party sent by Mahomet, broke into his house by night, and cut off his head. The Mahometans call these two false prophets the two liars. Arabian history furnishes us with a great number of other such impostors, who have arisen at different times since the establishment of Mahometanism.

The extent of the Mahometan religion is very great, as will appear from the nations and princes professing it. There are,

In Europe. The *Turks*. The *Cham* of the *Crim Tartars*.

In Asia. The *Turks*. The *Arabians*. The *Persians*. The *Great Mogul*. The *Kings of Visapour*, *Golconda*, and *Malabar*. The *Great Cham of Tartary*. The *kingdoms of Sumatra*, *Java*, and the *Maldives*.

In Africa. The *Turks*. The people of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c. On the coasts of *Barbary*, the *kings of Fez* and *Morocco*.

Here we are to take notice, that, excepting the grand seignor, the king of Persia, the Arabian princes, and the *Cham* of Tartary, all the rest have Pagan idolators for their subjects in general; Mahometanism being professed only by the princes and great men. It has been said, but we will not vouch for the calculation, that if we divide the known regions of the world into thirty equal parts, the Christians will be found to be in possession of five, the



Mahometans of six, and the idolators of nineteen. So that the Mahometan religion is of somewhat greater extent than the Christian.

This however, is no proof of its authenticity, seeing Paganism, even of the grossest sort, prevails over many more nations in the universe than Christianity and Mahometanism put together. If the truth of any religion was to be judged by the number of its professors, then the following things would be established.

First, God did injury when he destroyed the old world; for they were all of one opinion except Noah and his family.

Secondly, God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, there being but three persons saved; and all those destroyed were of one opinion, and guilty of one abominable practice.

Thirdly, the Jews were a handful of people compared with the rest of the world, and yet they were the chosen people of God.

Lastly, when the apostles preached the gospel, all the world, except the Jews, were heathens.

In all these religious sects, the Mahometans use the same religious ceremonies, but they observe different festivals, as will appear afterwards. At present we shall only take notice of their priests, whom they call Imams. The Imam is the head of their congregations in their mosques. The word signifies leader, or governor, and is applied likewise, by way of eminence to him, who has the supreme authority both in respect to spirituals and temporals. There are subordinate Imams in each town, who represent the chief Imam, but only with respect to religion. When the Imam of the Mussulman religion is mentioned without distinction, it is always restrained to the rightful and lawful successor of Mahomet, the fountain both of secular and sacred jurisdiction.—The caliphs took the title, and performed the functions of the Imam, and were so zealous of this character, that sultan Almamoon, coming one day into a mosque, took it ill, because a private person read the public prayers, looking upon it as an encroachment upon his authority.

The Mahometans are not perfectly agreed concerning the dignity, and some of the circumstances of this office. Some hold the Imamate to be settled by divine right, like the Aaronical priesthood, in one family; others think it is not so unalterably tied to genealogy and descent, as to hinder its passing from one family to another; and they say, that an Imam may be deposed for vicious conduct, and his office conferred on another. The Shiites, or disciples of Ali, maintain, that this privilege belongs to the family of Ali, exclusive of all others, Ali being sole heir to Mahomet. Hence they own no person for the head of religion, who cannot prove his descent in a right line from this first Imam. There are

Imams belonging to particular mosques, who are in the nature of our parish-priests. They officiate in the public liturgy, in which they pray for their prince, and make a sort of harangue to the people. One of the functions of the caliphs was, to execute the office of Imam, every Friday in the chief mosque, where he resided; and, when he could not officiate himself, he delegated some person of distinction.

The supreme head of the Turkish clergy is the Mufti, who resides constantly wherever the grand seignior keeps his court. He is in Turkey what the pope is among Roman Catholics, with some particular differences. Thus the pope will not acknowledge himself subject to any power whatever, whereas the Mufti, under the grand seignior, considers himself no more than the second person in the empire. Again, when they are consulted concerning cases of conscience, the Mufti gives his opinion in a very modest manner, accompanied with this restriction, "God knows what is best," a sure proof that he does not esteem himself, nor is he esteemed by others as infallible. On the other hand, every one knows that the pope pretends to infallibility, and Roman Catholics believe he is so.

The Mufti has great authority in the grand council of the empire, or, as it is called, the divan, and great regard is paid to what he says. The Persian Mahometans had likewise their high-priest in former times, whom they called Sedre, an Arabic word, which signifies the inward part of the body, but was used by them as a term of high dignity, and he was the supreme judge in all ecclesiastical affairs in Persia, and even of such civil causes as had any connection with religious ones; but that office has been abolished some time on account of the wars that have long raged in Persia.

The mosques in Persia and Turkey, are very like our parish churches, and the Imams are in the manner of our priests or clergy, but as has been already observed, there are different orders of them. They say their prayers aloud at the appointed times; and every Friday they read some verses of the Alcoran; sometimes they preach, which consists originally of exhortations to obey every thing in the Alcoran, but now they divide their subject in the same manner as the clergy do with us. But preaching in Turkey is not confined to the clergy or Imams, for on some grand festival, the Hodgians, who are doctors and lawyers, likewise preach; as the Mahometans do not distinguish so much as we do between the church and state.

With respect to their monks, they are extremely numerous, some of them living in convents, and others in lonesome solitudes to be still more retired from the world, abstaining from all sensual pleasures, profound enemies to faction, and seemingly dead to many of the pleasures of this life. They

are generally called *dervices*, which word in the Persian language literally signifies a very poor man. They are allowed to marry, and may leave their orders whenever they please, which is more than is granted to the Christian monks.

The Mahometans assign a reason for this part of their conduct, in granting such an indulgence to the monks, which does them the highest honour, namely, that men are too inconstant to remain long in the same dispositions. Had the Romish clergy attended to this, they would not have been charged with so many crimes as have been imputed to them. Men were formed for society, and it is inconsistent with nature that the other sex should be separated from them.

The chief *dervices* are called *Mavelovites*, who profess patience, humility, moderation, and charity. There are several degrees of them, and the lower observe an exact silence before the superiors, with eyes cast down, the head leaning on the breast, and bending their bodies forward. They wear the coarsest shirts, and the most austere have none, but put next to their skin a brown waistcoat of woollen cloth, which reaches below the calf of their legs.—This stuff is made at Cagna, in Natolia, the place where the chief of the order resides. They sometimes button this vestment, but more frequently walk with it open to the waist, where they tie it about them with a leather girdle; and to shew their fidelity to God, and appear more holy than others, they mark their breast with a hot iron, and practise many other austerities, too numerous to be described.

There is no doubt but they believe that such austerities are more likely to gain the favour of heaven, than the most fervent prayers of other Mahometans, who are regular in their lives, and modest in their dress, without singularity. But to go on with the deception of these Turkish monks, who swarm in vast numbers, particularly in Asia, and who are less or more esteemed according to the notion the people form of their sanctity.

Their shoulders are usually covered with cloth, their heads with a whitish cap of camel's hair, in the form of a sugar-loaf, but has some resemblance to a turban, from the line wrapped round it, and they go bare-legged. Although *dervice* is the general name given them, yet we find they are divided into many classes, each of which has some name to distinguish it by.

The first of these are called *Santons*, and are a most wretched body of men. They go bareheaded, and with naked legs, half covered with the skin of a bear, or of some other wild beast, without shirts, having only leather girdles round their waists, from which hangs a bag. Some of them have about their bodies a piece of copper, in the form of a serpent,

bestowed upon them by their doctors as a mark of their learning. In sentiments they are a sort of libertines or epicureans, and are dangerous to all societies, whether religious or civil; for they pretend that all actions are indifferent, which opens a wide entrance to the greatest disorders. They carry in their hands a kind of club, as our mountebanks do their rods, and indeed they are no better than quacks and cheats, for they sell relics to bigots, such as the hair of Mahomet, and frequently pieces of earth, said to be brought from Mecca.

Another order of these *dervices* are called *Edhemites*, but these are only to be found in Persia, chiefly in the province of Chorasau. They lead a hard mortified life, and fancy themselves illuminated, their minds being heated by their austerities. Such fanatical notions may be found in other climates, as well as in hot countries. However, this much is certain, that in all countries we find men who are willing to be esteemed more religious than others.

They never begin public prayers among the Mahometans, without first purifying themselves, nor do they enter a mosque without pulling off their shoes, a practice of great antiquity, and undoubtedly founded on the words of the Divine appearance to Moses, "Put off thy shoes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Although they abhor image worship, yet, as soon as they go into their mosques, they bow reverently to the place where the Alcoran lies, then lifting up their eyes to heaven, stopping their ears with their thumbs, and behaving with modesty and humility. Their prayers are directed to God alone, as being the only lovely, the only worthy to be adored; the only master and enchanter of the hearts and thoughts, and the only one who can forgive and shew them mercy. They reproach themselves with not having paid him all the veneration due to his eternal majesty.

The prayer, of which this makes a great part, may be seen in the beginning of our extract from the Alcoran, and it contains no idle repetitions or dark sentences, as too many others do. It is remarkable, that all the accounts we have of ancient nations, and in all that experience has taught us of the moderns, we find that every religion had, and still has, its festivals. It was therefore necessary that Mahomet should improve on this plan; for, besides one day in seven, he instituted several solemn festivals. This was done, not only from motives of policy to keep his people together, but also from a principle of religion, that God should be worshipped in a more solemn manner at one time than at another.

The first of their festivals is called *Bairam*, celebrated in the tenth month, called *Siewal*, and has some affinity with our new year; for at that time the Mahometans wish all manner of good to each other. The *Bairam* is published at the first sight of

the moon of this month, or if the weather is cloudy, so that it cannot be seen, they hold it on the next day; for in that case they suppose the moon is changed. The diversions then are numerous; huts are set up in the streets, so contrived, that those who sit in them may swing in the air, being posted faster or slower, and these seats are adorned with festoons. They have also wheels, on which people are alternately at the top, middle, and bottom; a common emblem of fortune, the changes of which, though so often described in prose and verse, still overtake us when least expected.

The next feast or fast is the Rhamadan, which continues for two months. As the Roman Catholics have their carnival and Lent together, so this solemn season, among the Turks includes both. It is a mixture of devotion and debauchery, for it begins with a carval in the following manner, according to Thevenot, who was an eye witness of it.

The twelfth of June, (says he) was the Turks carnival, or beginning of their fast, and it is called the night of power, because the Mahometans believe that in that night the Alcoran came down from heaven. After sun-set, all the lamps in the streets are lighted, but chiefly in that called Bezar, a straight, long, and broad street, through which the procession marches, and ropes are hung every ten steps, to which are tied iron hoops and baskets holding each thirty at the least. All these being in a direct line, furnish a fine prospect, and give an amazing light. Besides these, all the towers of the mosques are illuminated, and an almost innumerable company of people crowd the streets, accompanied by some of those monks, or services, called Santons.

Being informed that the moon had been seen, and that this is the night appointed for the solemnity, about two in the morning the Santons begin the march, with clubs in their hands, and each of them holding a tuper, accompanied by other men carrying lights. The Santon-services sing and howl like madmen. Next come several men on camels, with all sorts of martial music, and these are followed by others in masquerade dresses, on foot, carrying long poles, at the end of which are large iron hoops, filled with squibs and fire-works, thrown amongst the mob. Next to these ride the upper servants of the bays, with their hand guns. The procession is closed by some more of those monks called Santons, who dance, sing, howl, and make a most horrible noise, not much unlike that made by wild beasts.—The whole is composed of a parcel of scoundrels met together, but still it is comical and diverting.—This is the carnival of the Turks, which, although included as part of the Rhamadan, yet is really a festival by itself.

After it follows the fast, which lasts one month

longer, and, during that time, no man must, from sun-rising to sun-setting, put any thing into his mouth; but then they are permitted to eat and drink during the whole of the night, and they may eat and drink any thing except wine. All persons are obliged to be present at them, otherwise he would not only be considered as an unbeliever, but also be in danger of losing his life.

The last festival is the Dallaggai, and in former times, the people were not permitted to go out to war during it; they were not even to punish a murderer, or any other criminal; but better sense has now got the place of enthusiasm, and such silly notions are disregarded. This feast is spent much in the same manner as the Rhamadan; and when we reflect on the time thus misemployed, it will appear that the Turks do not devote above one half of their time to labour. But then there are several circumstances, which contribute to render them indolent. And these are, the little regard paid to commerce, the foundation of wealth, a divided offspring, among whom they hardly know how to leave their fortune; and the insecurity of property, the government being at all times able to deprive them of it.

The Persian Mahometans have their feasts peculiar to themselves, namely, the first day after their Lent, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the martyrdom of their great prophet Ali. To these three festivals, they have added another, but it is rather of a civil than a religious nature; for it is a feast of compliments at the beginning of the new year, like Christmas with us, and lasts only three days. It is called the royal or imperial new year, to distinguish it from the real new year, which the Persians begin on the day of Mahomet's flight from Mecca.

As for their Lent it contains nothing at all remarkable, any further than that the people observe a vast number of ridiculous ceremonies, much more so than those observed by the Turks; some of them whip themselves, others go barefooted over sharp stones, and some others crawl upon their hands and feet. They eat but one meal in twenty-four hours, and drink nothing but water.

The festival, or rather solemn mourning, in memory of the martyrdom of the children of Ali, is very solemn indeed. Aly, or Ali, married Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, by whom he had several children, two of whom were killed in battle, fighting for the dignity of the caliph, which in that age, was the same as mufti is at present. The anniversary of those heroes, prophets, or by whatever name they may be called, is celebrated with much solemnity. Some of the people daub themselves all over with blood, in memory of their tragical end: others black their faces, and roll out their tongues, with convulsive motions of the body, rolling their eyes.



because the Persian legend says those two brothers suffered so much by drought, that they became black, and their tongues came out of their mouths. It is probable, they received these ceremonies from the Phœnicians and Syrians lamenting the death of Adonis, which was afterwards practised by the Grecians, who were colonies settled by the Phœnicians, and received their laws and religion from them. Some bury themselves in a rock, and remain a whole day in that posture, having their heads covered with an earthen pot. Others are no less ridiculous, having drums beating and colours flying, in memory of the battle in which the heroes were slain; hearses are carried about, with the images of the deceased, and the people jump, dance, and sing around them. Undoubtedly these are absurd follies, but there are many more to be met with in the world.

Another devout ceremony on this occasion, is to preach a sermon in memory and honour of the two brothers. An enthusiastic preacher mounts the rostrum, and delivers an allegorical discourse, with all the antic ridiculous arts of a mountebank. He generally harangues two hours, and omits nothing in his power to draw tears from the audience. The women play their parts, beating their breasts, crying and lamenting, to excite others to imitate their sorrow. And this is all the benefit reaped from outward marks of humble grief, which seldom works sincere and lasting conversions. Such passionate, religious, tender affections, seldom last longer than the sermon; and then give place to passions, desires, and follies of another nature, and pointing to very different objects.

The next feast is that of the sacrifice, which Abraham intended to have made of his son. And here it is necessary to remark, that neither the Turkish or Persian Mahometans, nor indeed any of the followers of the false prophets will allow that Isaac was the eldest son of Abraham; but that he was born long after Ishmael, whose mother Hagar, say they, was the lawful wife of the ancient patriarch, Sarah being no more than a concubine. But notwithstanding all that, they treat Isaac with great honour and respect, he being one of the sons of good old Abraham. In memory of the sacrifice of Ishmael, (not Isaac, say they) wherever the Mahometan religion is professed, a vast number of people meet in the most public parts of the cities; if in Constantinople, the grand seignior puts himself at the head of the multitude, attended by all his great officers of state, and surrounded by his janizaries, or guards. Many eunuchs, richly dressed, walk behind him. The whole road, from the seraglio to the mosque of Mahomet, whither he intended to go, is lined with an incredible number of people; and the foreign ambassadors are suffered to accom-

pany him as far as the door of the mosque, but not further, unless the sultan grants them his royal permission. They return back in the same manner, and this is repeated once every year, in memory of Abraham's carrying Ishmael to Mount Moriah, for they will not allow that it was Isaac. They treat Isaac, however, with great respect, as indeed they do all the Old Testament saints, for they only consider the Mosaic and Christian dispensations as abolished in consequence of the wickedness of the people to whom they were given.

There have been several accusations brought against the speculative doctrines of Mahomet, the principal of which we shall now take notice of, and enquire whether they are true or false; and would have it considered, that nothing ought to be imputed to him, besides what is found in the Alcoran.

And first, it has been asserted, and is confidently believed by many, that he has denied souls to women, and that they shall not have a place in his paradise. Let us consider this accusation with impartiality; were we to judge of Mahomet's belief of the future state of women, from the regard he had for them in his life, we would not only believe that he allotted them a paradise, but that he even assigned them the most beautiful places in it. It is true, there is a passage in the Alcoran which seems to countenance the accusation where it is said, "Women shall not be with them in paradise;" but it does not say, women shall not be in paradise at all.—Most probably the meaning of the words are, that as women had separate apartments among the Arabians, so they will have the same in heaven. This is altogether consistent with the rest of his notions, for his ideas of a heavenly state were all formed upon corporeal things here below. This answer would be sufficient, did it rest only on conjecture; but what can be said against positive evidence; Mahomet expressly says in his Alcoran, chap. xi.—"Whoever shall believe and do good works, whether man or woman, shall enter into paradise." He says in several parts of the Alcoran, that men shall have most beautiful women, but he never insinuates that these women were to be created for the purpose; for as he allowed a general resurrection of the human race, so he grants they shall all have most glorious bodies, except unbelievers. As for the silly opinion that women do not go to mosques, nothing can be more ridiculous; for there is a place allotted for them in all their places of worship, but where they cannot be seen by men, to preserve the purity of their hearts, and the sanctity of the place, and because many of our travellers never saw them, so they concluded that they are not admitted.

It has been asserted, that Mahomet ordered all his followers to visit his tomb at Mecca, once in their life-time, otherwise they would not be admitted into

paradise. This assertion is denied by all the best travellers whoever yet visited the east, for throughout all the Turkish dominions, there are not more pilgrims go to visit the tomb of Mahomet, than do to visit the church of Loretto in Italy. They cannot travel there except in caravans; and as the distance is sometimes near a thousand miles, so few, except those of a high rank, can go. Nay, it is often dangerous to travel, even in caravans, where there are not above two thousand men; for the wild Arabs, although Mahometans themselves, often lead them astray, till they get them into the desert, and then they rob and plunder them.

The truth is, there are three sorts of people visit Mecca, first, devotees, who go thither from motives of religion, and these are generally such as have nothing else to do. Secondly, merchants who go there to sell, or exchange their goods, and although there is no doubt but these merchants worship at the tomb of the prophet, yet they have other objects in view, namely, riches, as the reward of their industry.—Lastly, gentlemen, from many parts of the world, particularly from Europe, who travel into Arabia, not only to see this celebrated tomb, but likewise to Mount Sinai, with many other curiosities.

The last thing we shall take notice of as imputed to Mahomet, is the doctrine of divine predestination in the most absolute sense of the word. That the Turks are predestinarians cannot be denied, nay, it is acknowledged that they are the most obstinate fatalists in the world, and by trying a few legendarian tricks, they pretend to know what will happen to them. How far any Christian divines have carried the doctrine of absolute predestination, is not our business at present to inquire into, it will naturally come in another part of this work. If some who have had the benefit of a liberal education, and the use of the sacred scripture, have raised this doctrine more high than what was warrantable, then we need not be surprised that men who never heard the sound of the gospel should do so. Hobbs, an Englishman, carried it as high as the Mahometans do at present, if not higher; for he makes God the author of sin, by insisting that all men's actions, even the worst, are absolutely necessary, because the decree appointing them was absolute. Upon the whole, fatality is not a new doctrine, for it was embraced by the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps by the Arabians, among whom Mahomet was born.

We shall conclude our description of Mahometan festivals, with an account of some superstitions practised by the common people. The Indian Mahometans have a feast called Choubret, by Thevenot, which begins with fear and sorrow, and ends with hope and joy. On this day they commemorate the examination of the souls departed, by the good angels, who write down all the good actions

they have done in this life; while the bad angels write all the bad ones. This they believe is perused by God, and for that reason are afraid, and say a few prayers, examine themselves, and give alms.—But flattering themselves that their accounts will be cleared and wrote down in the book of life, they end the solemnity with illuminations and bonfires, treating and making presents to one another.

Besides the pilgrimage to Mecca, before-mentioned at large, the Mahometans have several others to the tombs of their saints, and those saints have each of them a proper legend. Now all these pilgrims are held in veneration, more or less, as the people stand affected in regard to such devotions. But nothing comes up to the respect paid to the pilgrims of Mecca: They are absolved from all sorts of crimes committed before; they even have leave to commit new ones: For says our author, "They cannot be put to death according to law, they are looked upon as incorruptible, irreproachable, and perfect saints in this world." Such fanatical opinions are not confined to Mahometans, we have seen examples of them in the last age, amongst pretended Christians; and they are means of leading the people, and keeping them in those dispositions. Some of these pilgrims, as we are told, wilfully put out their eyes, lest they should be profaned by worldly objects, after the glorious sight of the holy places at Mecca. Even the children born in that devout voyage are reputed saints; and it is looked upon as so meritorious to contribute to stock the world with such elect, that the women are generally willing, and charitably offer themselves to the pilgrims to be their help-mates in that good deed.

We shall give our readers some notion of Mahometan saints, and of the honour paid to them by the example of Ali, the first martyr for the Persian faith. They paint him with a two pointed scimitar, and the face covered with a green veil, whereas other saints have a white one: Our author does not give any reason for this difference, he only says, the white veil is to shew that the glorious and wonderful features of a saint's face, are not to be conceived or painted. This veil has some affinity to the rays of glory about the heads of our saints, and still more to the nimbus, or cloud, which covered the heads of the ancient heathen gods. A chief article of the Persian belief is, that Ali is the vicar of God. Some of their doctors have even raised him above the condition of human nature, and by their indiscreet devotion, given a sanction to this common saying; I do not believe that Ali is God, but I do not think he is far from being God. We shall make no odious comparisons; such mad expressions are deservedly censured by all judicious and truly devout persons, who have a right idea of the Supreme Being. Besides Ali, there are many other

saints cotemporary with, or who lived after him; some of these are held in veneration with all Mahometans, others only with the Turks or Persians, or Indians, or Arabians. Miracles are said to have been wrought by them, and the legends, composed of their lives for the edification of Mahometans, who visit their tombs, and perform their devotions there, yet says Chardin without any direct invocation; however he owns at last, that they venerate and call upon the saints, because it is the will of God it should be done.

The disciples and followers of Ali esteem the pilgrimage to the tomb of Fathme, or Fatime, as little inferior to that of Mecca. She was the daughter of Mouza-Caleu, the seventh schismatical successor of Mahomet, in the opinion of the Turks. Without entering into an account of her pretended miracles, or of the devotion shewed in this pilgrimage, we shall only take notice, that one of the preliminaries of this ceremony, is to kiss thrice the threshold and silver grate of the monument. A molla attends there day and night, and directs the pilgrims to repeat word for word some prayers, in which she is called the lady and mistress of the soul and heart of the faithful, the guide of truth, a spotless virgin, &c. The tomb is enlightened with a great number of silver lamps, the devout Mahometans make their offerings in silver or other things, which are deposited in a trunk, and taken out from thence every Friday, to be distributed amongst the mollas; and the whole ends in a gratification to the priest, who introduced the pilgrim; and for the further sum of half a pistole, obtains an authentic attestation of his having performed that devotion, &c.

The whole Alcoran is read at the tombs of the saints, and of the dignified Mahometans, and molas are hired to comply with this duty day and night.—Something like it is done in other countries, but comparisons are odious, and often carried too far. We shall set before our readers other practices which Christians of all denominations will censure as superstitious. Besides the exact account kept of the number of letters in the Alcoran, no one is allowed to touch it, without being purified; and for this reason, says Chardin, when persons of a different religion are to be sworn before judges, it is not done upon that book, in which the Persians find seventy thousand miracles; that is, as many as they reckon words in it.

They have also a great notion of astrology, charms, amulets, talismans, &c. making use to that purpose of the verses of the Alcoran, and of the Hadiths. This will not seem strange to those who know that the Mahometan doctors believe the Alcoran to be a treasure of mysteries hidden from men; and that it contains innumerable secrets which are to be found out only by the different combinations of the words

and letters of that precious book. Yet some more scrupulous, maintain those mysteries and secrets are not to be pried into; that the subtilties of the commentators are criminal; and that, at the coming of the last Imam, (by this expression they mean the last day) all their works will be condemned to be burnt, or thrown into the water, to shew those authors did not understand this book. Several ancient and modern comments on the bible deserve the same fate.

Their superstition about eclipses is not so common as heretofore, yet that phenomenon still affects the common people, chiefly when accompanied, or followed by particular events. This is grounded on the opinion of the Persian doctors, who, as Chardin informs us, hold that the privation of that light is a punishment inflicted by almighty God, who gives that commission to the angel Gabriel. However, that superstition is very much spread in the east: They believe likewise that what we call the shootings of stars, are so many darts thrown by angels against the devils who are at that time endeavouring to get back into heaven from which they have been expelled. It is likewise asserted that the Turks, Persians, and Mahometans of the Indies, use blessings and other prayers, and superstitious ceremonies to protect their houses from the assaults of evil spirits. The author of the military state of the Ottoman empire said he had seen talismen and superstitious billets used in order to preserve the grand vizier's tent.

They are also, as already hinted, superstitiously charitable to beasts. Ricaut says, "That they buy birds shut up in cages, in order to set them at liberty, that they buy bread to feed dogs who have no masters, and think it a less crime to refuse giving alms to a starving Christian, than to a dog wandering about the streets." A cruel and inhuman tenet, yet the too common effect of party spirit! We are also assured, that they have a kind of religious veneration for camels, and look upon it as a crime to overburden them. "They are thus respected says the same author, because they are very common in the holy places of Arabia, and carry the Alcoran at the pilgrimage of Mecca. I have even taken notice, says he, that those who take care of that beast, use the froth, which comes out of his mouth after drinking, and devoutly rub their beards with it, saying at the same time, Hadgi-baba, O father pilgrim." The usefulness of the cows has made the Indians worship them; the same reason has influenced Mahomet to propose the camel as an emblem of God's wisdom, and Solomon in his Proverbs, sends us to the ant to learn wisdom.

Having said thus much concerning the religion of Mahomet, having treated of it both in a speculative and particular manner, we cannot close this article



without attending to some things which we hope will be of service to the reader. We have seen some of the heathen practices, we shall see more of them presently; we have attended to Christianity in its uncorrupted state, to Judaism both ancient and modern. We have seen the rise and progress of popery, and we have beheld with concern, the present forlorn state of the Greek church. Indeed such a variety of subjects have presented themselves to our view, that we are lost in astonishment to behold the corruption of human nature. But painful as the task is, we must endeavour to go through with it.

The Mahometans are neither heathens, Jews, nor Christians. They are not heathens because they do not worship images; nor Jews, because they reject the law of Moses; nor Christians, because they will not receive the gospel. What then shall we call them? The answer is obvious. They are objects of compassion, who, having been led astray by an artful impostor, still continue to believe his lies.—Many opportunities have occurred to make the gospel known to them, but all such valuable intentions have been protracted for the following reasons.

First, the Jesuits who sought to make them converts to popery instead of Christianity, carried along with them large cargoes of beads, images, and wafers, which the Mahometans despised. They told the Jesuits that they abhorred image worship, and as for beads, they were only play-things for children. They said their wafers were no gods, for there was

but one God, and Mahomet was his prophet. The Jesuits told them, that unless they had their bodies oiled over in six different places before they died, they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven.—To this the Mahometans replied, that if they were to be rubbed over with nasty oil, they must be bathed clean before they went into paradise. But leave your oil, your beads and wafers, and come and talk to us as rational creatures, then perhaps we may believe you. This, however, was what the Jesuits would by no means comply with, and rather than forget the beads and the oil, they contentedly returned home to their own country.

Secondly, The Christian merchants who have traded into Turkey, and been well acquainted with the Mahometans, have been too much intent upon acquiring riches, ever to bring the people over to the belief of the Christian faith. A gentleman lately deceased, who resided many years in the Levant, told us on his death-bed, that British consuls were restricted from meddling with any thing of a religious nature. There is no doubt but this is true, but then why should the truth be concealed? Is it for fear of punishment? Then there is an end of all religion; for those who love temporal interest more than they do truth, are not worthy of being the disciples of any religion whatever.

Upon the whole, there can remain no doubt but God has appointed a time when these people will embrace the gospel, and fly into his temple as doves do into their windows, and for that happy period we wait with longing expectation.

## RELIGION IN TARTARY.

HAVING given an accurate account of every thing relating to the Mahometans, we shall now return to the heathens, who of all others are the most numerous in the world. The Tartars are almost an infinite body of people, and in ancient times were called Scythians, who worshipped Mars, the god of war, under the figure of an old rusty sabre, and to this sabre they annually offered vast numbers of bullocks, sheep, and oxen. They also offered horses and prisoners whom they took in war, and in whose blood they dipped their garments.—These ancient Scythians, whom we now call Tartars, sent out colonies into many different parts of the world, and nations were peopled by them. They carried their religious ceremonies along with them, and some remains of them are yet to be found.—

At present the people called Tartars are so numerous, and divided into so many hordes or tribes, that there is no certainty to be had of every thing relating to them. Corbin says they acknowledge but one God, the Creator of all things, both visible and invisible, who rewards and punishes men according to their good or bad works in this world; but, continues he, they never pay him any act of divine worship. Here, however, seems to be an error; for they have many images, and these they adorn in the most gaudy manner, with every thing the country can afford. They consider them as beings who are to protect them from all manner of harm, to be the guardians of their flocks, whom they offer up partly to them in sacrifice, and they likewise offer up to these idols, part of the first morsel they eat in the

morning. They burn the bones of the beasts which they offer in sacrifice, because they are not permitted to be broken, and when any stranger comes amongst them, they and their effects which they bring with them, must pass between two fires in order to be purified. They are strictly enjoined not to put a knife into the fire, nor even to touch it with the knife, nor to cleave any wood near it with a hatchet. They also pay a particular respect to the whip with which they lash their horses, and before they drink, they take their cup or glass, and first pay their obedience to the fire, air, water, and the dead; turning themselves to the four corners of the earth. If the fire be the object of their devotion, their eyes are directed towards the south; if the air, towards the east; if the water, towards the west; and to the north, when they adore the dead. Every house has its guardian idol, and at the feet of their beds they place the skins of kids stuffed with wool, and a little image, with its face towards the wives and daughters side, for their particular guard and protection. The side for the wife is on the east, and the husband's on the west, and under the wife's is placed the udder of a cow, which is a symbol, denoting that it is the woman's province to attend milking of cows. On the husband's is a mare's tail, denoting that it is the duty of men to take care of the breed of horses.

The Mongolian Tartars acknowledge but one God, the author of life and death, yet hold it lawful to serve and adore him various ways. Mangu-Chan, in Purchas, justified this plurality of worship, by comparing the Supreme Being to a hand, with a variety of fingers. The Tartars, according to Mark Paul, acknowledge a Supreme Being, who inhabits the heavens, and to him only make their devout addresses for those invaluable blessings, wisdom, health, &c. Their household god, Natagay, or Itogay, who has a wife and children, is the next object of their esteem and veneration. The former is placed at his left hand, and the latter before him. He is the guardian of their families, and presides over all the products of the earth. No one presumes to go to dinner till he and his whole family are first served. Their entertainment principally consists in having their mouths very plentifully greased, and the fragments of their repast are thrown out of doors, for the accommodation of some unknown spirits.

This is the sum and substance of what we find most remarkable in the account of our ancient travellers. We shall now consult the moderns. The Mongolian Tartars, Calmoucs, and others, according to them, have, properly speaking, no other god but their Dalai-Lama, which signifies, as we are informed. Universal Priest. This sovereign pontiff of all the Tartarian idolaters, and whom they acknowledge as their god, resides towards the

frontiers of China, near the city of Potala, in a convent, situate on the summit of an high mountain, the foot whereof is inhabited by above twenty thousand Lamas, who have their separate apartments round about the mountain, and, according to their respective quality and function, are planted nearer, or at a greater distance from their sovereign pontiff. The Dalai-Lama never concerns himself in the least about the temporal affairs; neither are they taken notice of by any of his Lamas, but are entirely left to the discretion of two Chans of the Calmoucs, who furnish him from time to time with whatever is requisite for the honourable support of himself and his whole household. This Dalai-Lama has been called Prester-John, without knowing precisely what countryman he was. The term Lama, in the Mongolian language, signifies priest; and that of Dalai, which in the same language implies vast extent has been translated into the language of the northern Indians, by Gehan, a term of the same signification. Thus Dalai-Lama and Prester-John, are synonymous terms, and the meaning of them Universal Priest.

We have already mentioned, that the Dalai-Lama assumes the Deity, and is looked upon as immortal by all his admirers. Thus have we given the best account of this grand Lama, from the extracts of the missionary fathers quoted by Kircher; and the reader, by what follows, will be able to reconcile these two passages together. There two monarchs, one temporal and the other spiritual, at Lassa, which some say is the kingdom of Tanchuth, or Boratou, or Barantola. The spiritual monarch is the grand Lama, whom these idolaters worship as a god. He very seldom goes abroad. The populace think themselves happy if they can by any means procure the least grain of his excrements, or drop of his urine; imagining either of them an infallible preservative from all maladies and disasters. These excrements are kept as sacred relics, in little boxes, and hung about their necks. Father le Compe imagines Fo and the grand Lama to be one and the same Deity; who according to the idea of these Tartars, must for ever appear under a form that may be felt or perceived by the senses, and is supposed to be immortal.

He is closely confined, adds he, to a temple, where an infinite number of Lamas attend him with the most profound veneration, and take all imaginable care to imprint the same awful ideas of him on the minds of the people. He is very seldom exposed to view, and whenever he is, it is at such a distance, that it would be morally impossible for the most quick-sighted person to recollect his features.—Whenever he dies another Lama, who resembles him as near as possible, is substituted in his stead; for which purpose, as soon as they perceive his dis-

solution draw nigh, the most zealous devotees and chief ministers of the the imaginary god, travel the whole kingdom over, to find out a proper person to succeed him. This pious intrigue is carried on, says he, with all the dexterity and address imaginable: and the deification of the Lama, if we may depend on the veracity of father Kircher, was first owing to the extraordinary trust and confidence which these people reposed in their Prester-John. They flocked round about the monarch from all parts, to listen to his wise counsels and decisions, as they would to an oracle. At this very day every body goes, rich and poor, in pilgrimage to this deity's palace, in order to receive his benediction, and to pay him divine adoration. Near his feet is a basin, into which the devotees throw their voluntary oblations.

In all this they behave exactly like the Japanese towards their Daiſi, or sovereign pontiff. We have already observed, that this Daiſi is a kind of deity; that his clergy preach up to the people the transmigration of the Daiſi's soul who goes, into the body of his successor. The remarks we shall make hereafter with respect to the Kutuchta, or usurper of the Dalai-Lama's authority, will fully justify this comparison. Let us suppose, therefore, that these whimsical and extravagant tenets flow from one and the same fountain; and it is much more natural to think so, than to trace the worship of the grand Lama, and his imaginary divinity, from some corrupt ideas of Christianity, formerly impressed on the minds of these people by the Nestorians: since there is no manner of resemblance between them.—The author of the conference which is maliciously supposed to be held between a Tartar and a Roman Catholic, does not offer to make any comparison between the Dalai-Lama and the Pope. The latter, indeed, styles himself infallible, and acts likewise in the capacity, if we may be allowed the expression, of a vice-god; but no one ever carried the point so far, as to ascribe to his holiness, whilst living, the honours of a formal deification. If there be any one ceremony relating to the Roman pontiff, that carries the appearance of divine worship in it, and sets him, in that respect, on a level with the Dalai-Lama, it is that kind of solemn and pompous adoration which is always paid him at his first accession to the pontificate. As to the rest, who knows but that the immortality of the Dalai-Lama may amount to no more, in effect, than that established custom in France, which maintains that her monarch never dies. Since a new king is immediately proclaimed after the decease of the old one, and no court of justice, or public office whatever is shut up, or in the least interrupted in their usual proceedings, for want of the royal authority to support them; and, in all probability, the religious authority is preserved

after the same manner amongst the Lamas. The immediate substitution of one pontiff in the room of another, may possibly establish a continuance of the vice-deity in Tartary, which would be impracticable amongst other nations.

It is much more probable, that the religion of these Lamas is rather a branch of the Indian doctrines, than any relic of Christianity. Were the Tartars more honest, and not so illiterate, we might entertain a more adequate idea of the articles of their belief. The populace, for the generality, have no notion of any of their religious dissertations, which are written either in the Tanchutian, or any other language; but, as to what relates to divine worship, pin their faith entirely on the sleeves of their Lamas. All that can be learned, in short, from them, are a few old legendary stories, and a few ceremonies.—Their knowledge extends no further; as to the Lamas themselves, the principles of their religion are so dark and mysterious, that it is impossible to draw any conclusions from them. All that we can find, is, that they lay down the three following maxims, as rules for their general conduct; viz. to reverence the deity, to injure no man, and to give tribute to whom tribute is due. But, however, were we to examine into the lives and characters of these Tartars, we should find them very deficient in the practice of these important articles. Let us now take a transient view of their notions with respect to the Deity. They assert that they worship but one God only, who, notwithstanding, is intimate with, and discloses his secrets to the Dalai-Lama, for the edification of the people. Their images are representations of their Deity, and some favourite saints, which are exposed to public view, in order to remind the people of their duty towards God, and of those virtues which they ought constantly to practise.

To this visible god, this Dalai-Lama, of whom we have been speaking, we must add some kings, who have been deified, as well as he, but not till after their decease. Han, king of Tanchuth, became immortal, by virtue of his extraordinary clemency, and just administration; he died in the odour of sanctity, and was received amongst the number of the gods. And Deva, another king of Tanchuth was deified, on account of his eminent virtues. Manipa, the goddess of these people of Tanchuth, has nine heads, which form a kind of pyramid; and she is also represented under a human shape. A bold resolute young fellow, prompted by an enthusiastic rage, like him who cries Amoc amongst the Indians, and drest in armour, runs round about the city, upon some certain days in the year, like a mad-man, and kills every one he meets, in honour of the goddess. This young enthusiast is



called Phut, or Buth; and by such outrageous sacrifices as these, the devotees imagine they oblige the goddess, and ingratiate themselves in her favour.

These Tartars also observe the superstitious custom of erecting several trophies on their highest mountains, for the preservation of themselves and their horses, and pay them even divine adoration.

The Calmoucs and western Mongols pay the same respect to their sovereign pontiff, styled Kutuchta, as the other Tartars do to their Dalai-Lama. Formerly the Kutuchta settled on the borders of the river Amur; but at the present he encamps, for the generality, with a body of his faithful followers, round about the river Orolon. He was once the sub-delegate, or deputy of the Dalai-Lama, for the administration of all religious affairs amongst the northern Tartars; those people being too far distant from the usual residence of the Dalai-Lama. In process of time, this Kutuchta made a division in the church, set himself up as independent, deified and immortalized himself at the expence of his old master. The divinity of Kutuchta is at present so firmly established in the minds of his followers, that should any one scruple to believe it, he would be looked upon by his companions with the utmost horror and detestation. According to the accounts of another author, the schism of Kutuchta is no ancient innovation. "Not many years ago, says he, the Dalai-Lama established the Kutuchta as his vicegerent, or suffragan over the northern people of Mongal and Ajuka, who were formerly under the jurisdiction of Contain-h and Buchary." This vicegerent taking the advantage of the distant residence of the sovereign pontiff, set himself up as the spiritual head of all the people. He encamps sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but is always surrounded with a numerous body of life-guards. He carries with him, also, those idols which are in the highest repute, and pitches separate tents for their peculiar service. When this imaginary deity decamps, his faithful devotees flock from all parts with their families, to meet him and throw themselves in his way, in order to procure his heavenly benedictions; but it seems, they must pay for them if they have them. There must be, says our annotator, a valuable consideration. The chief magistrates, and other persons of distinction among them, continues he, are the only persons who dare approach his sacred person. When he gives them his blessing, he clenches his hand, and lays it upon their foreheads, having a chaplet in it at the same time, made after the same fashion as those of the Lamas.

The Kutuchta never exposes himself to public view, but on some particular days; and then it is done with all the pomp and magnificence imaginable, and he never marches but with the sound of

trumpets, and the beat of drums, or at least of instruments of music, which among the Tartars are equivalent to them; for we would not absolutely insist upon our own terms. He is carried in procession to a tent, covered with Chinese velvet, and open in the front, and there he seats himself cross-legged on a throne, erected on a large square eminence, covered with velvet, in the midst of a large quantity of cushions, ranged all round the pontiff, but at an humble distance, and below him, for the immediate service of the Lamas.

In these solemn ceremonies the sister of this sovereign pontiff, for the generality, sits at his right hand, and officiates in the capacity of a Lama: and she is also shaved, as a mark that she belongs to the priesthood. We are informed by the other relation, that on each side of the pontiff-god, or vice-deity, there are two idols, which represent the divine essence; that the other Lamas sit on each side, on the floor upon cushions, from the throne, or eminence, whereon the grand pontiff is seated, to the very entrance of the pavilion; and that in this attitude, or situation, they have a book in their hands, in which, to all outward appearance, they seem to read to themselves with decency and devotion; but whether these particulars are true or false, it is morally impossible for any one truly to determine. As soon as the Kutuchta is seated, all their instruments of music cease; and the whole assembly first prostrate themselves to the ground, and then burst out into loud acclamations, in honour of the Deity, and into exalted encomiums on their Kutuchta. All the Lamas in general throw some odoriferous herbs into their censers, and therewith first perfume the idols, then their sovereign pontiff, and afterwards the whole congregation of the faithful. As soon as this ceremony is over, each individual Lama deposits his censor at the feet of the pontiff, and their principal or superior, takes seven several china cups full of milk, honey, tea, and brandy, and makes an oblation of them to the idols. Then he takes seven other cups filled with the same ingredients, and presents them to the Kutuchta, and all these oblations are attended with the loud acclamations of the whole assembly, who repeat with fervency some certain words to this, or the like effect, viz. Our Kutuchta is a shining paradise. The Kutuchta first tastes of the free-will-offering himself, and then distributes the remainder among the heads of the several tribes. After this he withdraws, the trumpets all the while sounding, and the drums beating, in the same pompous and solemn manner as they did at his first appearance.

We are further informed, that the Chinese policies contributed very much towards the dedication of this Kutuchta, and privately fomented the schism of these Tartars: but as this is foreign to our present

purpose, we refer the reader to our account of religion in China. To the idea of immortality, which these people entertain of their Kutuchta, another is added, which is altogether as whimsical and extravagant, and no doubt as deeply imprinted on their imaginations as the former, viz. That after the Kutuchta has grown old with the decrease of the moon, he renews his youth at the change of the same planet. The whole mystery of this fantastical notion consists in the holy father's suffering his beard to grow from one new moon to another, and never shaving himself, but at her first appearance; at which time he dresses himself with all his splendour, paints his face, and besmears it all over with white and red, as is customary amongst the Tartars. As to the notion of this grand pontiff's immortality, the origin and foundation of it is this:—All these Tartars hold the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; and this received opinion induces them to imagine, that the soul of the expiring Kutuchta enters, immediately after his decease, into the body of his successor; or, at least, that the soul of the latter receives all the operations, and is endowed with all the powers and faculties of the soul of the deceased. For which reason, he who is intended to be the old pontiff's successor, must constantly attend him, that the soul of the holy father may qualify the young one, if we may be allowed the expression, for his approaching godhead; that the young soul may every day have familiar converse with the old one, possess all his qualities, and become, as it were, the very same.

The Oriental Mongals, distinguished in the accounts we have of them by the name of the Tartars of Niuche, of the eastern Tartars, &c. neither worship the Dalai-Lama, nor the sovereign pontiff of the Chinese: but their worship, as we are informed, is a medley of both, reduced to a few nocturnal ceremonies, which, in reality, have more witchcraft in them than religion. The Tartars who, in Isbrand's account of them, are called Daores, and who are a branch of the Orientals, assemble themselves together at midnight, both men and women, in some commodious place, where one of them falls prostrate on the ground, and remains stretched out at his full length, whilst the whole cabal make a hideous outcry to the doleful sound of a drum, made on purpose for the celebration of that particular ceremony. At the expiration of two hours, or thereabouts, the person thus extended, rises as it were in an ecstasy, and communicates his visions to the whole assembly. He is perfectly apprized during his trance, of what misfortunes will befall this man, and what undertakings that man will engage in with success. Each word he utters is listened to with the utmost attention, and deemed as sacred as that of an oracle.—

All their religious worship, however, does not absolutely consist in this; for they have their particular sacrifices as well as others. There is a small mountain on the frontiers of China, which is looked upon as holy ground, and the eastern Tartars imagine their journeys will prove unsuccessful, if, as they pass by, they neglect to consecrate some part of their apparel to this sacred mountain. They hang these oblations, therefore, upon the boughs of birch-trees, with which that mountain abounds. There are plenty of all sorts of shirts, gowns, furs, caps, &c.; in short, such a variety of old clothes, that travellers, who have no notion of the sanctity of the place, are apt to take it for the Rag-fair of the neighbouring Tartars. In all probability this custom is the same as that of erecting trophies on the mountains, which we have already spoken of, upon the testimony of father Kircher. But be that as it will, no one must presume to touch any of these old consecrated cast-off clothes; and should any person be so audacious as to steal away the least insignificant rag whatever, he would be looked upon as an abandoned sacrilegious villain.

But to return, and come to Siberia: the Jekutzes, who are inhabitants of the parts adjacent to Lena, pay divine honours to their dead, after they have hung up and dried their skeletons in the air, and adorned them with necklaces made of glass. The Jekutzes seem to acknowledge the existence of a God, who is their creator and preserver, and the all-wise disposer of good and evil. They have an annual festival, which they celebrate every spring, with abundance of solemnity; that is, by kindling a large bonfire, which must be kept up as long as the festival lasts, and abstaining the whole time from all kinds of liquors, they being destined only for libations, which consist in pouring their common drink eastward into the fire; and in this ceremony there seems to be a kind of religious adoration paid to that element. There are some Calmones-Barabinski, who have a clumsy wooden idol for their god, dressed like a Merry-Andrew, in a party-coloured coat.—This idol is locked up in a cabinet, when they are indolent and inactive at home, but they take it along with them when they go a hunting, or coursing in the fields. On those public occasions he is carried in procession in an open chariot, which is kept for that particular purpose, and the first beast they meet with is sacrificed to his honour. If the chase has proved successful, the idol, at their return, is placed in his niche, at the very summit of a hut, which is adorned from top to bottom, before and behind, and on each side, with marten-skins and sable-skins, the spoils of the chase; and these hang there till the weather entirely destroys them. It would be looked upon as profanation, and an act of sacrilege, to make

use of them on any common occasion, or sell them to strangers, who might employ them to their own use.

The Tonguses, who are inhabitants of almost all the eastern parts of Siberia, practise the same kind of idolatrous worship. Whilst we are speaking of the Lanas of the Tartars, it would be an unpardonable omission to take no manner of notice of the Schamman of these Tonguses. They acknowledge a God, the creator of all things; but never make their applications to him in times of distress, whether public or private, but to some particular wooden idols, of a foot and a half long, carved only with a knife; which are treated with veneration or contempt, according as they give their adorers occasion either to expostulate with, or applaud them.

The Burates seem to pay divine adoration to the sun and moon; at least, as we are informed, they will admit of no discourse about any other deities. They celebrate, however, a kind of sacrifice, twice or thrice a year, which consists in driving stakes through their he-goats and sheep whilst they are alive, and planting them before their tents. They keep constantly bowing their heads to these victims, till they expire. They have their priests likewise, whom they murder, without the least provocation, whenever they think proper, alledging no other reason but this, that it is necessary for you to go into the other world to be our intercessors, and pray for us. After this, they inter these victims, and furnish them with money and apparel, for their better accommodation in the other world. They shew a peculiar veneration for a certain high mountain, on the borders of Baikal. There they frequently perform their sacrifices and administer their oaths to such as are to give them information on any affairs of importance. The party to be sworn is conducted to the summit of this mountain, and there pronounces the form with an audible voice, and they are assured at the same time, that if he be perjured, he shall never get down again alive.

The Wogulzes, as well as the Tonguses, entertain some idea of a God, who created all things.—They acknowledge, likewise, the resurrection of the dead, and believe, that the wicked will then be punished, and the righteous be rewarded. Their public worship consists in assembling themselves together, once a year, about autumn, to sacrifice in an adjacent wood one beast of every species. After which, they hang up their skins on the most beautiful trees in the forest, and prostrate themselves before them. This annual festival concludes with regaling themselves on the flesh of their sacrifices; after which they return home, and think themselves discharged from all religious duties for the current year.

The Circassian Tartars are reckoned as Mahometans and Greeks, there being several of both those persuasions amongst them: idolatry, nevertheless, has a prevailing power over them. When any person of distinction amongst them dies, they sacrifice a he-goat, hang up his skin upon a high pole in the middle of the town, and come one after another to pay it divine adoration. This skin is never taken down till some other person of distinction dies; and then they put up a fresh one in its place. J. de Luca, in his account informs us, that they sacrifice rams, and call those victims Curbauns: and moreover, that the places where they are made, are deemed so sacred, that the most arrant thief amongst them will never venture to touch the least thing that is carried to them. He adds likewise, that there are bows, arrows, and scimitars, hung on the trees in these sacred places, as public testimonies that they have performed their vows. But, in all probability, this is no more than a repetition of the same story.

If we turn our course towards the north, and north-east of Asia, we shall find several nations so little known that it would be difficult to give any tolerable account of them; for which reason we shall not trouble the reader with an insignificant list of their barbarous names. We are informed in general, that they pay a kind of divine honour to the sun and moon; as also to some particular idols, or rather logs of wood made round, on the top whereof, there is a knob, cut something like the resemblance of a head, with a nose, mouth and eyes, but all after an unpolished and grotesque manner; for sculpture is an art they are but little acquainted with. These idolaters, we are further informed, have two sorts of idols, public and private: the former are revered by the whole body of the people; the latter are made by particular persons, and the objects only of devotion in that family to which they respectively belong. Their sacrifices consist in rubbing the mouths of their idols with the fat of fish, and presenting them with the warm blood of some beast, fresh killed in the chase.

The Ostiaks, who inhabit the southern parts of the Samoides, from the Irtysh and Ob to the river Jenitza, have likewise two sorts of idols: so that in all probability it is a received custom all over Tartary. This, in the main, does not differ from the practice of all other known idolaters, who never failed to add to their public gods, their lares and guardian deities. Their public idols are, for the most part, placed on the tops of the most agreeable mountains they can find, or in the middle of their forests, in small wooden huts, with commodious apartments contiguous to them, wherein they deposit the bones of such beasts as have been sacrificed in honour of those idols. They have no stated days or hours for the regular performance of their sacri-



fices. They only supplicate their gods when they stand in need of their assistance; but the priests, indeed, use their utmost endeavours to make the people shake off this shameful indifference. These priests have no regular ordination; every ancient house-keeper, we are informed, has sufficient authority of his own to exercise the priesthood.—And accordingly the worship of their public idols is somewhat more regular, as it is instituted by an authority more ancient, and better known. These idols they are peculiarly fond of, and the good old men recommend them to their children. Their sacrifices consist in the fat of fish, and in beasts of various kinds. The victim<sup>a</sup> is exposed in the presence of the gods, with its legs tied; and after that the celebrant, or officiating priest, says before them, in the warmest terms, the petitions of their humble supplicants.

During this kind of prayer, one of the assistants stands with his bow levelled at the victim; and as soon as the priest has concluded, and struck the beast upon the head, he discharges his arrow, and another thrusts a stake through his body. After this, they take it by the tail, and drag it along three times, into the presence of the idol. The blood is preserved in a vessel consecrated for that particular purpose, some part whereof is used in sprinkling the idol's hut, another part is drank amongst them, and the idol's mouth is besmeared with the remainder. It is almost an universal custom amongst the Tartars, to hang up the head, feet, tail, and skin of the victim upon some particular trees; to regale themselves with the flesh, and to sing before and after their solemn entertainment. After this, they rub the idol's mouth a second time with the remaining fat of the sacrifice: They frequently pay the same deference and respect even to their domestic idols. The ceremony being over, the whole assembly shout for joy, and wave their sticks in the air, in honour to the soul of their idol, which, according to their notion, returns home after it has assisted at its own festival. From whence it is plain and manifest, that how savage and stupid soever they are represented to be, they are not so senseless as to imagine, that a stock or stone is absolutely the object which they ought to adore.

The bear has likewise some part in this divine worship. As soon as they have killed the creature, they pull off its skin, and hang it, in presence of their idol, upon a very high tree; and afterwards revere it, and amuse themselves with doleful lamentations, as if they repented of the impious deed.—They ridiculously plead, that it was the arrow, not they, that gave the fatal wound; and that the feathers added wings to its unhappy flight, &c. This extravagance is grounded on a received notion amongst them, that the soul of this beast, roving about the

woods, from one side to the other, will take the first opportunity to gratify its resentment, in case they do not take timely care to appease its wrath, and make it some suitable reparation.

By the description of the idols of the Ostiaks, we may plainly discern, they bear some affinity to the Talismans; and we have informed our readers more than once, that it is very probable the infinite number of ancient idols in general owe their rise to the Talismans, unless we are more inclined to believe that the Talismans themselves were originally idols. One of those of the Ostiaks, we are informed, was a brazen goose, with her wings extended, whose peculiar province it was to take care of their geese, ducks, &c. and protect them from all disasters.—Another very remarkable idol is that which travellers have described under the denomination of the Old Man of Oby. His devotees oblige him to change his place of residence once every three years, and transport himself over the Oby, from one place to another, with abundance of solemnity, in a vessel made for that particular purpose. This Old Man of Oby is the guardian of their fishery. He is composed of wood: his nose, which resembles a hog's snout, has an iron hook in it, to denote, that he drags the fish out of the sea into the Oby. His eyes are made of glass, and his head is embellished with a pair of short horns. When the ice dissolves, and the river overflows her banks, the Ostiaks flock to him in a body to make their joint requests that he would be propitious to their fishery; but if the season does not answer their expectations, they load him with a thousand reproaches, and insult him after the most shameful manner; but, on the other hand, if they prove successful, the god, by way of retaliation, is allowed his share in the booty. He has the very first fruits of their labour; for before they presume to touch one dish themselves at their general feast, they rub his snout with some of the choicest fat. After their entertainment is over, they conduct the soul of the god back again, by beating the air with their cudgels. But, on the contrary, if the season has proved bad, or if they have met with any disappointments, they not only revile him, as we have before observed, but they strip him naked, and whip him, and throw him into the dirt, as an old, impotent, despicable deity. Those half-savage people treat their gods just as our children do their jointed dolls. We have somewhere before observed, that even some polite nations have been so whimsical and extravagant, as to make devotion and resentment by turns succeed each other: these devout infidels are much like gamesters, who curse and bless their fortune in a breath, and can never refrain treating her with blandishments or invectives, since it affords them a kind of consolation, and gives a vent to their passion.

As to the Samoides, they are idolators as well as the Ostiaks, but much more savage and unpolished. They adore the sun and the moon, to which they add some idols wrought in such an artless manner, that one would scarcely imagine they had any intention to resemble the human species. These idols are kept in their proper huts, or somewhere near them, or else hung upon their choicest trees; and they acknowledge according to De Bruyn,\* one Supreme Being, called Heya.

The Czeremissian Tartars acknowledge one God, who is immortal, and the author of all good, and hold that there are evil spirits, or demons, who are the professed enemies of mankind, and take delight in tormenting them as long as they live; for which reason they offer up sacrifices to them in order to appease their wrath, and tempt them if possible, not to injure them. They take particular care to go in pilgrimages to a place, which the above-cited traveller calls Neimda, and to perform several other acts of devotion to their honour. There they carry their oblations to those malignant beings, and never presume to go empty-handed; being fully persuaded that those who are so imprudent as to carry nothing with them, will infallibly pine away, and die at last of some lingering distemper. The sacrifices which are peculiarly devoted to their deity, are either oxen or horses. The manner of roasting the flesh of one of them is this: They first throw large slices of it into a dish with one hand, having a bowl full of metheglin, or some liquor of the like nature, ready in the other; and then cast both together into a large fire, made before the skin of the victim. This skin is extended upon a pole, which is laid cross-ways, and rests between two trees. They implore this skin to present their humble petitions to their god, and be a mediator for them, and sometimes make their addresses directly to it. The sun and moon, as being the authors of the products of the earth, are likewise the objects of their divine adoration. These Tartars always perform their religious ceremonies near some rivers of rapid streams.

This is all that can be said, with any exactness and appearance of truth, relating to the religion of these almost savage nations. It is no easy task to clear up the accounts of some of our ancient travellers, and to justify their remarks by those which we find in the writings of the moderns. The ignorance of the former with respect to geography, their variations of the names of some countries they describe, and the imperfect and inaccurate accounts they have given us of the religion of these people, have all contributed towards this unhappy confusion. The moderns, though somewhat more exact, are notwithstanding chargeable with being too careless and remiss. It would be a fruitless attempt to search for the religion of the modern Tartars amongst the

ancient Scythians. Such a learned enquiry would be attended with nothing but mere conjectures. The ancients themselves had but a very imperfect idea of the Scythians, and all we know is, that they confound several nations under that name, as we do under that other of the Tartars; that these Scythians were Nomades, or Strollers, all over the countries, like the Tartars their descendants; that both the one and the other are people situated in Europe and Asia, to the north of Persia and the Indies; and in short, that the ancient Scythians spread themselves very far towards the east, as well as the modern Tartars.

The Lamas, who are the regular priests of the greatest part of Tartary, have their heads as well as their beards shaved; nor are these the only characteristics or marks of their dignity; for they wear a yellow hat, and a yellow gown, with long sleeves, which they tie with a girdle of the same colour.—In their hands they carry a yellow chaplet, which they are perpetually tumbling over, because, according to their rules, they ought to pray without ceasing. According to the same laws they ought to live in a state of celibacy, and devote themselves to the constant practice of all good works. There are monks, we are informed, of this order of Lamas, who are subject to the same law, and obliged to observe the same vow.

The priests of the Tonguses have a principal or superior, whom they call Schamman, and devote themselves wholly to the study and practice of the black art; whereas the Lamas know little or nothing of it. The Schamman, in the exercise of his magical operations, observes the following strange method. After he has gone through his preliminary penances he puts on a kind of robe or covering, composed of divers pieces of old iron, some in the form of birds, others in that of beasts and fishes; and all are hung together by rings of the same metal. He puts on stockings of the same materials, and gloves likewise of the same sort, made in fashion of a bear's paw. He claps on iron horns likewise upon his head. Thus equipped, he takes a drum in one hand, and a little wand, embellished with the skins of mice, in the other; leaps and capers about, crossing his legs sometimes this way, and sometimes that, observing at the same time the tune, and accompanying it with the most hideous outcries. In all these movements his eyes are stedfastly fixed on a hole at the top of his hut; and as soon as ever he discerns a black bird, which, as is pretended, perches on the roof, and vanishes in a moment, he falls upon the ground in a kind of a trance, and continues for about a quarter of an hour entirely deprived, to outward appearance, of all sense and reason; and when he comes to himself, he resolves the queries of those who consult him.

The priests of the Samoides, who are likewise magicians, when any one consults them, put a rope round their necks, according to De Bruyn, and tie it so tight, that they fall down as if they were dead. When they foretel any future event, the blood gushes out of some part of their faces, and stops again as soon as they have finished their prediction. Our author, by the rest of the description, seems to intimate that there is no material difference between these people and the Schammans, and other priests of the Tartars. We have already observed, that the Burates, when any one is to take a solemn oath, carry the party to a high mountain, and there makes him swear with an audible voice, assuring him at the same time, that if he proves perjured, he will never get down again alive.

The Ostiaks display all their instruments of war before the party who takes the oath, to intimate, that if he forswears himself, some one of those weapons, shall infallibly, in a few days, be the instrument of his absolute destruction. The Tonguses clear themselves of any crime laid to their charge, by the death of a dog; thrusting a knife into his left thigh, and cutting him open to the very mouth; and after this they suck up every drop of his blood.

The Ostiak takes his oath upon a bear's skin, spread upon the ground, whereon are laid a hatchet, a knife, and a piece of bread, which is tendered to him. Before he eats it, he declares all he knows relating to the matter in question, and confirms the truth of his evidence by this solemn imprecation:—"May this bear tear me to pieces, this bit of bread choke me, this knife be my death, and this hatchet sever my head from my body, if I do not speak the truth." In dubious cases, they present themselves before an idol, and pronounce the same oath with this additional circumstance, that he who takes the oath, cuts off a piece of the idol's nose with his knife, "If I forswear myself, may this knife cut off my own nose in the same manner, &c.

The Mongals and Calmoucs give themselves but very little trouble with respect to the degrees of consanguinity, in their marriage engagements, for they make no scruple of lying even with their mothers. The issue of such incestuous matches are looked upon as legitimate, and have a right of inheritance, as well as any others: but in case they be the children of a Chan, or some other person of distinction, he who is born in honourable wedlock is preferred before them. It is insinuated, that if the son spares his mother, the father is not so scrupulous with regard to his daughter, and they give this reason for their conduct: A woman is like the earth; and both the one and the other ought to be cultivated. They should never lie fallow; for nature had the

same view in the formation of them both, with this difference only, that the culture of one is vain and fruitless after a certain number of years.—They are not ignorant, that a soil, however exhausted, harassed and worn out, will by extraordinary care and artful management, become as fruitful as ever; but as for women their age is irreparable, they are lands but of short duration, they ought therefore never to lie neglected, as long as they are able to produce any crop. This is a specimen of the Tartars manner of reasoning; and in conformity thereto, they take particular care to find out young wives, for after they are forty years of age, they look upon them only as governants of their families, or even simply as their domestics, and the major part of the savage Americans observe the same custom. The other Tartars are as regardless of the degrees of consanguinity, as those we have already described. Some of their most conscientious indeed will never marry either their mothers-in-law, or their sisters; but the Czeremissian Tartars make no scruple with regard to the latter. We have nothing more material to add, but that after a child is six months old, they give it the name of such object, whatever it be, as first presents itself before them.

There is nothing very remarkable in the courtship and amorous adventures of these people. Love with them, and such like them, is neither constrained nor polished; and the women, who, doubtless, have no idea of any state superior to their own are as contented with their lot, as the rest of their sex are in other countries. The want of knowledge, and a narrow imagination, constitute the greatest part of human happiness in this world; and if so, they whose reason is bounded by their grossest bodily necessities, are much more happy than other people. But to return to the Tartarian gallantry: Their courtship of the young ladies consists in the purchase of them. Amongst the Ostiaks, the gallant sends one of his friends to his mistress's father, in order to agree about the price; and when the bargain is actually made, the intended father-in-law covenants to surrender and yield up his daughter at the expiration of a certain term therein limited; and during the whole courtship, the man must not, on any account whatever, presume to visit his mistress. If he pays his respects to her father and mother, he goes backward into the house, not presuming to look them in the face; and as a farther testimony of his esteem and submission, turns his head on one side whenever he speaks to them. At the expiration of the term of his courtship, the father according to his contract, surrenders his daughter to his son-in-law, and at the same time recommends them to a happy union, as the



fundamental article of wedlock; but what the Ostiacs may mean by that expression is a nice point to determine.

The Ostiac, as a trial of his wife's honour, cuts a handful of hair off a bear's skin, and presents it to her. If she be virtuous she accepts of the offer without the least reluctance, but if she be conscious of her own inconstancy, she ingeniously refuses to touch it, whereupon her husband immediately puts her away, and that is all the ill consequence that attends her illegal amours, and besides she has the liberty to marry whom she pleases after such separation.

This ingenious confession of their wives is owing to their dread of being torn to pieces by the paws of the very bear, the hair of whose hide is made use of as an experiment to prove their chastity or falsehood. This bear, according to their notion, revives at the expiration of three years, in order to devour the bride, who is perjured and inconstant. This punishment of their infidelity is so moderate and easy to be borne, that it is scarce worth their while to prevaricate, in order to shun it.

The mourning of children for their parents amongst the Tartars, in general, consists in weeping over them for several days successively; and during all that time they are obliged to abstain from all manner of amusements, and from the society of women for several months. The child must inter his father or mother with all the funeral pomp and solemnity his circumstances will admit of, and pay his annual respects to their respective tombs, which must be attended not only with tears, but loud lamentations. These people as well as the Indians, Chinese, &c. make provision for their dead, and supply them with variety of apparel. The Wogul-hes extend their charity to their very dogs; they inter them honourably, and erect a little hut on purpose for them, in order to preserve their memory. There is no other testimony of their respect omitted in commemoration of them, but that of making their formal lamentations round their mausoleums. The Tonguses hang their dead upon some particular trees, and there leave them till they have nothing but skin and bones remaining, when they inter them.

The Jekutzes also hang up their deceased relations in the very same manner, and when their skeletons are perfectly dry, adorn them with coral, and little pieces of painted glass. Afterwards they carry them in solemn procession round their houses, and rever to them as idols.

The Ostiacs either bury their dead, or hide both them and their bows, arrows, implements of household furniture, and provisions in the snow, out of the very same principle as others do, who are habituated to these customs. A widow, to testify her

unfeigned sorrow for the loss of her dearly beloved husband, takes an idol, dresses it up in the good man's clothes, lays it in the bed with her, and effects to have it always before her eyes, in order to aggravate her grief, and bring her departed husband to her remembrance; and can any thing be more natural? Our European widows would behave much after the same manner, did they caress their deceased husbands' pictures, kiss them, ask them a thousand endearing questions, and weep over them; and indeed some of them have been known to take up every individual thing wore in his lifetime, and blubber over every piece. The widows of the Ostiacs kiss the idols of the deceased husbands, and honour them as partners of their beds for a whole year together; and then they are looked upon as incumbrances, and thrown neglected by in some corner of the house; then there is no mention of their old bed-fellows, and the time of their mourning is accomplished. The Samoides, according to De Bruyn, hang their deceased infants that have not attained the age of one year, upon trees; but inter between two boards, such as are of a more advanced age; and drown or otherwise make away with their relations, who are superannuated, infirm, and entirely a burden to themselves and all about them. Near the place where they bury their dead, they hang up their fire-arms, their hatchets, their hammers, and in short, all the other implements which they made use of whilst in the land of the living.

It is remarkable that all these people in Tartary, notwithstanding their difference in many fundamental articles of religion, yet agree in believing the transmigration of souls. Some are of opinion, that the real souls transmigrate from one body to another; while others only imagine that the faculties transmigrate to animate another body. These last, in all probability, only imagine that there is an emanation of virtues: because they confound the body and soul together. There is something like this to be met with even so near us as France. Thus when a priest reputed for his sanctity dies, or any other person of uncommon merit, the people bring their children to the bed-side, to hover over his face in order to catch the last gasp of his breath, that they may become partakers of his fame and virtues.—Nay, they carry their superstition much farther: for they set open all their doors and windows that the soul may have an easy passage.

To meet with such notions and practices among the ancient heathens is not at all surprising, because ignorance of the true God leads to idolatry, and idolatry creates absurdities. Nor is it surprising to meet with such notions and practices among the modern Tartars, who are far more barbarous and brutal in their manners than most of the heathen

nations of old: but to meet with it in France is really surprising. A polite people to be slaves to superstition! Yes: But let us remember, that the learned are deists, and the ignorant enthusiasts.—Nothing less than divine grace can set bounds to human imaginations; nothing less than the power of God can keep human nature under proper restraints. The imagination roves from one object to another, and generally, consistent with its own capriciousness, fixes upon the worst.

What has been here advanced may, with great propriety be applied to the heathen nations in general, but to none more properly than the Tartars. They are a numerous body of people, they are divided into a vast number of clans or hordes, and each tribe has something in its religion differing from the others. In their natural lives they wander from one place to another, without a settled habitation; and in their different forms of religion they wander from all that is truth; some of them worship devils, some images, and some are so ignorant that they have hardly any notion of the Supreme Being. Here the pious reader will be affected, when he hears so many of his fellow creatures, ignorant of the gospel of Christ, and strangers to the covenant of pro-

mise, are destitute of the peace of God which passeth all understanding, having no views of a future state, no hopes of a blessed immortality.—To all this may be added, the many horrid barbarities daily committed by those of one horde or another, and all this is owing to the want of true religion in the soul, which, when properly cultivated, refuses itself throughout every part of the conduct.

As nothing has been attempted by the Christians in Europe towards the conversion of these heathens, and as we have reason to believe, that previous to the second coming of Christ all the world will embrace the gospel, so we may rest satisfied that some great event yet waits to be accomplished. How, when, or by whom as the instruments, this important event will be brought about it is impossible for us to say, or even to form any conjecture. But from what we know of the goodness of God, we have reason to believe it will take place; and as for the means to be used in conducting it, let us rest satisfied, that the judge of all the earth will do right. In the mean time, let us study to make a proper use of those inestimable blessings we enjoy; for from those to whom much is given, much will be required.

## RELIGION IN LAPLAND.

DR. Smollet, in his ironical manner, calls the inhabitants of Lapland the fag-end of the human creation, which illiberal and invidious expression seems to arise from not considering, that these people have the same rational faculties as others, and only want the means to improve themselves. Now under such circumstances, let us seriously ask, whether these people are the objects of laughter and ridicule? Are they not objects rather of pity, especially when we consider that our ancestors were once as ignorant as they, and probably more barbarous. Nay, barbarity is not so much as imputed to the Laplanders, even by those who take a savage pleasure in ridiculing them for what is not in their power to prevent. That they are slaves to superstition is not denied, but that superstition never leads them to any thing of a cruel or barbarous nature. Secure in their simple huts, they live without giving offence to each other; and if they have but little knowledge, they have but few sins to account for. The author of this thinks it no small pleasure to have been some years acquainted with a native of Lapland, who is now one of the most ingenious artists in London.

In his early youth he was brought from his native country to Stockholm, in Sweden, where he had the benefit of a liberal education, was baptized, and studied the theory and practice of music. From thence he came to England, and now resides in London. His ingenuity in the art he professes, his affability in conversation, sweetness of temper, and, above all, his unfeigned piety, has created him many friends, but not more than his merit entitles him to. Thus we find that it is only owing to the want of cultivating the rational faculties, that the natives of such inhospitable deserts remain in a state of ignorance. Let those sovereigns who claim a supremacy over them, send some men of piety and virtue to instruct them in the principles of learning and religion, and then they will be equally useful and polite as the rest of their subjects.

Lapland consists of a vast extent of land running from the westerly extremity of Norway on the north, to the easterly extremity of that part of Russia, which is in Europe. During one half of the year, the country is entirely frozen over, and in some parts there is a total darkness during four months, there

being no light but what proceeds from the moon. But the transparent light of the moon upon the snow, makes partly an amends for this deficiency; and the poor natives, when they want to visit each other, are drawn on sledges by rein deer over the mountains of snow and ice. Such is the state of this country in general, which leads us to consider their religious sentiments and ceremonies.

The natives of Lapland, excepting a few who live in the southern parts, are heathens, and gross idolators. Their chief god is Thor, the same as was worshipped by the Anglo-Saxons, and in memory of whom we call one of the days of the week Thursday. This idol is represented as a warrior, placed on a pedestal like the square table of an altar, raised about three feet high, about a bow-shot from their houses, and surrounded with pines to give it the air of a sanctuary.

Subordinate to this deity, or rather idol, is Storjunkarr, who acts as vicar, or viceroy to Thor.—They believe that it is in and through his mediation that all temporal blessings are bestowed, and it is him who is the protector and guardian of all the beasts of the field; and consequently it is to him they make their applications for success in their pursuit of the chase.

Storjunkarr is a kind of domestic deity, or household god, for every family has an image of him.—They believe that he often appears personally among them, and he is represented under the figure of a square stone, without any sculpture upon it; for they content themselves with such rough unpolished stones as they find on the mountains! and they imagine that it is Storjunkarr who directs them in their search. This stone god is frequently supplied with a large family of children, that is, they place a vast number of small stones around him, one whereof is his wife, and the others his children and domestics.

Their next deity in order is called Beywe, or the sun; but there is nothing particular in the adoration they offer up to him. He is likewise represented under the form of a great stone, without any sculpture upon it, and the oblations they offer, consist of their victuals and drink, part of which they pour down upon the stone.

Wirchu-Archa, is a female deity, and called by them the god of old women, and is only an artless stone like the rest; but besides these they worship several spirits, angels, and devils; and likewise the souls of their departed relations. They believe with the Tartars, that souls pass from one body to another; but of this ancient doctrine they have very confused notions. No doubt but they learned it originally from the Tartars, from whom it appears they are descended.

They have a number of impostors among them, who pretend to know magic, by which they delude

the ignorant, and make them believe whatever they please. In all their sacrifices, they offer rein deer, for that being the creature most useful to themselves, they imagine it will be the most acceptable to their gods. Sometimes, indeed, they sacrifice other animals, such as dogs, cats, hens, and chickens; but before they offer any of these sacrifices, they use the following ceremony to discover whether or not it will be acceptable.

After they have tied up the victim behind their hut, they strip off some of the hair from under the neck of the animal, which they fasten to one of the rings of a drum, appropriated for that particular service, and which one of their priests beats, while the whole assembly of the people sing a short prayer. If the bunch of rings to which they fastened the hair of the victim, and which before was immovable, should turn about in an instant, and point to their god Thor, they look upon it that the sacrifice is acceptable to that god. But on the contrary, if the bunch of rings remain fixed and immovable, notwithstanding the motion of the drum, they present the victim to another god while the drum is beating, and the people singing a second prayer or hymn. In all their devotions they pay much regard to the season of the year, but autumn is that to which they pay most regard, probably because the fruits of the earth are then ripe, and they are about shifting themselves home to their huts.

At this time they erect a new statue to their god Thor, and afterwards cut the throat of a rein deer in his presence, and smear the statue all over with the blood and fat of the victim. When this ceremony is over, they inter the remains of the victim in the same place. Besides this idol they are obliged to erect another every time they sacrifice a rein deer, and all these images being ranged together behind their huts, they cut the throat of the victim and offer it up in sacrifice. The victim is in general a rein deer of the male kind, which they sacrifice by thrusting a knife into its heart. The blood that flows is preserved in a bowl, and they smear it all over the head of their god Thor, and draw several strokes on him in the form of crosses. Behind the idol they place the horns and bones of the rein deer's head, and before him a small box made of birch wood, filled with little slices of flesh, cut off from every part of the victim's body, with some fat preserved underneath it. The remainder of the flesh is preserved for the use of the family.

When they offer sacrifices to Storjunkarr, they run a thread through the right ear of the victim, and observe all the ceremonies already mentioned, with this exception only, that the sacrificing priests takes the horns and bones of the head and neck of the victim, as also the claws and feet, and carries them to a mountain, devoted to the honour of Stor-



junkarr, for whose service the victim was slain.—As soon as the priest rises, he approaches the sacred stone, stands uncovered, and makes a profound reverence before it. After this first act of devotion, he besmears the stone all over with the blood and fat of the victim, deposits the horns by the idol, ties his tail to the right horn, and to the left a red thread run through a plate of pewter, with a bit of small silver.

Sometimes they celebrate festivals in honour of their Storjunkarr, and then they sacrifice some animal in the idol's presence which they dress in their own way, and every one eats a part of it. But what they eat must be of the flesh that is upon the head and neck, and they leave the skin extended on the place, where it lies for many years together. Sometimes, when the mountain is steep and difficult of access, they offer up their sacrifices at the foot of it, and afterwards take a stone dipped in the blood of the rein deer, and make an attempt as if they were going to throw it up to the top of the mountain.

They revere the image of this idol in the same manner as they do that of Thor, but as it is only a 'helpless stone,' so there is no more required than to remove the old idol, and replace another of the same shape. They range the branches of young trees around the idol, and this ceremony is observed twice in the year, namely, in the middle of summer, and in the middle of winter. If when they place these boughs or branches, they find that the stone which is the object of worship, can be easily removed, then they imagine that their god will be propitious to them; but when they find it heavy and ponderous, they imagine that the god is displeased, and they dread the effects of his vengeance. In such an unhappy case, they study all the ways they can think of, to appease his anger, and avert his judgments, and from that moment engage to make him new oblations.

These Laplanders never sacrifice to the sun any other animals besides the rein deer, but they observe all the ceremonies already mentioned, except that they run a white thread through the right ear of the victim, to denote its being devoted to the service of the sun, and except also that in their other sacrifices they make choice of birch trees, in this they use only willows. With these willows they form two circles, about the circumference of half a tun, and round them hang little slices of flesh which they cut off from every part of the victim. These they afterwards deposit on a table behind their huts, as also the principal bones of the victim disposed in a circular form.

As to the souls of their departed relations, they never make any images of them, but testify their veneration for them by particular sacrifices. On

such occasions the priest beats a drum, in order to know whether the idol is pleased with the sacrifice. As soon as they imagine that the idol is satisfied with the victim offered to him, they take out the heart, liver, and lungs, dip them in the blood of the victim, and bury them before the altar. This species of idolatry is very ancient; it was practised by the Greeks and Romans, by the heathen nations who overthrew the Roman empire, and even to this day we may find many remains of it among the inhabitants of those nations, where knowledge never yet came.

With respect to spirits, or aerial beings, of whom they worship many, they have no images, but pay their adoration to them under trees, planted near their houses. This act of devotion consists in offering up a sacrifice to these spirits, about the latter end of December; and this is introduced with abstinence and fasting, at least from all flesh meat, and if any is provided for them, they give it those whom they suppose have none. All the fragments left at the feast, are put into a box made of birch, and this box is hung upon a tree behind the house, for the subsistence of such spirits as rove about on the mountains and in the forests.

It is difficult to say from whence this species of superstition took its origin, because it seems to be peculiar to the people in this part of the country; but then it is necessary that we should consider that there are some differences to be found in the worship of all heathen nations. All arose from this single circumstance, namely, neglecting the true God, and setting up their own images in the room of his commandments.

The Laplanders are so much addicted to superstition, that they adore the first object that presents itself to them in the morning. They never suffer their wives to go to the door first, lest there should be a rein deer, for in such cases they would be obliged to go a hunting all the day. Every house, every family, have their own peculiar deities; they have places erected for them, and as their priests are numerous, so they are never at a loss for some of them to officiate. Whether in sacrifice, or by any other means, a drum is always used, for they believe there is something magical in the sound of that instrument. Indeed this is not in the least surprising, because all the northern nations made use of drums in their religious sacrifices, and transmitted them to their camps and to their battles. Such is the origin of drums, and although they make at present a distinguishing figure in our armies, yet they were no more original than implements of superstition and idolatry.

There are some other particulars in which the Laplanders differ from all the people we know of in the world. They believe that there are two Su-

preme Beings, but so gross are their notions, that they believe one of these beings to be mortal, and the other immortal. The mortal being they believe dies in consequence of any person breaking wind backward against him, and then he is succeeded by another who reigns till he meets with the same misfortune. On the other hand, the immortal being resides always in heaven, and is not affected by the passions of men, he is indifferent about their wants, and unconcerned about their condition in this world. And is not this epicurianism in the highest degree? Indeed we are of opinion, that notwithstanding what has been said against Epicurius, as a moral philosopher, yet he was not the father or author of those sentiments which bear his name. If he was, why should we find them among heathen nations, who never knew any thing of literature? Does an ignorant Laplander know any thing of Epicurius or Lucretius? No, they never heard of their names, and yet they have imbibed all their notions. From what source does all these flow? The answer is obvious. The corruption of human nature has sunk so deep, that it has contaminated the minds of the whole race of human beings. All mankind are extremely fond of knowing more than has been revealed to them, and therefore they are apt to form the same notions of God as of themselves. This is the fundamental error in all religious dispensations, it is a poison which runs through the whole body; but having said so much by way of digression, we shall now proceed with our narrative.

All religious ceremonies are less or more conducted by beating of drums, and it is very remarkable, that these people never undertake any thing, not even so much as common diversions, without first consulting the drum. But it is obvious to every one's observation, that these drums are not all exactly of the same fashion, and the reason of it may possibly be, because some of them are more adapted for magical operations, and more mischievous than others. There are two appendixes, which are absolutely necessary to render these drums complete, and fit for use, and they are the mark and the hammer. The former points out the the thing, or secret enquired after, on the painted figures of the drum, and the latter is made use of to beat with. What they call the mark is a large copper ring, to which they fasten several others of a less size, which make a large bunch altogether. The fashion of those rings however, frequently varies. One of them is made of a very thick plate of copper, about the size of a crucible, with a square hole in the middle, and with little brass chains, which hang down instead of rings, and meet together in a circle. The other is a brass ring, with a small round plate of brass hung to it by several small chains, and the hammer or stick, with which they beat this drum, is made of

a rein deer's horn. The Laplanders do not aim at making a great noise with their drums, but are chiefly solicitous, as we have before observed, about the motion of the rings, that according to their position, they may form a right judgment of such secrets as they want to have revealed.

These Laplanders have such an extraordinary veneration for their drum, that they will not permit a maid that is marriageable so much as to touch it.—When they remove from one place to another it is the last utensil that is carried off the premises, and after every one of the family is departed, they are peculiarly careful in the conveyance of it to their new apartment. It is given in charge to the husband, as his peculiar province; for the wife must not presume to meddle with it, and they always find out on this occasion, some by-way, very different and distant from the high road. They are apprehensive, that if any one, but more particularly a married woman, or a marriageable maid, should by accident go the same by-way, within three days after the drum has past, she would either die upon the spot, or some fatal disaster would befall her. A brass ring however, presented in a solemn manner, for the service of the drum, makes an atonement for any such misfortune. The Laplander in all his magical consultations with the drum, must be upon his knees, and so must all who attend him; the consequences whereof are, as we are informed, surprising and supernatural: but as they want due confirmation, the best way will be to suspend our belief.

The drum which is peculiarly appropriated to magical purposes, is somewhat different with respect to its form, from those made use of on other occasions. That part of it which may properly be called the handle is made like a cross, and divides it into four equal parts. This drum is embellished, for the generality, with the claws and bones of such beasts as they have hunted down in pursuit of their game. When they make use of it on any magical occasion, their usual practice is this: In order to know, for instance, the transactions of any foreign country, one of their operators beats the drum in the following manner: He first lays a large quantity of brass rings linked together, with several small brass chains upon that particular place where the sun is delineated. Then he beats the drum in such a manner, with his horn, hammer, or stick, that the rings are put in motion. During this action, he sings very distinctly a song, which in the language of Lapland is called *Jouike*, and all the natives that are present, both men and women add their respective songs, which are distinguished by the name of *Duvra*. The words which they utter are so distinct, that they nominate the very place, of which they want some secret intelligence.

After he has beat the drum for some considerable

time, he raises it to his head, and then drops instantly down upon the ground, like one fast asleep or in a trance. His senses are all lost, his pulse ceases to beat, and he is in short a dead man to all outward appearance; from whence it has been thought that the soul of the magician actually abandons his body for a time, and, through the assistance of some invisible spirits, is conveyed to those very countries, of which they want such intelligence as before-mentioned. Whilst the officiating Laplander is in this situation, this state of insensibility, he is, notwithstanding, we are told, in such extremity of pain, that the sweat runs down his face, and all over his body, and mean while the whole assembly continue singing, till he returns from his reverie to his perfect senses. For should they cease, or endeavour to awake him by the least touch imaginable, the magician, as we are further told, would inevitably die; and in all probability, that is the reason why they take a more than ordinary care at such a time, to prevent flies, or insects of any other kind from settling near him. When he is perfectly awake, and come to himself, he gives a full account of the informations he has received, and answers all interrogatories of the whole assembly.

The duration of this ecstatic slumber is very uncertain; but it never lasts, at the most, as we are informed, above four and twenty hours; the conjuror, however, let him recover his senses sooner or later, always produces some token of the thing or country inquired after, as an undeniable testimony of his supernatural abilities.

What has already been said is sufficient, we presume, to give the reader an adequate idea of the use which these Laplanders make of their drum. We shall only add, therefore, this cursory remark, that their physicians likewise make use of it, to discover the cause and quality of their patients' distempers; that is to say, whether they are the mere results of chance, or of nature, and to find out the best ways and means they can to appease their gods on all such occasions. We must not, however, omit one thing, which is very remarkable; that is, if the rings of the drum turn from the left to the right, it is looked upon as a propitious omen, being conformable to the course of the sun, which is the great dispenser of the various blessings of nature, and the inexhaustible source of all agreeable objects. But, on the contrary, if they turn from the right to the left, as their course is the reverse of that of the sun, it portends some fatal misfortunes, malignant distempers, or the plagues of poverty and distress.

There is something very particular in their sale of the winds. The Norwegians, northern Laplanders, and such as reside on the borders of the Bothnic gulph, sell them to travellers and sailors. The secret of this magical commodity consists in a rope with

three knots, which they dispose of to their customers at the very best price they can get. As soon as the first knot is untied, a gentle breeze arises; at unravelling the second, the wind blows brisk, and swells their sails; but storms and tempests fill the skies when they venture to undo the third; they are no longer masters of their vessels, and shipwreck is their inevitable portion. This secret, as Scheffer assures us, depends entirely on the nativity of the magician. He has an absolute power over that particular wind, which blew the moment he was born; so that one is lord and ruler of the east wind, and another of the west, and as they have the secret power to set a ship sailing, so likewise can they stop it when under sail.

The Laplanders, likewise, as we are informed, make use of some certain magical javelins, which they throw at their enemies to annoy them, and by this act of fascination, they are able sometimes to afflict their adversaries with very violent distempers; but if their hearts fail them in the personal execution of such injuries, they will at least do all the mischief they possibly can by proxy, and make dreadful havoc of their flocks and cattle. Most authors, indeed, have omitted this particular circumstance; but they all agree that there are some familiar spirits, or imaginary demons, whom these northern people call Gans, employed by them to accomplish, as far as they are able, all their private schemes of malice and revenge.

The instrument called tyre by these Laplanders, is another of their magical machines, which, according to our historians is, to all outward appearance, nothing but a ball about the bigness of a walnut, or a small apple, and composed of the down of some particular animal. This little machine is round and smooth, and so light that it seems to be perfectly hollow. It is a motley, or party-coloured commodity, yellow, green, and grey, but mostly of a yellowish cast; and the Laplanders, as we are informed, set them to sale, and look upon them, as it were, animated, and so far capable of action that the purchaser can send them where and to whom he pleases. The motion of this tyre is like that of a whirlwind, and its mischievous effects, however personally intended, falls always on the first animal that obstructs his way.

We shall close this article with a short detail of their superstitions relating to the chase. In the first place then, we must take notice that they are very observant of lucky and unlucky days; that in order to discover the one, and avoid the other, they consult their drum; and that when they are determined to pursue their game, they always go through a back passage, contrived for that purpose, lest they should meet with some woman or other at the street door, which they look upon as an unpropitious encounter.



The hunting of the bear is accompanied with such extraordinary formalities, that one would imagine they paid a peculiar regard to that savage creature. As soon as they have opened the chase, by the consultation of their drum, according to the custom observed on the occasion, he who has discovered the bear's hold, marches at the head of a numerous train of huntsmen; without any other weapon of defence but a long staff, with a brass ring on the top of it: and after him follows the drummer. Each individual assistant has likewise his particular province assigned him. After they have killed the desperate savage, they sing a kind of triumphal song over him, and therein congratulate him on his death, and return him thanks for having done them no mischief. After this, they whip him with a bunch of rods, and then carry him to a cottage, prepared on purpose for his reception, where they flay him, cut him up, and dress him. The whole train of huntsmen attend the sledge or carriage in which their prey is extended, and sing during the procession, a song suitable to the occasion, wherein they beg of him not to resent the ill treatment he has met with, or injure those who are any ways instrumental to his ruin, and the rein deer which drew the sledge must be employed no more on any occasion whatsoever, all that year. The wives assemble themselves together at the cottage above-mentioned, and there wait the return of their husbands, who at their first arrival, desire them in a chanting tone, to chew the bark of an alder-tree between their teeth, and spit it in their faces. Every huntsman, when the bear is lodged within the cottage where it is to be dressed, is obliged, according to custom, to repair to another commodious apartment adjacent to it, where their wives are, who having their mouths full of alder bark ready chewed, discharge it in their faces, that they may seem at least, as if they are besmeared with the blood of the savage monster. Here it is that the wives regale their husbands with the products of their toil and fatigue.

There are several other circumstances in the description of their bear-hunting, which we shall purposely omit, and content ourselves with such only as are very singular. All those who are concerned in the chase, or come in at the bear's death, are obliged to abstain from the conversation of their wives for the three days next ensuing; and the principal or captain of the band, for five. The skin of the beast is hung upon the top of a tall pole, and the women shoot at it with their bows and arrows. Every one is very ambitious of hitting the mark, since she who first succeeds is the most honoured and respected. This piece of dexterity is looked upon as the happy presage that her husband will be the foremost in the chase of the next bear. It is this woman's province likewise, according to Scheffer, to take several pieces of stuff, and fasten as many

crosses upon each of them as they have conquered bears, and to hang these trinkets about the necks of all such as were assistants in the chase, who are obliged to wear them for three days together; that is, till the setting of the sun on the last day. A cross made after the same manner is hung about the neck of the rein deer, which drew the bear from the forest to the cottage. In all probability the intercourse which these Laplanders have had with the Christians, induced them to look upon these crosses as preservatives against the demons, or genii of the forest, who, perhaps, may resent all indignities offered to their savage subjects.

As the chief riches of the country consist in their abundance of rein deer, so the young woman whose parents possesses most of these animals, has the greatest number of gallants. Rein deer are the absolute property of the young persons of both sexes, it being customary for their parents to make them presents of them as soon as they are born. A Laplander, in the choice of his wife, has an eye particularly to her wealth, and in this he acts in the same manner as the people in other nations. The lover never courts his mistress himself, but employs an old woman as match maker, in the same manner as in China, Tartary, and other nations. Some skins of wild beasts, and feathers of curious fowls, are sent as presents to the intended bride, and after some formalities are over, the bridegroom is permitted to visit the bride's relations. If he is permitted to speak to his mistress, it is esteemed a very great favour, but this seldom happens till after several visits to the parents.

At the first interview they salute each other with an affectionate kiss, and a sanguine squeeze of their noses one against the other, which is an essential point, the neglect of it being looked upon as a declaration of coldness and dislike. Their marks of love are heightened by the presents the gallant brings with him, which, among other things, consists of rein deer tongues, of which they make delicious feasts. The young woman, who is surrounded by her relations, pretends, either through shame or modesty, to decline his favours; but at the same time gives him a private signal to withdraw, and, when alone, with pleasure accepts of them all.—From thence forward, the young Laplander thinks himself entitled to greater liberties, and gives a full loose to his passion. He begs the favour of his mistress to let him sleep by her side, or in other words, to lie with her; but if she is not amorously inclined, she throws his presents on the ground with disdain. It is some considerable time before all the preliminaries are settled, because the girl's relations are seemingly loth to give their consent, which is all artifice, and the pure result of an avaricious disposition. For the gallant, during the whole time of

the courtship, is daily making them some valuable presents, in order to ingratiate himself into their favour, and obtain their consent, and they are cunning enough to know that there will be but few presents after their marriage.

When all parties are absolutely agreed, a certain day is appointed for the celebration of their nuptials and the bridegroom must bring along with him more presents, some for the bride and some for her relations. The marriage ceremony consists in the priest's striking a flint with steel, and the bride and bridegroom light tapers at it. Then they walk home to their huts, and the bridegroom is obliged to serve his father-in-law a whole year after the marriage, and then he takes home his wife and her fortune.—When a woman is pregnant, they pretend to know whether she will have a son or a daughter, and this they do by consulting the moon. When a star appears above that planet, it indicates the birth of a boy; and when a star appears near and seems to go before it, it is a happy presage that the child will be healthy, robust and active.

Scheffer tells us, that when a native falls sick, he sends for one whom he imagines most skilful in the use of the drum, who, in order to restore him, first offers up a rein deer as a sacrifice to one of their idols; then he beats the drum, and falls down in either a real or imaginary trance. He continues in this inactive situation about an hour, and during that time, those who are present sing the magician's song, which restores him to his senses. He rises up, takes his drum, and clapping it close to his ear, beats softly upon it. Afterwards he stands for some short time like one in deep contemplation, and then relates all that was delivered to him while in a trance.

When a man dies, his whole family leaves the house; for they have a notion, that the soul of the deceased hovers round the corpse. They generally bury the bodies of their dead in gloomy caverns, the mouths of which they stop up with stones. They put into the cavern beside the dead, a hatchet, a steel, flint, and a tinder-box; and the reason they give for this strange ceremony is, that as the deceased will want light, so he may strike it when he pleases. We are assured that the ancient Danes and Saxons, before they were converted to Christianity, buried warlike instruments along with the dead, of which many have been dug up in different parts of Britain; and probably, this was the practice of all the heathen nations in the world.

In Lapland the hatchet is laid beside the deceased, that in case he should meet in his way with briars and thorns, or boughs of trees to obstruct his passage through the thick forests, he may cut them down; for they believe that no person after death can be admitted into heaven, unless he fights his way

into it. This notion of their's seems to proceed from the nature of the climate where they live; their nights being long and dark, they imagine the dead meet with the same inconveniences in their way to heaven. At their funerals they kill the rein-deers which drew the body of the deceased to the grave, and make merry over their corpse, in memory of their friend being removed out of a world of grief and sorrow. They have one more custom relating to their dead, which is singular enough. They pour brandy over the face of the corpse, and dance round it, singing their funeral songs in praise of the deceased.

When they take an oath, they wish the devil may come and fetch them away, with their wives, children, and rein-deers, if they perjure themselves. They have confused notions concerning the creation, of the world; and whenever they see the moon eclipsed, they believe that planet is attacked by some malicious devils, and on such occasions, they think it their duty to give her all the assistance they can. In this emergency, they take their arms and shoot at her, and continue to do so till the eclipse is over. When it thunders, the Laplanders imagine that God is chastising the devils, and that they, in order to escape his vengeance, take shelter under the bellies of their dogs; for that reason, as long as the thunder continues, they keep those creatures shut out of doors.

When they sit down to eat, they invoke their idols to bless their provisions for their use, and they gather up all the bones of the rein deer, and throw them into their marshy grounds. This they look upon as absolutely necessary, because if neglected, the rein deer would become indolent and inactive. They ascribe to their witches a power to augment the coldness of the weather; but then none are duly qualified for this operation, but such as have been born in winter. These women take a little human figure made of snow, and besmeer the head of it with their spittle, coloured red with the juice of the alder-tree, the bark whereof they chew in their mouths when they set themselves about performing this operation.

When they are disposed to allay the excessive cold, they take the skin of a bear and hang it out in the air all night. The Laplander, as soon as he rises, takes a bunch of rods and whips this skin; for they imagine that the cold abates in proportion to the blows. In this operation they make use of several magical terras, and for the same purpose cut the skin of a fawn into small pieces, and throw them into the fire, repeating a form of prayer.—They take particular care when they have visitors, that no person shall walk in the house before another who is going out of it, and that no one shall cross the room in any part of it, but the void space

between the fire and the company. Should a woman stride over a man's legs in order to get by him, the unmanly action would create a world of mischief. But we need not think much of their superstitions, seeing that were we to relate all the superstitions in our enlightened nation, we might fill a volume.

With respect to such of the Laplanders as profess Christianity, they are not numerous; they are either Greeks or Lutherans, but neither of them are well grounded in the principles of religion. As for those who are Greeks, it is not much to be wondered at; for their religion, like that of the Roman Catholics, is not calculated to convey any sort of knowledge. As for the Lutheran ministers, it is well known that they are faithful in the discharge of the pastoral office in the countries where they are born, nor do we find they are remiss in Lapland; but pro-

bably either they have not salaries adequate to their labours, or which is more probable, having no company to converse with, they become melancholy and long to return to their own country.

Such is the present state of Lapland with respect to religion, and melancholy as their conduct may appear, yet they are not worse or more superstitious than some who have better advantages. The only way to bring them over to the belief and knowledge of Christianity, is to get some of their young men to settle a few years in Sweden and Denmark; there they might be educated in all sorts of useful learning, and some of these might be ordained ministers, others school-masters. If this was done at the public expense, the youth in general would emulate each other, their manners would be civilized, and towns being erected among them, they would become fond of society.

## MODERN RELIGION OF THE GAURES.

IN our account of the ancient Persian religion, we have related what these people believed and practised, but as the Mahometan religion has made a vast difference in many things throughout that extensive empire, we shall now proceed to give an historical narrative of the Gaures, who although few in number, yet remain in a body together. And this will be found the more necessary, because it will naturally lead us to explain with greater precision and certainty the religion of the heathens in Africa. Persia indeed is far from Africa, but still there is some affinity to be met with in the religion of all the ancient heathens. They differ indeed in many things, but they all agree in the worst of things, namely that of opposing the truth.

These people boast of a perpetual succession of their religion without any interruption; and though many persons may be apt to imagine this a mere romance, it is nevertheless strictly true and matter of fact. The religion of the Magi has existed almost ever since the flood; and although it may have been exposed from time to time to divers heresies and persecutions, and though, since the establishment of the Mahometans in Persia, it is reduced to a very small body of faithful members, it would be an act of injustice and partiality to rob them of the glory of maintaining their tenets with unshaken resolution even in the blackest storms that ever threatened to overwhelm them. If the Gaures have lost their temporal jurisdiction, they can still boast an

uninterrupted succession in the priesthood, a regular and uniform liturgy without the least variation since Zoroaster's time, and an inviolable attachment to the doctrines which he established.

The Gaures are inviolably attached to the reformation of Zoroaster, and they acknowledge a superior principle to those two before-mentioned of good and evil, whom the Persians, after they had swerved and deviated from the religion of their forefathers, established, as the sole author of light and darkness. The Gaures conceived, that by the intermixture of these two principles, God created every being in nature. A very celebrated author is of opinion, that Zoroaster borrowed that idea from the Jews; and this observation, in all probability, is very just. We shall only make this cursory remark, however, that this great reformer, foreseeing the difficulties attending so mysterious and incomprehensible a point, maintained, that though all things were good which God created, yet darkness or evil inseparably attended them, as shadows do corporeal substances. God could not possibly, according to his nature, produce any thing but good, but evil resulted from those productions, as a privation of good.

Zoroaster was no stranger to the account which Moses had given of the creation, and of the fall of the angels, and our first parents; but if it be granted that he had read these remarkable occurrences in the books of Moses, it must likewise be allowed, that he made, either wilfully or through ignorance, some



very considerable alterations. As for instance, he asserted, that the world was created at six several seasons, each consisting of a certain number of days, viz. the first of forty-five, in which God created the heavens; the second of sixty, wherein he formed the waters; the third of seventy-five, in which he made the earth; the fourth of thirty, which were employed in the creation of the vegetable world; the fifth of fourscore, which were spent in the formation of all manner of living creatures, man only excepted; the sixth and last, of seventy-five, in which he created our first parents; but some authors give us a quite different account of this creation.

The Gaures likewise hold, that as the world was to be increased and multiplied by two persons only, God graciously determined, that Eve should every day bring a pair of twins into the world; and that during the term of one thousand years, death should have no dominion over her seed; that the devil tempted our first parents, in order to render them odious in the eyes of their creator; that God, being conscious of the malice of the spirit of darkness, did not think convenient totally to suppress this evil, but took the following measures to check the malignant influences of it. He constituted a select company of angels to be the guardians and protectors of his creatures. Hamul was made inspector of the heavens; Acrob superintendent of the angels; the sun, moon, earth, waters, man, plants, and all living creatures of what nature or kind soever, had their particular guardian angels. But notwithstanding all these prudent precautions, evil increased, men grew wicked and perverse in all their ways, and God sent therefore the waters of the deluge at once to extirpate them, and all their impious race. The devils are put in opposition to the good angels; whose several names and functions are registered at large in *Hide*; but we shall not trouble the reader with a transcript of his catalogue.

The Gaures are exceedingly religious, and never mention the Deity but with all the circumspection and reverence imaginable. They allow him all the same glorious attributes as we do; they look upon him as the sovereign judge, and bountiful rewarder of all mankind; just, merciful, and ready to pardon. Both the angels and devils of whom we have been speaking, are the ministers of God; the one for the administration of good, and the other of evil.—These Gaures likewise are of opinion, that each individual person has both a good and evil genius constantly attending him. It is farther a received notion amongst them, that the influence of a certain general light is infused, if we may be allowed the expression, after an extraordinary manner, into some particular persons who are the favourites of the Almighty.—It is this light, according to them, that renders some men conspicuous for their deep penetration into all

the arts and sciences, and forms the geniuses of such as are born to sit at the helm of state; and we may add, helps them to bring about the various revolutions that overset whole empires, and likewise to excite the same confusion in the minds of men.

This is doubtless no absurd notion, nor is it any ways extravagant to imagine, that this light sometimes diffuses itself after such a profuse manner, on some certain number of persons in a family, that its favours seem partially bestowed on them, to the manifest detriment and disadvantage of the rest.—This is indisputably a very judicious remark, though not to be accounted for by physic or astrology. Any person that will give himself but the least trouble imaginable to reflect, will easily perceive, that there is a certain quantity of merit, as well as of temporal advantage, allotted for distinct families. Kingdoms likewise are after the same manner permitted to be formidable and powerful, to flourish, and be masters of the arts and sciences to the highest perfection for a time, and then again, are reduced to an apparent declension. And indeed all things in nature as well as the human species, have their proper seasons for their increase, maturity, and decay.

It is impossible to keep off the revolutions of the last mentioned period of decay, and the emperor Augustus, and Lewis the Great, king of France, who were so exactly alike in their lives and governments, are incontestible proofs of the truth of this assertion. The Gaures have a kind of veneration and respect for cocks, on account of their waking them so early in the morning, and reminding them, by their crowing, of the duties of the ensuing day. Their books recommend them to the favour and affection of the faithful. These testimonies of their esteem for this particular animal, were transmitted to them, in all probability, by the traditions of the ancient Persians.

The primitive Persians, as we have already observed, made use of no manner of temples, as thinking them places too circumscribed, and below the dignity of the Supreme Being; but when they were inclinable, in imitation of the Jews, to preserve their consecrated fire, it was absolutely necessary that they should admit of their Pyreums. Zoroaster, not satisfied with those he found already introduced, erected a considerable number more wherever he went. These consecrated fires are at present much in vogue amongst the Gaures, and preserved with so much care and precaution, that they are called idolators, and the worshippers of fire, though without the least ground to support the ungenerous accusation. For they pay no adoration to the material fire, although they make use of that element in the celebration of their divine service. It is the Deity alone whom they adore in the presence of the fire, as the true symbol of the Divine Majesty. Though

fire, according to the Gaures, is the purest of all the elements, yet they look upon it only as one of God's most perfect creatures, and it is, as they imagine, his favourite habitation. When they pray, they neither make their addresses to Mithra, nor the sun, nor fire, but to God alone; many instances whereof are produced by the learned doctor Hyde above quoted, from whence we may very readily infer, that the imputations of idolatry are as rash and groundless in Asia as they are in Europe.

Zoroaster enjoined his disciples to adore the Deity with their faces towards the sun and the consecrated fire. It was the mode of worship amongst the ancient Persians, says the French translator of Dr. Prideaux's history, and this institution preceded the reformation of Magianism. When the Persians drew near to their consecrated fires in their divine service, they always approached them from the west side, because by that means their faces being turned to those, as well as the rising sun, they could direct their worship towards both at the same time. This form of worship was directly opposite to that of the Jews. For the holy of holies, wherein was inclosed the symbol of the divine presence, which lay on the propitiatory, or mercy-seat, being at the west end of the temple of Jerusalem, all such as entered therein to worship God, had their faces turned that way. That was the point towards which they constantly directed their divine worship; but that of the Magi being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces towards the east.

The Gaures, according to Lord, are obliged to turn towards the sun at their morning and daily service, and at night towards the moon. For these two planets are not only the two bright luminaries of the heavens, but likewise two of God's witnesses opposed to Lucifer; that is to say, the devil, or principle of evil. The priests are obliged to watch day and night to maintain and repair the consecrated fire. But it is absolutely necessary that it be rekindled after the purest manner that can possibly be devised; for which purpose they frequently make use of a steel and flint, or two hard sticks, which, by continual friction, will in time take fire. Sometimes likewise they kindle it by the lightning which darts down from heaven on any combustible matter; and sometimes again by those *Igues fatui* which frequently arise in marshy grounds; or else by common fire, in case it is pure and undefiled, or with such as the Bauians make use of to kindle the funeral piles. But they have one other method still, as noble as it is pure; and that is, by collecting the rays of the sun into the focus of a burning glass.

They are strictly enjoined not to touch this fire with sword or knife, and they are obliged to feed it with the purest kind of wood, without the least kind of bark upon it. They are not allowed to blow it

with their mouths or a pair of bellows, for fear of the least profanation; which was formerly punished with immediate death; and that rigorous treatment for such offences continued till the destruction of the Magian monarchy by the Mahometans. The priests themselves never presumed to approach these consecrated fires without a piece of fine linen over their mouths, to prevent their breath from polluting these sacred flames, and this precaution was always observed whenever they drew near them, or when they read or repeated that form of prayer which might properly be called the service of the fire.—The Magian priests, who were the proper celebrants, performed this ceremony with such an humble and lowly voice, as not to be heard, or at least understood by the congregation. It was a kind of whisper, not unlike that practised by our Roman Catholic priests when they read low mass.

The language in which this office is wrote, is at present as unintelligible to the Gaures as the Latin to some of our illiterate Europeans. When their sovereign pontiff approached these consecrated fires, he was washed from head to foot, perfumed and dressed in a vestment as white as snow. After this he prostrated himself to the very ground before the flames, and said his prayers with bitter sighs and groans; which are well understood by the devotees of all religions. These ardent acts of devotion, the affectionate respirations of his soul, were all addressed to the Deity, to him he offered up his prayers, extracted from their sacred scriptures, and in short to him alone he made confession of his sins.

These customs are all observed by the Gaures at this very day. Their religious devotion, according to Lord, is introduced by the Distoore's seasonable exhortation to the people; the sum and substance whereof is as follows, viz. That the celestial fire having been delivered by God himself to Zerroost, (Zoroaster) their wise legislator, to whom he declared, that it was an emanation, or part of his own infinite virtue and excellence, they ought to look upon it as sacred and divine, and the proper object of their profoundest veneration, as being a portion of the divine essence, since it is of the same substance and they ought to love and regard every object that bears any resemblance of it, as the sun and the moon, who are God's two awful witnesses, who will testify against them, if they contempt or neglect that worship, which has been enjoined them. After this, he exhorts them to ask pardon and forgiveness of God, if, in their daily use of fire, they should by accident, let fall the least drop of water into it, or, by any inattention, carelessness, or otherwise, be guilty of any impure action with regard to that element.

In some particular parts of the Indies, the faithful, who are professors of Magianism, are con-

vened or assembled together by the tinkling of a little bell. But the Gaures in Persia are not allowed to give any such public notices; for which reason they meet together without any ceremony at the stated hours; and then, according to the custom observed by the Armenians of Zulpha, are convened only by five or six strokes on a plank with a hammer. In their temples, instead of a fire they have nothing but a burning lamp. Although during divine service these devotees have their mouths and some part of their faces covered, they must keep, notwithstanding, at an awful distance from their consecrated fires: But as to the priests, they may approach them in such a manner as to be able to officiate without the least inconvenience to themselves, or profanation of the fire.

The little twigs or switches which we have already mentioned, are looked upon as an essential branch of the rites and ceremonies observed in their religious worship. These rods are cut off with abundance of formality from one particular tree, which the Persians call a *Hawm*; and very much resembles the *Tamarisk*. If no such tree however can be found, they have immediate recourse to the pomegranate-tree. The knife made use of on this occasion must first be sanctified by a very careful ablution, and by several prayers pronounced in a low voice to the praise and glory of God, and of the sacred fire. These rods or twigs are deposited in a case or box made for that particular purpose: and whenever they read or pronounce any of the prayers contained in their *Zend*; or whenever they engage in any other religious exercise whatsoever, a proper quantity of these twigs must be taken out, and laid ready before them; for these sacred instruments are as essential to them on such solemn occasions, as to our Catholic devotees their chaplets or set of beads. The number of them however, is not fixed and determined. Some prayers require thirty-five, and others only twenty four. Five only are sufficient for an ejaculatory grace before their meals, but as they are of no further service after the prayer, they must be devoted to the flames.

Though the Persians had a peculiar veneration for the fire, yet they paid likewise such an extraordinary respect to the three other elements, that some ancient historians have charged them with paying divine adoration to them all. This accusation, however, is groundless and unjust. All their care and circumspection in former time was, and still is, to preserve those pure elements from the least stain or pollution. They look upon them as sacred, the principles and seeds of all things being, as they imagine, comprised in them; and for that reason they constitute distinct conservators for each of them, whose peculiar province it is to preserve them from any intermixture or profanation. This purity is the

principle whereon the Gaures have grounded their ceremonies with relation to the dead. The water, however, is the element next in repute amongst them to the fire. A scarlet and deep yellow are their favourite colour; and they may make choice of them before any other in every thing they wear, as being, in some measure, emblems or representations of the fire. For the very same reason likewise a ruby, a carbuncle, and a garnet are much more valuable in their esteem than any other precious stones whatever. Notwithstanding this peculiar regard of theirs for scarlet, &c. it is undeniably true that their priests are obliged to be dressed in white during their celebration of divine service.

The Gaures have their guardian angels for every month and day throughout the year, and to them they direct their prayers, according to the forms laid down in their rituals; but in such a manner as relates only to every one's particular functions. Here seems to be something of a contradiction, because it has been already taken notice of, that they acknowledge but one God. The truth is, like all other heathens although they acknowledge but one Supreme God, yet they at the same time address their prayers to subordinate beings, whom they consider as mediators and intercessors for them. This was the practice with the Greeks of old, as well as the Romans; and we may add, that it is the practice with the Roman Catholics, otherwise, "Why do they pray to saints to intercede for them with God?"

New-year's day is a grand festival with them, as well as with the people in other nations. They likewise keep six festivals in commemoration of the six days' work of creation, and each of these last five days successively; and besides these they have a great number of lucky and unlucky days, being, like most other heathens, very superstitious. These Gaures likewise commemorate their dead once every month throughout the year, and on such occasions they provide an elegant entertainment, in memory of their deceased friends and relations. This monthly feast is instituted and kept up by order of an express injunction in the sadder or liturgy of the Gaures, namely, remember the souls of your departed fathers and mothers.

The first day of every month is set apart for divine worship, and so on, the eighth, fifteenth, &c. in the same manner as one out of seven is kept by the Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. The sermons preached on those days consist chiefly of moral precepts, and exhortations to the people to observe strictly the rites and ceremonies of their religion.—In reading their prayers they resemble in their tone of voice, the Jews in their synagogues, and many of their ceremonies are similar. In singing they likewise resemble the Jews, and probably this must be



owing to some of the Jews remaining among them, after the rest returned to Jerusalem, and rebuilt the city and temple under their captain Zerrababel.

They keep several fasts, and a sort of abstinence for five days successively after each of them, so that great part of their time is spent in rites and ceremonies. On all festivals, each person carries a part of what he eats to the temple, as an offering to the fire, and this is done in order to procure a blessing from heaven upon the fruits of the earth, and such other things as serve them for a subsistence.

It is probable, they learned this custom from the Banians, who reside near them, for it has no affinity with the ceremonies of the ancient Persians. On the mornings of their festivals, they repair betimes to their sanctuaries or temples, which are but mean huts, and take their victuals along with them. The rich distribute some part of their plentiful store among the poor, and all eat sociably in common together, like brothers. Their devotees never fail going once every day to worship the sacred fires, in one or other of their temples, and their they confess their sins to the priest, much in the same manner, says Dr. Hyde, as is practised in the church of Rome. Those who live too far distant from any of these places set apart for public worship, content themselves with performing their acts of devotion before their own fires at home : and for this purpose every Gaure brings home once in the year, a lighted lamp from the sacred fire, in the temple next to where they reside, and keep it continually burning.

Bodily purity is much attended to by them, for in that respect they are as scrupulous as the Jews or Mahometans ; for they refuse to eat or drink with any person who is not of the same religion with themselves. Whether the Gaures are ambitious or not, of making proselytes, like the professors of most other religions, does not appear from any of the accounts we have of them ; but has no temporal advantages are to be derived from this profession, consequently they are but few in number ; and Mr. Hanway tells us, that they are a poor despised people, who live in remote parts, and are very cruelly treated by the Mahometans. But notwithstanding all this poverty and many hardships which they suffer, yet they have the same love of ambition as is peculiar to other people ; for they have their high priest and all subordinate ones, and the election of these is carried on with the same intrigues as in other countries where the emoluments are worth seeking after. None however, can be admitted to the priesthood but sons of priests, and this is one of the reasons why all their priests are obliged to marry. All their priests wear long beards from the chin, but they shave their cheeks, and if they have whiskers they cut them short. Their cap termi-

nates in a point, and the laps of it hang down to their neck. Their hair is generally long, and they are enjoined never to cut it, except when they go into mourning for a deceased relation. When they perform divine service, the priests hold a cloth before their mouths, that the people may not see their lips move.

Their upper garment is of a reddish colour, but they are poor wretched rags, such as we would not take up in the streets. It falls down from the neck to the calf of the legs, and is bound round their waists with a sash of camel's hair. This sash or girdle is consecrated by the high-priest, and considered as containing many virtues. Every faithful Gaure is obliged to take care of his girdle, for if he should lose one, he must neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he has purchased another of one of the priests, who have always some to dispose of. They imagine that he who loses his girdle, loses all the blessings inherent in it, and they have a proverb, "A man without his girdle is without his blessing." They begin to wear it when they are from twelve to fifteen years of age, for at that age they think they can comprehend all the principles, and practise all the duties of their religion.

The laity are enjoined to be very strict and precise in their department, and to perform the duties required of them with diligence and application.—Shame and fear, according to the Gaures, are the basis and foundation of all virtues. They are commanded strictly to examine and weigh every thing they propose to undertake, and put nothing in execution till they are fully convinced of its justice and equity. They are likewise obliged, when they go out in a morning, to return God thanks for the creation of all those animals, of what nature or kind soever which they see in their way, but their priests are subject to still greater austerities.

Besides the obligations they are under of being perfectly acquainted with all the principles in their religion, and all the rites and ceremonies used in divine service, they must abstain from every sort of carnal lusts or desires, and keep themselves pure, both before God and man. Thus they are not to tell lies, because God is truth ; nor are they to be too curious, lest they should pry into things beyond their comprehension. They must not touch any thing that is impure and polluted, and they are to oblige all those whom they marry, to promise that they will not deviate from their religious principles ; to attend constantly on divine worship, to habituate themselves to the practice of patience, to be of a just, affable disposition, and imitate as far as in them lies, the perfections of the Deity, who is for ever merciful and gracious to the whole human race, notwithstanding their many sins, iniquities and ungrateful provocations.

They have likewise an ordinance of a very peculiar nature, by which their high-priest is prohibited from touching any secular person, but more especially one whom they reckon a heretic, or infidel. He is obliged to wash himself, and to put a hand to all his own necessary affairs, either as a mark of his humility and condescension, or for the better preservation of his bodily purity. He is to abstain from every thing that is superfluous, to spend part of his revenues in alms-deeds and other works of piety, and to avoid all manner of extortion in collecting his tithes. He must habituate himself to the practice of contemplation, study, and reflect on the precepts of his religion without the least intermission; to reprove the vicious, and to stand in awe of no being, however illustrious and potent, but God himself.—To conclude, he is under the necessity of taking care that the sacred fire never goes out, and to see that no person offers to profane it.

As the people are extremely poor, so they are obliged to use many expedients in order to support their priests, who, at the best, are but a miserable set of beings. Every devotee is obliged, on the twenty-fifth of April, to extinguish his lamp, and pay the priest about the value of sixpence of our money to have it re-kindled from the sacred altar. The sun and the consecrated fire, which the Gaures believe to be the visible symbols of the divine presence, bear some affinity to that fire which the ancient Jews made use of on their altars, erected for their sacrifices, and which continued till the first destruction of the city and temple. Indeed, the sacred fire in the Jewish temple, was always considered as an emblem of the Deity, although no divine honours were paid to it.

Neither the Jews of old could, nor are the Gaures at present permitted to put any but pure clean wood on these fires. There must be no bark upon the wood, nor any defilement whatever. Indeed, the strong conformity between them may serve to show, that some of the heathens, particularly in Persia, borrowed ceremonies from the Jews, which they did not understand.

At present their priests are not permitted to have any more than one wife, unless she proves barren, and in that case in order to have children, they may take another, but not without the consent of the first. The Gaures are proud and ambitious of nothing more than that of having a numerous issue, and this they call adding numbers to the faithful; for, according to their notions, such an increase of their stock will be looked upon as meritorious at the day of judgment, provided they are born in wedlock.

All their marriages are performed in their places of public worship, where the priest joins their hands, prays with them, and gives them his benediction.—It is a received notion among the Gaures, that the

marriage state is the most honourable in the world, especially when they have children. All their marriages are performed before the sacred fire, and when the parties have joined hands, the bridegroom gives the bride some small pieces of money as a pledge of all his temporal substance being her's. They are ordered by their religion to marry very young, and the women whom they take to be wives, must be of the same sentiments with themselves.

The Gaures never circumcise, but wash their children, which is a kind of baptism or ceremony practised by them for the purification of the soul.—The new-born infant is brought to the temple, and presented to the priest before the sun and the fire. The priest having taken an exact account of the time when the child was born, he then calculates what is to happen to him in this world. As these impostors must be often deceived, one would naturally imagine that such circumstances would open the eyes of the people, and lead them off from deception; but the great misfortune is, that where the mind is once bewildered with superstition, all hopes of reformation are lost, and even the sly tricks practised by artful impostors, are considered as the quintessence of truth.

The parents having declared the name of the child, the priest pronounces it aloud, and then pours some pure water upon a certain piece of wood, called holm. In the next place he sprinkles the infant with the consecrated water, and prays that it may be the means of its purification. He then dips the child all over in the water, which concludes the whole of the ceremony.

When the infant attains to seven years of age, it is brought to the priest to be confirmed, as being then qualified to be admitted into their temples.—The priest asks the youth a few questions, suitable to the occasion, and teaches him a few prayers, which the child must retain in his memory, and repeat them, holding his mouth over the sacred fire, with a cloth before both it and his nostrils, lest his breath should convey any sort of pollution. As soon as he has finished his prayers, the priest gives him some water to drink, and the rind of a pomegranate to chew in his mouth, as an internal purification. To conclude, he bathes him in a tub of water, and afterwards binds his girdle on him; but according to Hilde, the latter part of this ceremony is not performed till the child arrives at years of maturity.

When a Gaure is dying, his friends send for a priest, who standing close by his ear, prays for him, and commends his spirit to the living God. A dead corpse defiles the person who touches it, for which reason none of the priests must come within ten feet of it. They never bury their dead, because they imagine it would profane and pollute the earth. They

have round towers erected of stone, and thither they carry their dead on biers; within the tower is a staircase with deep steps made in a winding form, and when the bearers are got within, the priests scale the walls by the help of ladders; when they have dragged the corpse gently up with ropes, they then let it slide down the stair-case. During the first three days after the body has been thus disposed of, the people firmly believe that the devil is on his watch and seeks all opportunities to torture and torment the soul, which therefore, wings her way with all possible speed towards the celestial regions; in hopes to escape the tyranny of that malicious enemy of mankind, and fiend of darkness. For this reason, the friends and relations of the deceased meet together at morning, noon, and night, to beg of God, in the most ardent manner, to pardon and absolve him from all his sins. On the fourth day the soul is fixed in the place appointed for it, either of happiness or misery, and it is therefore on this fourth day that the priests prognosticate the future state of the deceased. The method used by these impostors is rather singular, and different from any thing we have hitherto taken notice of in our accounts of other heathen nations.

The party deceased, being laid under the walls of the sepulchre, with eyes turned towards the heavens, the vultures are permitted to come and peck at his face: the first part they generally attack is the eye, and if they seize at once upon the right, the corpse is intantly carried to a white tower, as a proof that the soul is in heaven; but on the contrary, if the vultures peck at the left eye, then the body is carried to a black tower, it being their opinion that the soul is in a state of punishment. However, they are not uniform in this, for Ovington says, that before they expose a dead carcase to the birds of prey, they lay him decently on the ground, while one of the relations goes round the village to try if he can allure a dog to follow him. He does all he can to bring the animal as near as possible to the corpse, for they imagine that the nearer the dog comes, the nearer the departed soul is to everlasting happiness. But if the dog cannot be tempted to approach it, then it is considered as a bad omen, and they almost despair of his ever entering into happiness.

When the dog has performed the task assigned him, two priests, standing about ten yards distant from the body, repeat a form of prayer half an hour in length, but they hum it over in such a manner as hardly to give themselves time to breathe. During the whole of this ceremony, the corpse has a piece of paper fixed to each ear, and hangs over the face about three inches below the chin. As soon as the prayers are over, the corpse is carried to the place

allotted for its reception, and all the company follow it two and two, with their hands devoutly closed. They are enjoined not to speak a word, because their sepulchral monument is a place of silence and repose.

We cannot conclude this account of these idolaters, without taking notice of one sentiment they embrace, which indeed is in some measure peculiar to all the heathen nations we have treated of, namely, the immortality of the soul. Strange, that from one extremity of the world to the other, even the most unenlightened nations should believe the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and yet many of those who have been brought up under the joyful sound of the gospel should deny it. This will rise in condemnation against them, and they will be convicted at the tribunal of the great judge of all the earth, for trampling upon knowledge. We are surprised still more, that there should be none but learned men in the world so abandoned, but learning without grace and the fear of God, becomes a real curse instead of an useful blessing.

The above instances of those who have the benefit of the gospel dispensation, will be in the end a dreadful aggravation of their guilt. Our Saviour said it would be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah at the day of judgment, than for the unbelieving Jews. And if this is to be the case and condition of those Jews who lived under a law of carnal ordinances, how then shall those escape who trample under foot the blood of the son of God, who crucify him afresh, and put him to open shame. How dreadful the consideration, that men, brought up by their parents in the purity of the Christian doctrine, should attempt to establish a system which even an ignorant heathen would shudder at. And yet there are men of no small abilities, who have attempted to prove that the soul of man is mortal. By such doctrines being believed, the hedges of morality and genuine piety are broken down, and the flood-gates of profaneness set open.

By this, many unthinking young persons, who otherwise might have been an honour to their parents, and the comfort of their declining years, have forgot the fear of God, despised religious duties, plunged themselves into diseases and death, and been hurried down to damnation in multitudes.

Melancholy as this subject is, its importance obliges us to dwell upon it; could those unhappy materialists, of whom we have been speaking, be brought to acknowledge their own weakness, and their own wickedness, there might then be some hopes of a reformation, but in the mean time we may lament the shocking condition of human nature. Well might Dr. Watts say,



Backward with humble shame we look  
 On our original;  
 How is our nature dash'd and broke  
 In our first father's fall.  
 To all that's good averse and blind,  
 But prone to all that's ill;  
 What dreadful darkness veils our mind!  
 How obstinate our will!

These reflections do not arise from any suggestions of a gloomy mind, but really from a concern the author has, as far as his weak abilities will permit, to promote the best interest of his fellow-creatures. He is not so sanguine in his hopes, as to imagine that it is in his power to stem the torrent of infidelity, but he is sensibly touched when he finds some men calling themselves ministers of the everlasting gospel, and at the same time attempting to establish deism itself. This they evidently do, when they tell us, that there is no immortality of the soul, nor a future state of rewards and punishments. Thus

they are worse than the most illiterate heathens, and even the deists laugh at them. They hate the cross of Christ, they despise the gospel; so that we may apply to them what Dr. Young says:

And is there, who the blessed cross wipes off,  
 As a foul blot from his dishonoured brow?  
 If angels tremble, 'tis at such a sight:  
 The wretch they quit, desponding of their charge;  
 More struck with grief or wonder who can tell.

Upon the whole, while we look upon the evidence of the heathens as a collateral proof of the truth of our holy religion, yet we have a higher authority to trust to, namely, divine wisdom itself. Christ said to his disciples, "Because I live, you shall live also." And we may venture to affirm, that as he became the first fruits of them that slept, so our bodies shall be raised up at the last day, and being joined to our precious and immortal souls, shall both together enjoy eternal happiness.

## DIFFERENT RELIGIONS IN AFRICA.

**I**N ancient times this country was considered as a third part of the terrestrial globe, and it may be properly called a peninsula; for was it not for that small tract of land running between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, it would actually be an island. It is remarkable that in ancient times there were many Christians here, who had fair and flourishing churches, and here some of the most eminent Christian fathers resided; among these were Cyprian, bishop of Carthage; Austin, bishop of Hippo, and Tertullian the famous apologist. These African churches continued to flourish till about the middle of the seventh century, when the Arabians, under their caliphs, established Mahometanism in many parts, such as Egypt, Morocco, Algiers, &c. but at present the greater number of the inhabitants are idolators. But here we find it impossible for us to inform the reader, from whence these modern idolators derive their worship; for it bears no manner of affinity to that of either the Greeks, Romans, or Egyptians; and there is so little of the ancient religion of the Ethiopians, Nigritians, &c. preserved in it, that it would prove a very difficult task to trace from those remains the idolatry of their descendants.

Strabo has transmitted to us the following tenet<sup>s</sup> and religious ceremonies of the Ethiopians. "They acknowledge, (says he) one Immortal and Supreme Being, who is the first cause of all things, and believe in another god, who is immortal, nameless, and wholly unknown. They look upon their patrons and benefactors, and their most illustrious personages as deities. And they are of opinion, that kings in general are the guardians of all the inferior orders and degrees of men, and that particular persons are the protectors, of their peculiar favourites. There are some persons amongst those who dwell under the torrid Zone, that are looked upon as perfect Atheists, because they detest the sun, and curse that radiant planet as often as it rises, on account of its excessive heat, &c." Herodotus assures us, that the Atlantes, who are inhabitants of the Lybian deserts, curse the sun likewise, because he burns them, and parches up all their country. Purchas makes the ancient Africans pay divine adoration to the sun, and to the fire; and they consecrated, says he, divers temples in honour to both, and maintained their fire, in the same manner, and with the same care and circumspection, as the ancient Romans;

but this assertion has no authority to support it. He adds, that the Africans of Lybia and Numidia, offered up their sacrifices and addressed their prayers to some particular planets; and one part of the negroes worshipped Guighimo, that is to say, the Lord of Heaven. Their Pagan superstitions were afterwards improved by embracing the Jewish rites and ceremonies, which they religiously observed for a long time, till they were converted to the Christian faith, from which they apostatized soon after, and sunk into the vile impostures of Mahomet. If therefore we may rely on the veracity of Purchas, who has given us this account, the footsteps of Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, are in all probability, still discernable in their idolatrous worship. It is probable likewise, that the Hottentots, who reside in the remotest parts of Africa, observe the Jewish ceremonies at this very day; for the German historian, who has given us in folio, a long account of the Cape of Good Hope, and the several countries inhabited by those people, affirms it for a positive truth; nay, it is possible, were we inclined to produce learned quotations from the Greek and Roman authors, we might be able to reconcile the ideas of the ancient and modern Africans; but such curious researches would seem so much the more needless and impertinent, as it is impossible to determine, in this case, what would be agreeable to, and hit the taste of the reader.

### *Religion of the inhabitants of Nigritia, or Nigeria.*

This Nigritia comprehends the several dominions of Gaulato, Genchoa, Tombut, Melli, Sousos, Madigna, and Sanfara, and the kingdoms of Senegal, Gambia, &c. Some of these Nigritians embrace the Mahometan religion. Those of Gaulata, we are informed, pay divine adoration to fire; and as for the rest, they cannot properly be said to profess any religion at all. The inhabitants of Senegal, and the parts adjacent, pay their respects to the moon with loud acclamations, and their religious worship is celebrated in the hollow trunks of the most spacious trees; and the idols, who preside in these temples are honoured with divers oblations, which, for the generality, consist in beans, peas, herbs, and all sorts of grain; but sometimes indeed, they sacrifice the blood of beasts. This worship of theirs is under the direction and management of a kind of priests, who dispose of several little leathern purses amongst these negroes full of pieces of paper with mystic characters drawn upon them, of equal force and virtue as those of amulets and abraxas.—These priests, as we are informed, contract no affi-

ance with the laity; and they are expressly enjoined not to marry any woman whomsoever, out of the sacerdotal tribe.

We are informed, likewise, that these negroes acknowledge the unity and omnipotence of the god-head, and circumcise their children, when they are about six or seven years old. But all the accounts we have of these African countries, are in reality very lame and uncertain, and full of contradictions. However, if we may give any credit to them, the inhabitants of Nubia were formerly Christians, and at this very day some antique footsteps may be seen there of Jesus Christ, and several of the saints.—They baptize with a hot iron; or, more properly speaking, they make an impression on some particular part of the body, with that instrument, as an equivalent to baptism. The inhabitants of Gambia, and the parts adjacent, have retained a faint and imperfect knowledge of Jesus Christ, whom they call Nabe, and of whom they say, that he was the son of Mary, and a great prophet. If it be true, they are indebted to the Mahometans for that idea of him.

The negroes of Kasamanse worship an idol, by them called China; and their priests, whom they call Aracani, carry it in procession on some certain days in the year set apart for that solemn purpose. Their standard or banner, is a kind of white silk scarf, on which are painted several dead men's bones, and ears of rice. After the procession is over, they deposit the god within the hollow of a tree, and there make him oblations of honey, and such other good things as they see convenient. This idol, or god of theirs, called China, is represented, it is said, in the form of a faggot, or bundle of sticks bound together.

The worship of the people of Madigna is a melody or composition of idolatry and Mahometanism. Their Bexerins, who are their priests, are very much addicted to the practice and study of magic, and the grand Bexerin, who is, as it were, their sovereign pontiff, resides in the metropolitan city of that kingdom; and all the priests keep seminaries of superstition and magical knowledge. They distribute some particular billets amongst their pupils and the people, which are, they pretend, infallible preservatives from all manner of dangers and disasters. Some of them are so ignorant, or wicked, as to refuse ascribing the blessings which they receive to God's goodness; for say they, if he was really good and gracious, he would never suffer his creatures to be at such trouble and fatigue to attain them.

All these negroes in general are polygamists, and even part with their wives whenever they think proper. They are under no manner of restrictions in this particular, and act without the guidance of rea-

son in every point relating thereto, but in having no conversation with a wife that is with child. The inhabitants of Sierra Leona have in all their cities or borough towns, a kind of boarding-school or monastery, situate at some distance from the common dwelling-houses, where the young ladies that are marriageable, are educated for about a year, under the care and conduct of a venerable old gentleman, who is a person of rank and distinction, as well as unspotted character and reputation. At the year's end, they are released from their confinement, and permitted to appear, dressed in their best attire, at their public ball or assembly. The relations of the young ladies likewise accompany them to this matrimonial market, where there are always a crowd of young gentlemen present, to enquire into their character, and survey them, whilst they are dancing to their Moorish music. After they have taken the necessary precautions, they make choice of such as they fancy, and pay not only a valuable consideration to their parents for them, but gratify their old superintendent for his extraordinary care and expence in their education.

The negroes of Senegal and the Jaloffes, accompany their dead to the grave with the beat of drum, at the head of their funeral train, and all the relations, both men and women, follow the corpse.—When they inter their dead, they bury with them all the implements and utensils they made use of when living, and afterwards close their graves, and erect a kind of monument over them. The materials of the house, in which the deceased resided, is, for the generality, devoted to this particular service, and a white flag, or standard in case he was a warrior, is always set upon the top of his monument. These negroes entertain a notion with respect to such as are professed drummers, which is very remarkable. They imagine, that the ground where they are interred immediately loses its native virtue, and becomes barren: and that if they should throw them into a river, or the sea, the very fish would be infected, and rendered incapable of spawning. In order to prevent such fatal inconveniencies, if we may rely on the veracity of Dapper, they bury them in the hollow trunks of their largest trees.

These funeral rites and solemnities naturally lead us to the notions which these negroes entertain with respect to their serpents. As they are fully persuaded, that their friends and relations are metamorphosed into these reptiles after their decease, they cannot be induced by any means whatever, to injure, or kill any one of them, though never so dangerous and destructive: They firmly believe, that some person or another in their neighbourhood, would infallibly die upon the spot, where such an animal should lose its life. Several of the negroes have the art of charming these venomous reptiles,

and will venture to handle and play with them without any manner of fear or reluctance. These magicians, likewise, can, by their fascinations, heal such persons as have had the misfortune to be dangerously wounded by them. In short, they charm their very horses, imagining that by virtue thereof, they shall run no manner of risque in riding them, and that in war they will deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. The ancients ascribed much the same virtue to the Psylles, who resided in those parts now called Barca; but notwithstanding this pretended conformity, and the vouchers which our historians produce of spells or charms for soothing these reptiles, and rendering the malignity of their poison ineffectual, it is very probable the surprising influences of such fascinations, may be reduced to some secrets in nature, to which at present we are perfect strangers.

The natives of Gambia bury their dead, with all their gold and valuable treasures, and he who has the richest grave, is in their opinion the happiest man. When the king of Guinella dies, twelve officers, dressed in party-coloured robes, proclaim, by sound of proper instruments, his majesty's decease to all the people; whereupon they all surround the corpse robed in white, and proceed immediately to the election of a new sovereign. They bathe or wash the deceased all over, then take out his bowels, and burn them in the presence of the god of their country, but preserve his ashes however, and embalm his body. About a month afterwards they solemnize the pompous funeral, and bring perfumes from all parts for the purification of the corpse. Six persons, dressed in white silk robes, carry him to the grave; and during the procession there is a melancholy concert of Moorish music, both vocal and instrumental. The whole train of attendants, except such as are princes of the blood walk on foot, and they indeed are mounted on horseback, dressed all in white, which is the usual mourning with them as well as the Chinese.

All his wives, most faithful friends and domestics, and even his favourite horses, are sacrificed at the grave, in order to attend him to the other world.—We have no such instances of loyalty amongst us: neither is it to be supposed, that their subjects are sanguine rivals in this case, and make all the interest they possibly can, to procure the honour of attending his majesty in this solemn expedition; for many of them take care to abscond when they find his majesty's death approaching. Our accounts add moreover, that these his unhappy companions are treated with uncommon barbarity even before they are sacrificed. But be that as it will, these savage Moors are not half so heroic and intrepid as our ancient Gauls and Germani were, who never swerved from their loyalty, nor started at the apprehensions



of attending their sovereigns to Vahalla; that is, to the other world. The latter, on the contrary, were so concerned, lest they should not arrive soon enough at those regions of bliss, where they might carouse and indulge themselves without any of the anxious cares that pall the enjoyments of this life, that their grandees took care to ride post thither; and for that reason their horses were killed afterwards and buried with their masters. Is it not very surprising that Christianity, which gives us such a delightful prospect of a future state, should not be able to wean us from our violent, or at least, too fond hankering after the present? Can so pure and holy a religion produce effects so inconsistent with the scope of our wise legislator? From whence can it possibly proceed? It must doubtless arise from this, that Christianity promises nothing but spiritual advantages; and promises of that nature have not power sufficient to influence even the teachers and propagator of them. For, in general, they are shocked at the apprehensions of death as much as any other persons, and in all probability more. It is possible, they may be more sensible than others of the intricacies that attend religious maxims.

The natives of Beni and Sousos, add to their hideous outcries and lamentations sundry presents, which when they go to a funeral they carry with them, and divide into three parts or shares; one whereof is appropriated to the king's service, another to the relations of the deceased, and the third to the party deceased himself, with whom it is buried. For the generality, they erect a hut on this occasion, at some small distance from the grave, in which the relations of the deceased meet together, in order to ask him what troubles and sorrows he meets with in the other world, and to offer up their sincere and hearty prayers to Almighty God to release him from all his afflictions. As to the kings and grandees of their country, they take care to bury them with all the secrecy and precaution imaginable, and frequently conceal them even in the bosom of their deepest rivers, that no person whatsoever shall be able to extract, or run away with, the immense treasures which are buried with them.

They bury the kings of Sierra-Leona in the high-roads; because such as in their life-time have acted in a public capacity, and been possessed of the most important posts, ought, according to the notions of these negroes, to appear in public likewise, in some measure, after their decease.

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### *Religion of the inhabitants of the Coast of Guinea.*

The slave trade lately carried on in Guinea, has given Europeans many opportunities of making themselves

well acquainted with the inhabitants. Happy had our merchants been as assiduous to promote the knowledge of Christianity, and the eternal happiness of immortal souls, as they have been to procure riches, by means that no man can justify. This melancholy subject has been considered in a proper point of view by Mr. Granville Sharp, a gentleman as much distinguished for his learning, as for the most unblemished character, universal benevolence, and unaffected piety. He considers it in a light which no one ever did before, namely, that as Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians for their oppressions of the poor, so the continuing of the slave trade, and even encouraging it, would bring down the divine judgments upon sinful nations. In vain do they pretend that these people are used as well in the West-Indies as at home. This has nothing to do with the argument, for we must insist that no mortal has a right to deprive his fellow-creatures of liberty, except for crimes. But are these poor Africans, when brought to the West-Indies, instructed in religion? No, it is industriously concealed from them. Nay, it is not long since they were bought and sold in England, like beasts of burden. No encomiums can be too great on Mr. Sharp, who brought the matter to the fountain-head of the law, and obtained a solemn judgment, that no slave can live in England; that every foreigner, whether an African, or from any other part of the world, is free the moment he sets his foot on shore in this country. We with pleasure may add further, that the Court of Session in Scotland has lately given judgment to the same import as in England.

We thought these things necessary to be premised, in order to make the reader better acquainted with these people, and their religious sentiments; for some of them observe the ceremony of circumcision, without assigning any manner of reason for their conduct, which, perhaps, may be grounded on mere necessity. But should some certain customs be added to it, which are in vogue with their neighbours, such as presenting the choicest of their fruits to a particular god, called Belly, and to the souls of their relations; refraining from eating beef or veal, or any kind of shell-fish, we may visibly discern the footsteps of Judaism, and the paganism of the ancient Egyptians. This hint, we presume, is sufficient for such to draw conclusions from, as are fond of reconciling the most distant conjectures.

Purchas has collected abundance of curious observations relating to the religion of these people, and their rites and ceremonies. Notwithstanding they have no books, no scriptures, nor even any civil laws for their political government, yet it is certain, they are not destitute of all religion. They dedicate and set apart Tuesday for the worship of their Fetiches, as we do Sunday to the service of God.

This day of rest is very strictly observed in the exercise of dancing, &c. and this is likewise their day appointed for the circumcision of their children.—There is one of their Fetiches, it seems, whom they acknowledge superior to all the rest. When any one asks them what notion they entertain of the Deity, they answer, that he is black like themselves; and that instead of being their bountiful benefactor, he acts like a tyrant and an oppressor. To this our historian replied, in the language of a missionary, that God is white like us, is good and gracious, and has done great and marvellous things for us: that he descended from heaven to earth for our sakes, and was crucified by the Jews for our salvation; that after the dissolution of these our earthly tabernacles, our souls shall take their flight to the celestial regions. But all this seemed mere cant and jargon to these negroes, who chiefly opposed the Divine Providence, alledging that they were no ways indebted to the Deity, but to the earth, the waters, the planets, &c. for the many blessings they enjoyed; and it is no wonder at all to hear them talk in this strain.—If we will but give ourselves the least time to reflect, we may easily discern the weakness and insufficiency of such arguments with the negroes; especially on the absurdity of insisting on the whiteness of the God of the Christians, in opposition to the black Deity. Could no better way be found out to confute the negroes, than by recommending a God to them of another colour from their own?

The Fetiches are the particular deities of the negroes; and every one has a different sort, according to the direction of their Masouki, that is, according to Ovington, who is an historian of veracity, the priests of Guinea. They ascribe their good fortune, and happy deliverance out of all evils, to these Fetiches; and were they not so illiterate as they are, one would be apt to imagine, that they had copied the Talismans of the eastern nations, which, by virtue of their characteristics, had an influence over the works of nature, and could prevent an impending storm of rain or hail, that hung over their heads, or any other event that they saw pernicious to them. But, in all probability, their Fetiches are much the same as the Manitous of the northern Americans, which bear a very near affinity to the Genii of the ancients, particularly the Fauns and Sylvaus.—These negroes pay them all the testimonies of the profoundest respect and veneration imaginable; and a glass of palm-wine is poured out to their honour, and has the precedency in all their public entertainments.

There are some particular birds, as also the sword-fish, which they look upon as Fetiches; and their trees likewise bear the same venerable denomination, and some of them are accounted the guardians of their hill and mountains. They perform their sacri-

fices at the foot of these trees, and they are fully persuaded, that should any one presume to lop off one of their branches, he would be the immediate cause of the total destruction of all their fruits.—Whenever they consult these trees, as oracles, they tell us the Fetiche, or the devil, perhaps, assumes the shape of a black dog. Sometimes he does not condescend so far as to make his personal appearance, but delivers his answer invisible to human sight. The high mountains that have been struck with thunder, and such hills as are exposed to the same fate, are looked upon as the habitations of some of the Fetiches. The blacks never presume to approach them without some oblations in their hands; and they sprinkle palm-wine, and strew millet, and divers other grains all round about them.

There are some particular stones likewise like our land-marks, which are reckoned amongst the number of Fetiches; and as they are made use of for that very purpose too, there is a great resemblance, in our opinion, between them and the god Terminus, or the Terminal-Stone of the Romans. But some carping critic, perhaps, may start an objection here, and ask, why we should not rather compare them to those stones which they erected on their high-roads for the direction of travellers? but, be that as it will, they place Fetiches before their doors, and these titular deities are made in the form of grapples or hooks, which we generally make use of to shake our fruit-trees. The Negro priests fasten these to the stone Fetiches before-mentioned, which they tell us are as ancient as the world itself, and afterwards dispose of them to the people, at the best price they can get for the preservation of their houses. Thus much for their larger Fetiches; but they have several besides of a smaller size, which they carry about them, consisting of bangles of little or no value, and which the priests sell to the blacks after a formal consecration of them in their way. These they wear sometimes about their necks, and sometimes under their arm-pits; and these they pray to constantly night and morning; to these they present the choicest morsels of every thing they eat; and dress them, in short, in the gayest attire they can possibly procure.

On that day which answers to our Sunday, the blacks assemble themselves together in a spacious square, in the centre whereof is a sacred tree, called the tree of the Fetiche. At the foot thereof they set a table which is embellished below with boughs wreathed in the form of crowns. The table is covered with palm-wine, rice, millet, &c. in order to drink and eat after their service is over, in honour of their Fetiches. The whole day is spent in dancing and capering round the tree of the Fetiche, and in singing and drumming upon divers instruments of brass. The priest frequently sits near the centre of

the place before a kind of altar, on which he offers up some sacrifices to the Fetiches; and some men women and children sit promiscuously round the celebrant, who reads or pronounces a kind of homily to them. At the conclusion, he takes a whisp of straw, twisted hard, which he dips into a pot full of some particular liquor in which there is a serpent. He either besmears or sprinkles the children with this holy water, mumbling over them a certain form of words, and he observes the same ceremony with respect to the altar, and afterwards empties the pot; and then his assistants close the service with some inarticulate unintelligible sounds, loud acclamations, and clapping of hands. On this solemn day they wash their faces and bodies with more care and pains than on any other; for they practise ablutions. They wash themselves every morning, and afterwards draw white lines upon their faces, with a piece of earth like chalk, or lime, as acts of devotion, performed in honour of their Fetiche. The priest, attended by two women, frequently repairs to the tree of the Fetiche, in order to accomplish his magical incantations; at the foot whereof there appears, as we are informed, a black dog, who answers all his interrogatories.

This is the nature of the oracles, and if, for instance, the king is divested of his prerogative, or defrauded in his customs, he has recourse to the tree, which he looks upon as his Fetiche, and he presents it with something to eat and drink, as a kind of oblation. The priests approach the tree afterwards, in order to intreat it in the most solemn manner, to resolve their queries. In order to succeed in these important inquiries, they erect a small pyramid of ashes, in which they plant a bough of the tree; after that they take a pot full of water, drink a draught of it, and then sprinkle the bough. This ceremony is attended with a certain form of words, mumbled over amongst themselves, which, in all probability, are very mysterious. Having proceeded thus far, they sprinkle the bough a second time, and besmear their faces with some of the aforesaid ashes, and soon after this, as they assure us, the Fetiche, or the devil, delivers his final answer.

Villault de Bellefond has given us a description of another sacrifice of these blacks, dedicated to one of those evil, or mischievous Fetiches, which we have already mentioned. I saw, says he, a man and woman at the door of a certain house in one of their cantons or provinces, who had killed a chicken, and were draining its blood upon some leaves which they had strewed upon the ground; and when the blood would drop no longer, they cut it all in pieces, looked wishfully at the leaves, and turning one towards the other, kissing their hands, cried out, "Mecusa, Mecusa, be propitious to us, be propitious to us." I would not interrupt them during the

ceremony; but after all was over, I begged they would inform me of what they had been doing. The Fetiche, they said, of that district, had most sorely beaten and abused them, and that therefore they had been providing some victuals for him, in order to appease his vengeance. This Fetiche was nothing but a tile, wound round with straw. I broke the tile, and planted a crucifix in the room of it. The author of this narrative served all the Fetiches in the same disrespectful manner, and substituted crosses in their room, after he had convinced the blacks that a chicken so sacrificed, was not food for any mortal, as they faintly imagined. He exhorted them, also, if ever this Fetiche should attempt to molest them again, to take some little crucifixes, and kiss them, and then make the sign of the cross; and many of them listened to his wholesome admonitions, and exchanged their Fetiches for crosses.

Our zealous traveller resolved to push the reformation he had thus happily begun, still further. I got a guide, says he, to conduct me to their Fetiche major, which was erected on a plain, and set apart for the celebration of their sacrifices. This idol was a large stone covered with earth, which I first cleared off, and then broke about five hundred hooks or grapples which were about it; after this, I applied myself to one of their priests, and asked him whether he had any Fetiches to dispose of. He replied, that I had one, meaning one of the aforesaid hooks which I had taken away, and that he expected to be paid for it. I prevailed on him to go with me to the before-mentioned Fetiche major; and when he perceived that I broke it down, he immediately assembled all his fellow priests together, and informed them of what I had done; who unanimously cried out, that it was the greatest miracle in the world that I was not struck dead upon the spot. In order to make you ample restitution, said I, I plant here this cross, and if any one of you presumes to touch or approach it, unless with awful reverence, and on your bended knees, he shall die that very moment. They ran back howling to their respective apartments, in the utmost disorder and confusion. It must be supposed, that this zealous reformer added more instructions to his outward performance, without which, the blacks would have added profanation to idolatry, and looked upon crosses as more formidable Fetiches than their own. What other idea could this ignorant and idolatrous people entertain of two pieces of wood, the innate virtues whereof are perfectly unknown to all the world, but Papists.

Their priests follow no manner of employment, but are entirely maintained and supported by their lay-blacks, who are as benevolent and liberal to them as they possibly can be, in order to ingratiate themselves into their favour, and be remembered by



them in their prayers. In return for their civility, they sell to these blacks such Fetiches as they have blest, or consecrated, by a solemn touch of the tree of the Fetiche. The dress of these priests according to the description given of it by Villault de Bellefond, very much resembles a coat of armour, made of serge, or coarse linen. They wear a scarf round their waist, embellished with little parched bones of chickens, which, says he, bear a very near affinity to the little shells or trinkets of the pilgrims of St. Michael. The other parts of their body are entirely naked, and they wear garters about their legs, made of the bark of the tree of the Fetiche.

As to their ceremony of taking a solemn oath, we shall give an account of it in the words of the author before quoted, who was an eye-witness of the solemnity. A Moor, that had been taken in custody, on suspicion of theft, was brought before the Moorish general, in order to take his solemn oath, and eat up as they call it, his Fetiche. I had a great inclination says he, to see this ceremony; and in the first place I observed that a slave brought in a large bunch of thorns and briars in a basket.—These prickles are covered with leather, and in the middle of them was a small quantity of tallow, wax, feathers of parrots, bones of boiled chickens, the feathers of their own country bird, called the Fetiche, &c., all which mixed up together, compose a Fetiche, which they are obliged to eat; and if they do not burst, they are dismissed and looked upon as falsely accused. One of their priests, who was then present, declared he had made it the strongest he possibly could, and told the Moor, that if he proved perjured, he would die the moment he swallowed down his Fetiche. The oath consists likewise in drinking a draught of a particular liquor, extracted from several drugs and herbs, which are an essential part of the Fetiche. They have also another ceremony, which is sometimes practised for the attestation of a truth; and consists in dashing their foreheads against the feet, breast, and arms of the person who demands satisfaction, pronouncing withal a particular form of words three times successively; and clapping their hands, stamping with their feet upon the ground, and in fine, leaving their Fetiches upon the very spot.

When the negroes of Cabo de Monte enter into any treaty, they cut the throats of several hens, or chickens, drink up part of the blood of them, and present the cup to the other party; afterwards they order the fowls to be dressed, with which they regale themselves and their new allies. To complete and cement this happy union, they share the bones, which are carefully preserved on both sides, as a memorial of their contract; and when at any time a rupture happens on either side, they who are aggrieved send their bones to the others, to intimate

that they have forfeited their honour, by a shameful neglect of their engagements.

When the negroes, who live between Cabo Formoso and Ambosine, take an oath in order to acquit themselves from any scandalous imputation, they cut or scarify one of their arms, and afterwards suck the blood out of the wound. In order to procure success in their fishing, and ingratiate themselves into the favour and affection of their Fetiche, they throw rice, millet, and divers other grains into the sea; and in hopes of finding a plentiful store of gold, they allure him with sacrifices, which consist in strewing divers sorts of eatables all round their mountains, and their consecrated trees. After their seed-time is over, they burn the brambles which they find in their fields, with abundance of solemnity.—This ceremony consists in singing, dancing, and pouring palm-wine into the fire, in honour of their Fetiche; and the anniversary of their king's coronation is one of their most solemn festivals. This day is called the festival of the Fetiches, and his majesty invites all his court to a sumptuous entertainment; and they, as an acknowledgment of the favour, make him several very considerable presents. The festival opens with sacrifices, and concludes with all manner of riot and licentiousness.

The creation of a peer, or nobleman, is likewise another very remarkable holiday. Such young gentleman, in order to discharge himself from his so-called, is obliged to make a present to all the nobility in general, of a dog, a sheep, and a cow; and the festival opens with a elegant collation. The populace resort in crowds to the place appointed for the solemnization of it; some either beating their drums, or jingling their bells, and others armed with their javelins and bucklers, having their faces and bodies besmeared all over with yellow paint. Thither also the peer, thus to be created, is carried in state, seated in a kind of litter, with two slaves crouched under his feet, and attended by several young negroes of distinction. A little page carries a chair for him to sit on, when he is obliged to speak upon any particular occasion; and the nobility who go thither to congratulate him on his happy advancement, take a wad of straw, and lay it under his feet, which is looked upon as a testimony of the profoundest veneration and respect. The court ladies likewise pay all due honours to the spouse of this new created peer: as for instance, they dress her to the best advantage, adorn her head with little golden Fetiches, hang a gold chain about her neck, present her with a horse's tail, to make use of as a fan, which they besmear all over with white paint, and throw salt into her lap. When the whole assembly are seated in the order generally observed amongst them, a cow is introduced in triumph by abundance of nobility dancing and singing in the procession. The beast

is afterwards fastened to a stake, and surrounded by a multitude of blacks, who beat their drums, and play upon divers instruments of Moorish music; whilst others, more sprightly and active, dance, and divert the company with their warlike exercises.

The ladies likewise amuse themselves much after the same manner; for it is their peculiar province to attend the new created peer and his spouse to their chariot, and air them, throwing flour in their faces as they go along; and in the evening they conduct them home in abundance of pomp and grandeur. In short, the festival concludes with the sacrifice of the cow, which is divided amongst the whole assembly, the new-created peer and his wife only excepted; for should they partake of the least share of it, they would infallibly die at the year's end.—However, they carry the head away with them, and after they have painted it with sundry colours, adorn it with little Fetiches, and hang it up in their house, as a public memorial of their dignity and advancement. Moreover, the Moorish nobility never fail to celebrate likewise the anniversary of their admittance. On that day the head of the cow is dressed in the most elegant manner, and exposed by every one to public view. They have another festival-day, on which the nobility, to distinguish themselves from the populace, paint their bodies all over with white and red streaks, and hang about their necks some little garlands, wreathed with straw and a variety of greens.

Villault de Bellefond assures us, that the negro women hang round the necks of their infants, little trinkets of gold, strung with the shreds of the Fetiche-tree, in order to secure and protect them from all disasters. And moreover, adds he, in proportion as they advance to the age of four years, they twist round their legs and arms several little sprigs wreathed circular, like rings, which they purchase of their priests, as preservatives against all misfortunes. Purchas, on the credit of some travellers, tells us, that they dress the bodies of their little children with bandages made of bark which they embellish with a variety of Fetiches, being firmly persuaded, that after such prudent precautions, the devil can touch no part of them; and besides, they look upon them as highly serviceable to supply their want of strength. It is also a common custom amongst them to circumcise both sexes, and this ceremony is performed with abundance of solemnity, when their male children are about sixteen years of age. At such times they make bonfires, and sing and dance at the celebration of this joyful festival. But above all, the negroes take peculiar care to be furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions of all sorts, that the foul fiend or evil spirit may have wherewithal to regale himself, and not to be at leisure to incommode, or injure their

children; but this is doubtless all artifice and priestcraft.

As to their nuptial ceremonies, we shall in the first place give an extract from Bellefond. As soon as their young men are able to get their livelihood, their parents, says he, begin to think of settling them in the world, and finding out such wives as may be most suitable to their inclinations. If both parties approve of each other, the maiden is demanded in form, and the parents meet together, attended by a priest, who presents them with several Fetiches, and make the most solemn protestations before all the company then present, of love and constancy to her intended husband; after which they reciprocally join hands. The bridegroom, however, binds himself by no farther obligations, and the whole ceremony consists in nothing more than what is here mentioned. Although polygamy is in vogue amongst them, the wife thus married is looked upon as the only person who has a legal right and title to her husband; and, moreover, if we may credit our traveller, the husband cannot take a second wife, without the free consent of the first. His supernumerary wives are, properly speaking, no better than concubines, and only lie with him alternately, according to their priority of marriage; but this lawful wife lies with him three nights successively.

The young man's father gives him no manner of portion; he has nothing to trust to but what he earns by his own industry and application to business, and depends entirely on his own ingenuity for the support of his family. The young woman's portion seldom amounts to more than six or seven crowns, or thereabouts. Sometimes, indeed, there is an additional present of a young slave, to wait on the new-married couple; and as soon as the true and lawful wife begins to grow old, the favourite concubine assumes her place. From that time, the former becomes a mere domestic servant, takes care of the house only, and concerns herself about none of her husband's other affairs all the remainder of her days.

Adultery is punished by a mallet, or an amercement; and if the wife proves unchaste, she is immediately divorced. If she is only suspected, she is obliged, in order to clear her innocence, and justify her conduct, to swear solemnly by her Fetiche, and eat a small quantity of salt, or drink a small portion of a particular liquid. She never presumes, however, in case she is conscious of her guilt, to take such oath, firmly believing, that the Fetiche would resent the affront, and destroy her that very moment for her perfidy and profaneness.

As to their funeral solemnities, they wash their dead, and lay them afterwards in a kind of coffin, made either of ozers, the bark of trees, or bulrushes; and this coffin is, properly speaking, no better than

a large basket. The relations, friends, and neighbours of the deceased repair to his house, and there with sighs, sobs, and tears, beg of him to declare the true cause of his departure. After that, they dance and sing several doleful ditties; then take a solemn tour round his house, and make a hideous noise with their frying-pans and kettles. During this ceremony, a female friend goes a begging from house to house, in behalf of the deceased, and purchases, with the voluntary contributions so raised, an ox, or a sheep, for the priest, who attends on this occasion, in order to oblige and gratify the particular Fetiche, who is to usher the deceased into the other world. The priest, after he has sacrificed the beast, thus presented to him on behalf of the deceased, sheds its blood in honour of all his Fetiches, which are after this ranged all in order, close by one another, the largest in the centre, each furnished with his bumper, and adorned with corals, beads, and feathers. At the same time, his near relations kill a hen, with the blood whereof the priest sprinkles all these Fetiches, and his wives or relations dress this fowl, and serve it to them in form. After this the priest puts on a collar, composed of particular herbs, and begins his magical incantations, by muttering a parcel of obscure mystic terms; then he takes some water, or palm-wine in his mouth, and squirts it upon the Fetiches. In the next place, he takes a small quantity of those herbs whereof the collar is composed, and moulds them into the form of a little ball, which he passes and repasses twice or thrice together through his legs. During the performance of this ceremony, he pays his respects to the old Fetiches, and after a solemn manner, takes his leave of them. He continues to squeeze and mould the residue and remainder of the herbs between his hands, and after he has mixed them with the tallow and grease of the old Fetiches, throws the whole into one large mass or lump, which he dashes against his own face, and afterwards divides it into small parts or parcels, which he strings upon the bark of the sacred tree, and distributes amongst the company; the remainder of the mass is interred with the deceased, and looked upon as the guardian Fetiche that attends him on his journey to the other world.

After all these preliminary ceremonies, the deceased is exposed for half a day to public view, having his head muffled up, and his hands spread open. Afterwards the women convey him to the grave, the burial of the dead being their peculiar province, and their female neighbours follow the corpse, which is carried after the manner here described. The men never attend the funeral, unless the party deceased is to be conveyed to some other town; for they are extremely ambitious of being buried where they were born; and in that case, the men wait on him

rank and file. As soon as the corpse is arrived at the burying ground, they make a grave for it about four or five feet deep, and there they lay him, and cover him up so close and so carefully with wood, that not the least dust of earth can possibly touch him. His favourite wife throws his Fetiches over him, lays the greatest part of the implements, or tools, of his trade or occupation by his side, and if there was any thing besides which he had a peculiar regard for, that is generally added to oblige him.—All things thus adjusted, the assistants walk in procession round the grave, and with hideous lamentations take their last farewell of him, and when the corpse is deposited in the grave, the women that interred him, crawl over it backwards and forwards: after this, they rise and return home, where they spend the remainder of the day in drinking and other agreeable amusements. Over the tomb they erect a little pent-house, and no one ever offers to meddle with the provisions or presents which are made the dead, and laid with them in their graves, except their sextons, and such persons as are employed in their interment, who are allowed to take from thence their customary fees, and they furnish their dead with a new stock of provisions once a year.

When the king dies, they expose him to public view for several days together; and during all that time, they wait on him with the same attention and respect, as if he were alive: But when he begins to smell and be offensive, some of his slaves convey him away and inter him in some secret place, with all his Fetiches, his fire-arms and other warlike trophies, and such provisions as they see most convenient. Whilst these slaves are thus privately employed in the interment of his majesty, the populace make it their business to murder several women, maids, boys, and slaves to accompany their deceased monarch in his journey to the other world. They are cut off, however, according to custom, by surprise; that their untimely death, we presume, may seem the less terrible and shocking to them. The bodies of these his new attendants are buried with him, and their heads are stuck upon poles round his Mausoleum, while two guards stand centinels to secure his funeral properties and provisions.

They pretend to protect themselves with the Fetiches, and large brass collars as thick as their arms, which they imagine are capable of charming or warding off the blows of their enemies. Every individual person, man, woman, or child, rush into the field of battle, for it is an established custom among them to leave the house empty on such emergent occasions. Nay, when they are apprehensive of bloody engagements, they set fire to all their towns, villages, and habitations, under the specious pre-



tence, that by such means they shall deprive their enemies of the advantages they might reasonably expect of their proving victorious, and to prevent their soldiers from thinking of, or longing for home. They sell as slaves, all those whom they take prisoners, and they eat the dead bodies of their enemies whom they kill in battle. All crimes, let them be of ever so atrocious a nature, may be compounded for the payment of a small fine; but if the person cannot pay that, his head is cut off and his body quartered. All these parts of the body are given to the relations of the deceased, who boil the head, and put it up near their Fetiche or idol, and the women having bathed the quarters with their tears, bury them in their garden.

These people are, perhaps, sunk as low into idolatry as any we have yet mentioned, nor is it enough to say they are ignorant of the true God; for even with respect to their own idols, they have the most unworthy notions. They ascribe to them no other attributes than such as are even degrading to human nature, and far beneath the dignity of a man. How can they imagine, that an inanimate being can supply their wants, alleviate their afflictions, inspire them with knowledge, preserve them through life, or make them happy in eternity? The most accomplished man in the world must know himself to be a dependent creature, and consequently must look to some Superior Being, as an object of worship. But here we find men paying divine adoration to what they trample on in the streets, what is tossed about from place to place,—but this is a god!

We shall conclude this article in the words of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was himself a native of Africa, and suffered death for the gospel. "Idolatry is the mother of all debauchery, to throw a snare not only before Christians, but even to corrupt moral heathens. It flatters them with false promises, amuses them with false hopes, and seduces them by a kind of bewitching magic. The devil is the author of it, who, in order to give it a more promising appearance, joins with it such lewd entertainments as are agreeable to the senses, but destructive to the soul."

#### *Religion of the natives of Benin, Ardra, &c.*

These people are, perhaps, in some things more superstitious, more ignorant, and more barbarous than any we have hitherto mentioned. It is true, they acknowledge one Supreme Being, but at the same time, they worship many subordinate ones. Nay, it is even asserted, that they worship the devil,

but this, we imagine, is nothing more than what is common to those heathen nations, where it is believed there are two principles, one good and one evil. This notion seems to have taken its rise from the consideration of virtue and vice in the world. This induced some Epicurean, or rather Atheistical philosophers to set up two gods, the one in opposition to the other; and we are sorry to find that too much of this prevails even among those who bear the name of Christians. These considerations naturally bind us to draw a veil over the weakness of these people, and to pity their ignorance, because they have not an opportunity of being better acquainted with what relates to their eternal happiness.

All of these people have their Fetiches, and a priest, who is a sort of a father confessor, and who at all times undertakes to give them advice concerning any thing of a doubtful nature, which he does by consulting their oracle.

To carry on the deception as much as possible, the priests pretend that their idols, or Fetiches, speak to them audibly, and for that purpose they have a pipe fixed to the idol, and to it they apply their ear, after they have offered up sacrifices. They have some faint idea of the day of judgment, and they imagine that the souls of the deceased take cognizance of every thing below, and for that reason they offer up to them their most solemn vows, prayers, and oblations.

Whenever they pursue the chase, or engage in any undertaking whatever, they take particular care to make some sort of oblation to the souls of their deceased relations. They also make sumptuous entertainments in honour of the dead, especially of their nearest and dearest kindred, who are the protectors, in their opinion, of their families; for to speak in their own language, every soul is the guardian of its own relations, and it is for that reason that their kings never enter upon any projects till they have first invoked the souls of their ancestors.

They imagine that these souls or spirits, generally reside in the woods, and such as are afflicted either in body or mind, resort to those solitary retreats, and there most humbly implore their aid and assistance. As for temples or chapels, or indeed any structures for public worship, they have none. All their public meetings for worship are in the woods next adjoining to their huts, and there they offer up their sacrifices, and make their oblations to the spirits of the deceased.

All these heathens practise the rite of circumcision, and indeed it seems to be universal throughout Africa, but they have no fixed time for performing the ceremony. Some do it while they are infants, and others not till they are getting towards years of maturity. Every family has its own particular Fe-

fetiche or idol, and their priests attend them as often as they think proper. When a negro is fallen sick, he sends for his priest, who is called the Fetissero, who offers up some sacrifices in his behalf, sprinkles the Fetiche belonging to the family with the blood of the victim. In general, their sacrifices are offered up once every six months, and on such occasions the priests, who are the most arant impostors in the world, pretend to make the people believe that the idol speaks to them, and gives them a gracious answer. As for the dead, they are of opinion that none but those who die in battle will ever be raised again, and this notion is inculcated in order to make the men regardless of danger, and strangers to fear.

The natives of Biafara offer up all they have, even their most darling infants, to the devil; and they are extremely addicted to the study and practice of the black art, and all magical incantations; flattering themselves, that by those mysterious operations they can influence the elements, and all the products of nature. When we talk here of the devil, we do not mean that evil spirit which our Christian divines treat of; but a thing, a being, a spirit only, which we are at a loss to define, or give any adequate idea of; but in all probability it may be the sole object of some people's worship, and frequently it is no more than a chimera of their priests' invention, or a strong impulse, or a delusion of their own disordered imagination.

We shall here amuse our readers with one particular custom, which is as idle as it is extravagant; and, in all probability, extremely painful. The natives of Rio-Real, and the parts adjacent, as also the negroes of Ardra, decline the ceremony of circumcision with respect to their females, as well as several others amongst the Africans, but have substituted mother in the room of it, which is much more inconvenient and uneasy. About the time that their daughters arrive at the age of matrimony, they lodge a small wooden instrument, plentifully stored with emmits, within their pudenda, which they frequently shift, lest in time those little insects should lose their innate quality, and not be able to sting with that pungency as required. This severe kind of probation continues for near three months, nor is left off till they have qualified them for the marriage bed. As to the mysterious circumcision of the negro women, we shall treat of it hereafter in another paragraph.

The negroes of Cabo de Monte, and the parts adjacent, have nothing very remarkable in their nuptial ceremonies, except that the presents which a young lover makes to his mistress, are looked upon as an earnest, and give him a kind of right and title to her. For instance, if a virgin is too young, and not altogether marriageable, her lover may retain her

by proper presents. If he has none to give her, he may work for her, build her a hut, and manure her ground for her. In case his mistress is independent of any of her relations, and perfectly disengaged, it is customary for the gallant to invite her to his own house, and for her to accept the offer, though with abundance of seeming modesty and reluctance: after which she grants him the last favour for ten or twelve nights together, before she insists upon the present which is to bind their engagement. If a son proves the result of their amorous interviews, the father provides for him; if a daughter, she is left entirely to the care and conduct of the mother.—Such love adventures as these prove of no ill consequence, are no manner of prejudice or disappointment to the fair sex; for, maids or not maids, they never fail of finding husbands. What a world of noise and confusion should we prevent, were we licensed to carry on such a free trade; were we entrusted for a week or a fortnight together, with such staple commodities, by way of probation, before we struck an absolute bargain, and paid down the purchase-money!

If the lover, after trial, finds his mistress to his taste, and for his turn, he makes his applications to her parents in form, and sends her some suitable presents. She accepts of them, in case she approves of her bed-fellow, and if not, returns them directly.

The naming of an infant is performed with abundance of solemnity; and the ceremony is generally performed betimes in the morning, when the child is about eight or ten days old, accompanied with vocal and instrumental music. The celebrant takes the child from the mother, and lays him on a shield or buckler, in the midst of the whole assembly, who are all armed in form. Then he puts a little bow into his hand, and makes an harangue of about half an hour long, according to the best of his knowledge, and the established principles of the negroes, on the duties required of the nominee, in order hereafter to be a happy man, and a man of honour. After this exhortation is over, he returns the child into its mother's arms; and the nomination of a daughter is performed much after the same manner, though not with equal solemnity. The woman, who is the celebrant, takes the girl, and lays her on a mat, in the midst of the whole female assembly, and puts into her hand a ladle, which they make use of to stir their porridge; and after that, she makes an harangue according to their principles, on the duties of a good housewife.

Some of the natives of the Golden Coast are addicted, notwithstanding they are indulged in polygamy as well as their neighbours, to strolling abroad, and lying with strangers. In case they are detected, the affair is with ease accommodated, by paying the injured wife some trivial amercement; though

should she, on the other hand, chance to trespass, and prove false to her husband's bed, she would run the risque of being divorced, or sold for a slave.—The courtship of these people is not very ceremonious. The young man asks the question, and seldom meets with a repulse; if he is not a slave, or does not forget his nuptial presents, which consist only in a few worthless baubles. She is conducted to her husband's house in the evening, and there a bridegroom is nominated to be her guardian, and to lie for about eight days between the new-married couple, to give a check to the violence of the bridegroom's passion, till in time they become better acquainted.

Now we are upon the topic of matrimony, we shall make bold to mention one particular ceremony, which, though there is very little religion in the case, it is true, cannot so properly be introduced in any other place. Every village amongst the negroes, maintains two or three common women; whom they instal, or put in possession of their posts, in the presence of a very numerous assembly. The candidates are exposed to public view, and seated upon a mat; in the interim the oldest of them cuts the throat of a fowl, and lets the blood trickle down upon her head, shoulders, and arms; and then solemnly promises upon oath, to oblige any townsman whatever with her favours, upon reasonable terms; after this, she admits one of the company to her embraces, and then goes and washes herself, with one of her comrades. The ablution ended, she resumes her post, and is rubbed all over her arms, breast, and shoulders, with white chalk; and to close the ceremony, two young fellows take her upon their shoulders, and carry her in triumph all over the town. After that, she is obliged for eight days together to sit in public upon her mat, and there recommend herself to the generosity of her gallants.

The courtiers in the kingdom of Benin, are not allowed to cover their nakedness, nor marry without his majesty's licence and consent, first had and obtained. The privilege of raiment entirely depends on his royal pleasure: and whenever he confers that favour, he obliges them with a wife at the same time. Neither do the wives ever dress themselves without the husband's permission, who, when they grant any of them that favour, take up their lodging with them. A widow, that has a son, must never marry again, without his consent; nay she absolutely becomes his servant. If any one makes his addresses to her, with her son's knowledge and approbation, the gallant always engages to settle the youth, and find out a wife to his inclinations. Parents never marry their daughters before they are duly qualified; and after their nuptials concern themselves no farther about them. We omit

several other customs, as being, in our opinion, not worth observance; but they have one notion, however, that is very particular. To be brought to bed of two children, is by them accounted perfectly scandalous, and as they are fully persuaded, that twins are the result of their wives incontinence and loss of honour, they not only discard one of them, but sometimes, as we are informed, make away with and destroy it. What hard thoughts would they entertain of a superfetation? and how would they asperse and stigmatize such women as have sometimes three at a birth?

We shall now come to their funeral solemnities. The negroes of Cabo de Monte in the first place weep and lament over a dead friend, and mingle the commemoration of some of his most laudible actions with their tears. After this testimony of their respect, they wash his body, curl his hair, dress him, and in order to make him stand upright, tie him fast behind, and under his arms. They furnish the deceased with a bow and arrow, and adorn him with all the gayest things he was possessed of in his life-time; and in that attitude each of them makes him some suitable present. The relations and friends sit on their knees all round about, with their backs turned towards him, having their bows in their hands, drawn with such violence, that they seem in danger of being broke. This ceremony, say they, declares, that they are prepared to take revenge on such as might any ways have been instrumental to his death. When they put him in the grave, they bury not only the presents that are made him, but some of his most valuable effects along with him. If a prince or a nobleman dies, they bury a sufficient quantity of slaves with him, to attend and wait on him in the other world. Their mourning consists in making a solemn vow, and binding it with an oath, to fast about eight or ten days together. If some very valuable friend happens to die, whose loss is a more than common concern to them, they sometimes hold it for a month. During all that time they neither caress their wives, nor have any familiar converse with the female sex: They wear no coloured clothes; they shave their heads, and lie upon the ground. When the term of their fasting is expired, they discharge themselves of their vow, by repeating the same ceremony they observed at first, that is to say, extending their hands in the presence of a Fetiche; and after, they make a sumptuous entertainment in honour of the deceased.

When any one is suspected to have died an unnatural death, they neither weep over the corpse, nor wash it, nor dress it, till their jealousy is removed, and the fact cleared up. For, say they, should we mourn over it first, it would be impossible to find out the unhappy cause; since the spirit whom we should consult on this melancholy occasion, would



then be silent, and resolve none of our queries. In order to discover the fact in such cases, they take a small piece of the deceased's garment, the parings of his nails, and a lock of his hair, all which they bind up together, and cover them over with the dust of some particular red wood. After this, they fasten this little packet to a stick, the two ends whereof are laid upon the heads of two men. Then one amongst them, whom they look upon as the best orator, takes two iron implements; as, for instance, two hatchets, or the like, and striking one against the other, conjures the dead person to disclose whether his death was the result of violence, or a decay in nature: if the latter, the spirit who actuates or influences the two men, compels them to bow down their heads; if the former, to shake them. They continue in the same manner to ask him further, in order to be fully satisfied what he died of, if the dose or potion that was given him, was too strong for his constitution? if he was poisoned? who administered it? and the like. In short, when they have discovered, as they imagine, the malefactor, they charge him with the fact, and make him swallow down, fasting in the morning, the quantity of three or four cups full of a very strong liquid, extracted from the bark of some particular trees. This draught, they say, infallibly kills the party accused, if guilty; if innocent, he instantly throws up every drop of it. Sometimes there is a spell, or charm, laid upon the spirit, which prevents him from giving an answer to all their interrogatories; and, in that case, they apply themselves to some magicians, to remove the fascination, and then they proceed to the experiment above described.

After the decease of a father, the eldest son takes possession as heir of all his effects; and in case he has younger brothers, undertakes to be their tutor; and he is entitled to both, even before he is twenty years of age; but he is obliged, however, to testify his abilities before the king in the following manner: he repairs to the usual place where they practise the art of shooting, in the midst of a crowd of his relations, with his father's bow in his hand, and his quiver at his back. He grounds his bow as an able archer, and in that attitude asserts, that he thinks himself capable of making a proper use of the arms his father had left him. After this formal declaration, he gives a specimen of his art, and then makes a kind of an harangue, wherein he assures his majesty, that he will maintain his family, defend the rights and privileges of his brothers, and take care, as far as in him lies, of all their lands and effects, &c.

In the more remote parts of Guinea, beyond the Kingdom of Benin, there is nothing very remarkable in the funeral solemnities of the negroes, except, that after the decease of one of their heroes or commanders, they hollow a tree, and impale a youth

alive in it in order to be his slave and attendant in the other world. Such as die at Benin, are always accompanied by a considerable number of slaves. As soon as the corpse is laid in the grave, they dance and sing over it for seven or eight days together, and sometimes take the body up again, in order to honour it with a fresh sacrifice of beasts and slaves. As to their king, when he dies, they dig a grave for him of an uncommon depth, in the centre of the court, and there inter him; and his courtiers are all ambitious of attending him, but that honour is reserved only for his peculiar favourites. When they have selected their compliment, they bury them alive along with him; and afterwards a large sepulchral stone is rolled over the grave. The first of these favourites that die, is always commemorated with the greatest reverence and respect. To conclude, the new king orders an elegant entertainment to be made for the populace upon the monument, which is the ceremony of his coronation; and is often attended with the massacre of several of his subjects, in honour of his accession to the throne.

There never was any one religion whatsoever that had not a particular set of mysteries, which none but a few select devotees could ever attain to. In order to arrive at that pitch of perfection, there have always been such extravagant ceremonies to be observed, as were sufficient to surprise, blind, shock, and even confound the inferior class of devotees.

Fastings, penances, and a thousand austerities, have been for the generality the preludes, if we may be allowed the expression, to those mystic ceremonies, and every person of experience well knows, that the imagination of a devotee is all on fire, especially while he is learning what he considers as a sacred mystery. This is evident, from the accounts we have of the initiation of the ancients, and we have frequently taken notice of this in our accounts of the religion of the idolators in the East-Indies.

The regeneration of the negroes of Cabo de Monte, is of the same nature and degree. In order to have a familiar intercourse with spirits, and be admitted into their refined society, the candidate must die and be born again. The mysteries of such assemblies are concealed and hid from the eyes of women and children, nor are any strangers admitted. If the person thus qualified should indiscreetly reveal any of these divine secrets to a friend whom he loved ever so much, or thought he could confide in, the spirits, they believe, would resent the discovery, and would inevitably destroy the one for his indiscretion, and the other for his curious and impertinent inquiry.

The ceremony of this initiation is solemnized but once in twenty, or twenty-five years, and the negroes

in their common discourse about it, talk, for the generality, in the language of enthusiasts. All we can make of this ceremony of their dying, is, that it must consist in some abominable rites that they are ashamed of, otherwise, why should they keep it so concealed? Perhaps it is similar to some of those abominations, so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament; nay, that it is so, there is strong reason to believe, because their idols have similar names to those of the Canaanites. Thus they call their regeneration, or that of dying and being born again to a new state of existence, by the name of *Belli-Paaro*, which undoubtedly is the *Baal Peor* of the heathens. Now it is well known that there were many horrid abominations committed in the temple of *Baal Peor*, for it was from him that the Greeks, and after them the Romans borrowed their shameful god Priapus, which leads us to consider these African mysteries as truly abominable, and not fit to be mentioned.

The marks, or signatures of this regeneration, or *Belli-Paaro*, are several long slashes down the neck and shoulders, and such as are favoured with these barbarous marks pretend to much more knowledge than their neighbours. They sit as judges both in civil and in criminal causes, and as for those who are not yet in the state of regeneration, they are reckoned among the number of the profane, impure, and illiterate, incapable of giving a just judgment in any thing of importance, and unworthy of being admitted into any public assemblies, civil or ecclesiastical. But secret as they keep this mystery, yet something relating to it has transpired which we shall here lay before the reader.

By the king's special command, they make choice of some private commodious place in the woods, that abounds with olives and other fruits, and in short is stored with all sorts of herbs in such plenty, as are fit for the subsistence of the human species. To this sacred solitude their youth are conducted but with reluctance: for they think it a melancholy circumstance to encounter with death. Before they set out, they give away all their effects to their friends and relations, intimating thereby, that they renounce all the vanities and pleasures of this life. They are accompanied by several old devotees, who have been many years initiated, and these reside among them in the grove as their superintendants and instructors. They inform them of all the customs and ceremonies which must be religiously observed; they inure them by frequent exercise to a particular violent dance, that shakes them prodigiously, and they teach them some pieces of poetry, abounding with encomiums on their *Belli-Paaro*.—All these candidates or probationers receive a new name at their regeneration, and the ceremony or initiation lasts at least five years, so that it may be

considered as a course of liberal education. The king himself honours them with his presence several different times, and then it is that they are publicly examined.

As for the young ones, they are not permitted to stir out nor appear among the profane; for such are in their opinion, all those who have not been regenerated. The parts adjacent to this grove for three or four miles round, are looked upon as sacred, and no profane person must presume to enter therein. The women are all excluded, and if by any accident they should happen to enter within these bounds, they must sing as loud as they are able to raise their throats; were they to neglect this, they believe that the evil spirits would run away with them.

After the candidates have been fully instructed in this mystery of regeneration, their tutors conduct them to some private places, where women are permitted to attend them; and this is the first time they have an opportunity of speaking with those of that sex. It is here likewise that they are instructed in all things relating to morals and politics, for which reason these groves may be called the academies or colleges of the negroes. At their dismissal, they affect to appear as persons just come into the world and in some sense it may be said so, for they know neither father nor mother, nor any friends nor relations; for to forget all things past, is the first consequence of this new life. They pretend to remember nothing of their past life, and they are all dressed in feathers, with a cap made of the bark of a tree, which hangs over part of their faces, with small jingling bells at their feet, and a set of leopard's teeth hung round their neck for a collar.

Thus equipped, they resort to public assemblies, to practise their solemn dances, and perform before a multitude of people, that which in a more particular manner is devoted to the service of their *Belli*, and was taught them by their tutors in the groves, during the time of the regeneration. This is so essential an accomplishment, that such as are so unhappy as to be incapable of performing it rightly in public, are treated with all the marks of ignominy and contempt. At the conclusion of the dance, the tutors call the pupils by new names, and then introduce them to their relations.

The power and authority which is granted to such persons as are thus initiated, is the result of policy and superstition blended together, which have at all times been made use of to keep the people in awe. When they are inclined to make a public prohibition of any thing, they practise a kind of magical operation by virtue of a stick drove fast into the ground, at the top whereof hangs a bundle of reeds. But what makes them the most formidable to the people is, their delivering over such as transgress

their orders to the power of the evil spirits; and this artifice consists in hurrying the delinquents away with much bustle and noise, by some of their attendants and creatures, whom they have at their back. They bear such an absolute sway over them, and keep them in such profound ignorance, that no person dares presume so much as to look, or make any enquiries, when these imaginary spirits seize such as are found guilty, lest they should fall into their hands themselves, and be in the same manner hurried away into the groves, and there be left to perish. Such are some of their mysteries, and here by the way we may observe, that in all false religions, the priests endeavour to keep the people in ignorance: and what is still more remarkable, that even these poor negroes who go almost naked, have the art to study priestcraft, and impose upon their fellow-subjects.

When they would make a discovery who has committed a murder, they pour a particular liquid upon the arm or thigh of the person suspected, but before the liquor can be used, it must be boiled, and the supposed criminal's name is mentioned as soon as it begins to rise. The moment in which the liquid begins to boil, they address their imaginary spirits in the following words, "Is the party on whom I pour this water guilty or not? If he is, may it scald him and shrivel up his skin." If it has not that effect, the party suspected is absolutely discharged, and accounted innocent.

The negro women have also their particular mysteries, which bear some analogy to those we have already mentioned.

The mothers take their daughters into consecrated groves, and commit them to the care of a sort of priestesses, who at first treat them with a dish of chickens, and this is considered as a kind of treaty; for they are called, "The chickens of alliance."—After this the young virgins have their heads shaved and are instructed to sing and dance. When the time of their education is expired, they are all dressed in the bark of a particular tree, and their relations carry them abundance of trinkets, that they may appear as fine as possible when they make their public entry into the town where they reside, at which time there is an elegant entertainment provided for them, accompanied with music and dancing, and many other sorts of diversions peculiar to the country.

The initiations here described, are universally practised by all the natives of Guinea; and therein the footsteps of the mysteries of the ancients may be easily discerned. There is a great conformity also between them and the initiation of the new world, for it is well known, that the ancients looked on theirs, as the entrance into a new life; which is the very same idea as that of the Americans and

negroes. It is likewise well known, that the ancients thought the spirit and essence of religion were included therein, and that such as were unregenerated, saw nothing but the shell, as it were, or external part of it. In them were comprised the true interpretation of the grounds and principles of their religion, and the maxims of their morality.—Every body knows, in short, that such as were initiated, entered upon their regeneration with retiring from the world, and with divers austerities, fastings, and penances; all which were required to be religiously observed by the probationer or novice. These several trials were also to be accompanied with an absolute freedom and disengagement from all sensual objects; and when the soul was in that happy state of indifference, that nothing terrestrial could influence or affect it, they thought it qualified for the participation of the most sublime mysteries of religion.

As soon as the young virgins of Brazil arrive at the age of maturity, they are mortified to that degree, that we may term their unhappy situation, with propriety enough, a state of martyrdom. In the first place they either burn or cut their hair off their heads as close as they possibly can. After this, they oblige them to stand upright on a flat stone, whilst their flesh is slashed and mangled with a sharp ivory tooth, from their shoulders to their waist, cross-ways, in such a violent manner, that the blood trickles down from every part. The agonies which these poor girls are in, are visible enough, by their various contorsions and grimaces; but their modesty obliges them to conceal their torture as much as possible, and not one of them dares to vent a sigh, or shed a tear. After this they daub the wounds with the dust and ashes of a wild gourd, which is as strong a corrosive as gun powder; inasmuch, that the marks can never be erased. After this, they bind their arms; and in short, their whole bodies, with a cotton fillet; hang the teeth of a particular beast round their necks, and lay them so low in their hammocks, that nobody can see them. They are there confined for three days together at least, without being able to stir, and are not allowed to speak, eat, nor drink, during all that time. At the expiration thereof, they are taken down, in order to have their bandages taken off, and then they are obliged to stand again on the flat stone before mentioned, on which they underwent their first severe mortifications, that their feet may not touch the ground. After that, they are to be put to bed again, where their whole diet consists in a few boiled roots, a little meal and water, and no other refreshments whatsoever. In this low condition are they kept till their second purification: at which they are slashed and mangled again from head to foot, in a more barbarous and inhuman manner than



before; then they are carried to their hammocks once more, but not so closely confined for the second month, nor obliged to undergo such severe abstinence as before; but, however, they are not suffered to appear abroad, to converse with any of the family, or do any manner of business, but card or spin cotton. The third month they besmear them all over with a black ointment, made up with a particular oil; and after this they begin to go abroad and appear in the fields.

Every town has a kind of a pest-house, situate at about an hundred yards distance from the rest, called Bournamou, into which all the women in general, maids as well as wives, are obliged to withdraw, and exclude themselves from all manner of society till their purgations are perfectly ceased; after which, they are at liberty to return to their families again, as soon as they think convenient. Their daily provisions during those times are brought to them, with as much care and precaution as if they were infected with the most malignant distemper. They durst not, notwithstanding, conceal their natural infirmity by any manner of means, when it comes upon them; for it would be inevitable death, should they be discovered to dress any victuals for their husbands at such a conjuncture. Accordingly, they are obliged to eat of the Fetiche, and take a solemn oath, that they will declare their infirmities to their husbands, and voluntarily withdraw to their Bournamou, as soon as ever they are conscious of the least pollution.

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#### *Religion of Congo, Angola, and of the Jages, or Gauls.*

The king of Loango, a particular province of Congo, is in some measure the object of his subjects divine adoration, who honour him with the attributes or titles of Samber and Pongo, that is to say, the Deity, and for that reason they look upon him as an omnipotent being. The populace, nay, the grantees of his kingdom, being fully persuaded that he can bless them with rain at his pleasure, make their public addresses to him once a year, with abundance of solemnity and with presents in their hands, for that intent. A day is by him appointed for the celebration of this ceremony; at which time they pay him the most solemn homage, and entertain his majesty with a trial of their skill in archery, and with a Moorish, or rather Ethiopian concert of music. After their adorations are paid, the king lets fly an arrow into the air; and the day is spent in all the demonstrations of public joy imaginable, especially if the rain happens but to descend ever so little upon them; and we may reasonably suppose,

that these people, as well as other nations, make choice of such times as are likely to be most favourable, and give a sanction to the miracle they petition for.

His majesty, moreover, is, as we are informed, a profound magician; he orders and requires the divine worship of two idols, one called Mokisso, the other Checocke. The former, to whom they give the additional title of Gombery, is served and attended by an old sorceress, whose appellation is Ganga Gombery. She is the Pythian priestess of Loango, but like Triphonius of old, she delivers her oracles in subterraneous caverns. There is a chapel erected in the high road, which is consecrated and set apart for the service of Checocke, wherein stands a little black image, or representation of him, in which he sometimes condescends to communicate himself at midnight to his favourite devotees. Such nocturnal honours are attended with raptures, and enthusiastic agitations for some hours. Every sentence that such persons utter under their inspirations, is looked upon as an oracle, and the solemn declaration of the divine will and pleasure of the Checocke. All artificers, fishermen, and magicians, look on this idol as the peculiar object of their divine adoration; and one branch of their worship consists in clapping their hands.

Besides these two idols, they people of Loango have several household, as well as rural gods, whom they worship and adore under divers extravagant figures; and each idol has his peculiar district and employment. Such as preside over the fruits, the corn, and other products of the earth, are nothing more than scare-crows, or bug bears, composed of bones, feathers, horns, hoofs, and skins of beasts, &c. Notwithstanding all these ridiculous instances of idolatry, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom however, they neither concern themselves about, nor any ways regard; which neglect proceeds either from their profound ignorance, or a notion which many others entertain as well as they, viz. that God governs the world by his deputies, or vicergerents, to whom alone, by consequence, mortals ought to make their immediate addresses, as it is customary for us to make our applications to some favourite minister of state, for such favours as we are ambitious of obtaining from the prince upon the throne.

The formal manner in which the king of Loango generally drinks a glass of liquor, may be reckoned with propriety enough, amongst the number of their religious customs. The officer, who attends him on that occasion, has a little bell in his hand, which he tinkles on the delivery of the cup, and turns his head another way; and at the same time, all such other persons as are present, prostrate themselves before him, and hide their faces, till the

ceremony is over; for it is no less than death for any one to see his majesty drink; so extravagant and fantastical is the veneration which this princely god exacts from his subjects! Moreover, he eats by himself in a withdrawing room, set apart for that particular purpose; and when he rises from table, he either knocks or rings a little bell, and then departs without any farther notice or ceremony whatsoever; which superstitious custom is grounded on an idle notion the negroes entertain, that his majesty would inevitably die that moment he was seen to eat or drink by any of his subjects. Yet who knows after all, but this custom was first established with a political view, and that the assassination of some prince at his table was the original cause of its institution?

Whenever any of these blacks have white children, a circumstance however, which but seldom happens, this king of Loango orders them to be brought up, and instructed in the black art, and the ministry of their idols. These priests have a peculiar privilege to make whatever they take a fancy to, their own property; and the veneration and respect which the people entertain for them is so great, that they never thwart or oppose their inclinations.

There is an idol in the province of Matambo, called Maramba, whose priests are all sorcerers or magicians; and this image stands upright, directly over against the temple dedicated to his peculiar service, in a basket made in the form of a bee-hive. To this deity in particular they apply themselves for success, when they go out a hunting or fishing; and for the relief of all such are indisposed. It is before him likewise, that a person, who is charged with the commission of any crime, is obliged to plead his cause, and clear his innocence. In the first place, he falls down on his knees before Miramba, and then, embracing the god with the profoundest veneration, pronounces these words, "Behold Miramba! Thy servant is come to justify himself before thee." In case he is really guilty, and is impiously perjured, he falls down dead upon the spot. The devotees preserve with care, and carry always about them some little images of this Miramba in small boxes, which may be looked upon, with propriety enough, as the relic cases of these negroes; and sometimes they wear a Miramba about their necks, or on their right arms. Miramba always marches at the head of their armies; and he is presented with the first delicious morsel, and the first glass of wine, that is served up at the governor or king of Matambo's table.

The natives of the king of Bamba worship an animal with two legs only, a long tail, and a pair of wings; an animal in short, like a dragon, according to the description we have of that imaginary

creature; and as it is but seldom to be met with, it is on that account, in all probability, looked upon and revered as a Deity. The blacks of the province of Congo, the Bramins and other neighbours of the Anzicans, worship the sun and moon, which they represent, we are informed, under the figures of a man and a woman. They have several other little deities, however, which they likewise worship, but the sun, and his consort the moon, for that is the notion they entertain of these glorious luminaries, are always their principal deities.

In the island of Quantalla there is an idol made of their current coin, to which the natives make voluntary oblations of their most valuable effects; which all persons are strictly enjoined not to touch on any account whatever. They let them lie till they decay through time and putrefaction, in an enclosure, fenced with ivory palisadoes, and one priest alone receives the free-will-offerings of the devotees, and presents their homage to the idol.—This vice-gerent of his, industriously conceals from every body the secret avenues which lead to the deity; for he never goes twice the same way. This wonderful precaution of his, in all probability, is no more than a piece of priestcraft to animate the zeal of the people, whom he thus keeps ignorant of the god whom they adore.

In short, the people of Congo pay divine adoration to dragons, serpents, goats, and tygers, as also to a vast variety of birds and plants; being in all appearance like the ancient Egyptians, whose religion principally consisted in symbols, or hieroglyphics. The people of Congo have likewise several images and figures, made both in stone and wood, which seem to bear a very near affinity to the Fetiches and Talismans before-mentioned; but as they acknowledge a Supreme Being, it must be supposed, that they look upon these idols as inferior deities, though worthy of the esteem and veneration of mankind, on account of their relative power, and their easy access to that Supreme Being. But be that as it will, the images of these idols are certainly honoured with the respective names of the divinities they represent, and receive the vows of their respective votaries, as their deputies or viceregents.—The Gangas, or priests, when they visit their sick, present them with these images, which they set before their eyes, in order to restore their health, and excite their fervour and devotion. There are some of these negroes, however, who are so rational in their conduct as to abstain, with the utmost precaution, from the worship of a plurality of gods, and invoke only the Supreme Being, whom they distinguish by different appellations, that is Deus, the only God, and Desu, the God of heaven.

Their religious testimonies of duty and respect

consist principally in their genuflections, prostrations, and as we have before observed, applauses, or clapping of hands. To these, however, we must add their prayers, vows, and sacrifices; as also some particular gesticulations, which are the peculiar signatures or characteristics of humility and devotion, and their priests are all sorcerers and magicians. The art of divination, or prediction by birds, is particularly studied and practised by the natives of the kingdom of Angola. Their flight and various cries are presages, as they were amongst the heathens of antiquity, of future good or bad fortune.

The Mokissos, or *Petiches* of Angola, are composed either of wood, or stone; some few whereof are erected in temples or chapels, but the much greater part of them in the public streets, or highways. They have various denominations, according to their respective employments. To them they make their vows, and to them they offer up their sacrifices, either to appease their anger, or obtain their benediction. Some of these Mokissos are made in the form of four-footed beasts; and others like birds. They, in short, are their oracles; but not the only ones these idolators of Angola consult: They have a religious dance which fully answers that purpose; though, in all probability, it consists in nothing more than the art of throwing themselves into enthusiastic raptures, through the violence of their agitations. It is in this situation that the first inspired dancer talks in a sublime and spiritual language to his audience, and is listened to with as much attention as an oracle. We shall have occasion elsewhere to return to the religious dances of these barbarians. The Mokissos, of whom we have been speaking, are subordinate beings, who is called by the natives of Angola, Zamban-Pongo, and acknowledged to be the god of heaven.

In the province of Miambo, those who solemnly devote themselves to the service of Maramba are shut up by the Ganga, in a close dark apartment, and there obliged to spend considerable time in the strictest abstinence. After this retirement, they are likewise directed to observe a profound silence for several days together, and not to violate this injunction on any occasion whatsoever, not even the hardest treatment possible, which they generally meet with, in order to try their patience. When the term of this penance is expired, they are introduced into the presence of their idol, and there undergo the painful operation of two incisions, which are made on their shoulders in the form of a crescent. After this, they are sprinkled with the blood that trickles down from their wounds, which completes the ceremony of their consecration to Miramba, to whom they are solemnly engaged to be ever true and faithful, and always carry about them one of his

images. After this solemn dedication, they must not presume to taste some particular provisions; which are not however, prohibited alike to all; some being forbidden to eat one thing, and others another. This is the ceremony of the initiation of their youth of both sexes, as soon as they are twelve years of age.

The idolators of Congo describe their gods as subject to various passions, who, if we may credit their account of them, look down with a jealous eye on the partial adorations of their votaries.—When a negro imagines that he lies under some more than ordinary obligations to one particular idol, he worships it with an uncommon zeal and veneration; erects statues, and consecrates images to that favourite deity; which partial respect of his is not only resented, but severely punished by some other god that thinks himself neglected: The devotee is sure to feel at the long run, the dire effects of his indignation, which obliges him to consecrate some image in honour of him in order to appease his resentment: But this is not all; for if any other god interposes, and demands a share of his respect, he is by no means to be slighted; so that the devotee is frequently compelled to consecrate a far greater number of images than ever he intended. Such are the ideas which the negroes of Congo entertain of their religious duties, for we may credit such authors as have given us a description of those countries.

It is the peculiar province of one of their Gangas to consecrate these images in the presence of the whole family, friends, and neighbours of the devotee; the ceremony whereof is somewhat mysterious; for the votary is obliged to be duly prepared for it, by retirement for about a fortnight into a little palm-tree hut, and by a profound silence for nine days. After this preparation, the Ganga, the devotee, and a numerous train of his neighbours and relations, repair to a spacious plain, where, being all ranged round a drum, the Ganga sounds forth the praises of the Mokisso, and the whole assembly dance to the martial beating of a drum, in honour of the new idol. At the close of the second or third day, the devil begins visibly to actuate and possess the devotee. After that the Ganga mutters some particular mystic terms, and stains his own temples, the corners of his eyes, and his breast, with red and white spots. In the same ceremonious manner, he paints the devotee, whose possession is now conspicuous, by the various contortions of his body, the rolling of his eyes, his wild grimaces, and convulsive agitations. We are fully assured, that in these enthusiastic transports, he handles and eats fire, without the least damage or inconvenience; but the most surprising circumstance of all this is, that the devil oftentimes trans-



ports the person thus possessed, to some solitary desert, where he is detained for three hours together, without any one knowing what is become of him. The magician and his relations, therefore, search diligently all over the country in hopes to find him; they conduct him home with abundance of formality; but find him so prodigiously fatigued with his possession, that he is scarce able to stir a limb.

It is reasonable to suppose, that by long retirement, and some particular potions which the devotee is obliged to take, his imagination is artfully wrought up to such enthusiastic raptures, and violent emotions, as induce the whole assembly to imagine, that the devil actuates and informs him: The quack sophistry of the magician, the solemn beat of the drum, and the excessive movements of the dance, finally complete the disorder of his distempered brain. And if it is true, that the consecration of those images is, for the generality, the result of a solemn vow, made in sickness, adversity, or old age, what can possibly contribute more to a perfect possession, and to make a finished madman of the poor visionary? But what shall we say with respect to the fire which the person so possessed eats without any manner of inconvenience? The answer is very obvious, that it is all artifice and legerdemain; but so well couched, as easily to impose upon the ignorant, unthinking negroes, in the same manner as our ancestors were formerly deluded by their ordeal trials.

During the time that the devil actually possesses the negro, he is asked to what solemn obligations he means to tie him, which, when he has publicly declared, a ring or bracelet is immediately put upon the negro's arm, and as often as he takes an oath, or makes any positive affirmation, his veracity must not be called in question, provided he swears by his bracelet.

The obligations, or religious duties of the negroes are innumerable. There is not one amongst them all that does not solemnly engage to abstain from some particular sorts of fruits, herbs, plants, &c. They lay themselves likewise under voluntary restrictions, both public and private, with respect to their wearing apparel: As for instance, the men are obliged to wear the skin of some particular beasts round their waists, which must hang down so low as to cover one half their thighs; and always to wear a cap, or something of the like nature upon their heads; or at least a head-band round their temples. On the other hand, the women go with their heads and hair always uncovered. The following custom is still more singular and remarkable: If any one sits upon a bed-side, in which there are two persons of different sexes, though legally married, he becomes polluted; and the master of the house must exhort such delinquent in a

friendly and charitable manner, to go directly and purify himself. His clothes are accordingly laid before the fire, and the party who officiates as purificator, pursues the ceremony by hooking his little finger with that of the left hand of the party polluted: Thus united, both lift up their hands above their heads, and turn themselves round. After this, the purificator takes two implements made of iron, which he clashes one against the other three or four times successively, and then blows in the palm of his own hand, as well as that of the person whom he purifies. During these formal grimaces, and gesticulations, he utters a dozen mystic words, which completes the purification. A person who has any illegitimate issue is obliged to abstain from the breath of a buffalo, or wild ox; but is acquitted from that penance, and acquires a just title to his children, by being duly married. All these religious rites and ceremonies are confirmed and established, by an habitual dread of being severely punished by their Mokissos, who seldom or never fails to chastise such as neglect the observance of them.

Singing and dancing are two fundamental branches of the religious worship of the negroes; for it is at the celebration of those solemnities, the spirit actuates and possesses their Gangas, and for the most part, those who dance with them. It would be tedious, if not impertinent, to describe all their follies and grimaces, which in many respects very nearly resemble the ecstasies and transports of the ancient soothsayers.

The sovereign pontiff, or supreme head of the hierarchy of Congo, is called Chitombe. He is revered after a very singular manner, and is looked upon as a deity, or at least as a being somewhat more than mortal. He is presented with the first fruits of all the products of the earth, and there are solemn supplications made to him for his spiritual benediction on their harvest; and accordingly he always blesses the seed and ground, before they presume to sow it. If he does not perform this ceremony himself, he does it at least by delegation of his vicars or assistants. This Chitombe also keeps up a sacred fire, at which some considerable quantity of brands are kindled, and afterwards distributed amongst the soviets or governors of the provinces, who receive them with all the testimonies of the most profound veneration and respect, and are incapable of exercising their public authority till they are possessed of them. The people are so far prejudiced in favour of this their Chitombe, or sovereign pontiff, and pay him such awful homage, that they will not acknowledge or obey their soviets unless they wait on his holiness for his heavenly benediction, and pay their obedience to this visible god, before they enter upon their respective posts.

This submission of their sojives is as humble as can be imagined.

They attend the levy of their Chitombe, and there prostrate themselves before him; and the people who accompany them, prostrate themselves also at the same time, imploring his holiness to receive their governors under his patronage and protection. After this, the pontiff sprinkles water and dust upon these Sojives, and extending them on their backs, walk over them backwards and forwards several times, treading upon their breasts, and making them swear in that humble posture, that they will always remain dependant on and be irrevocably subservient to his orders and decisions. If the Chitombe in the celebration of this ceremony should boast of his walking upon the Aspic, or treading the Basilisk under his foot, one should almost be tempted to believe that he had copied this haughty and imperious ceremony from the life of one of our popes. There are some, however, who in all probability will question the veracity of the missionary who has published this description, and the reflection which he immediately subjoins, gives good grounds for such suspicion. It must be allowed, to speak of him in the most favourable manner, that he was not conscious of the consequences that might be drawn from a reflection so foreign to the purpose.

But to proceed with our narrative. Should the Chitombe prove guilty of the most flagrant crime imaginable, no person whatever has any power to judge or correct him. It would be to no purpose there to appeal to a future council. When his duty requires him to visit his diocese, there must be a general preparation, by strict abstinence from all unlawful pleasures, to receive him. Such as are married, must even refrain from the conversation of their wives, whilst he is taking a review of his flock, and contribute by their exemplary temperance and chastity, towards the preservation of the spiritual pastor. Moreover, the negroes are of opinion, that should their pontiff die a natural death, it would prove of fatal consequence to the whole race of mankind: for which reason, when they think him past all hopes of recovery, his successor is empowered to strangle him, or dispatch him in such decent manner as he thinks most proper.

Their Negombo, though less revered and respected than their Chitombe, is, notwithstanding, extremely valued, and at the same time looked upon as both a priest and a prophet. He not only professes to foretell future events, but ascribes to himself an innate virtue or power of healing all manner of diseases. He is always sufficiently provided with a vast variety of medicines, the virtues whereof are so deeply impressed on the minds of the negroes, that the miscarriage of the magician, or his prescriptions, is always imputed to the patient. We need not,

however, travel so far as Congo, to meet with instances of prejudice, and prepossession equally extravagant.

The priest, who assumes the title of Negosci, must always have eleven wives, each of whom is honoured with the denomination of some particular Mokisso. They burn straw in the presence of these idols, and their worshippers take peculiar care to hang their heads over the smoke; because it is a received opinion amongst them, that the more they suffer themselves to be blacked and besmeared therewith, the more they ingratiate themselves into the favour and affections of the idols. Such as meditate revenge on their enemies, make their applications to the Negosci, who cuts off some locks of their hair, and after he has bunched them up together, throws them into the fire. The magician in the mean while pronounces some formal imprecations against the enemy particularly mentioned, and against his whole family. The Nepindi styles himself the master of the elements, and pretends to overrule and controul the thunder, lightning, storms, and tempests. In order to render his power conspicuous, he erects large heaps of earth contiguous to his habitation, and after he has finished the usual sacrifices and magical operations, a little animal, say they, creeps out at the foot of one of them, which raises itself by slow degrees, and at last takes its flight towards the heavens. Then thick clouds darken the skies, and thunder, lightning, and rain, immediately ensue.

There is a sect of negroes at Congo, who celebrate their mysteries in particular dark and retired places, and are called by father Cavazzi the Nequiti. Every person that is inclined to become a member of this society, is obliged to walk to and fro so often on a rope, that at last he falls down by virtue of an enchantment, or rather the artifice of some member or in short, through the giddiness of his own head. But be that as it will, as soon as he has fallen down, he enters into an ecstatic fit, and is carried into their public assembly; when he comes to himself they oblige him to swear, that he will never abandon or forsake their fraternity. Such as violate this engagement, are sacrificed to their titular gods.

The priest, or Gauga, who is likewise styled Mutinu, and assumes the title of King of the waters, makes the negroes believe, that he extracts from thence infallible remedies, and antidotes against the most malignant distempers. He causes all such as are afflicted with any maladies, to assemble themselves together on the banks of a river, into which he throws an empty pitcher, muttering at the same time, a number of mystic words. The next moment he draws it out full of water, wherein the pretended remedies, which he distributes amongst the

spectators then present, are all included. But to what purpose should we expatiate any further on the magical operations of these negro priests, since the account we have already given, will furnish the reader with an adequate idea of their power, which, in reality consists in nothing else but the tricks and artifices of emperics and impostors.

The province of Sondi has a Chitombe peculiar to itself, and he resides on the summit of a mountain. He wears his hair very long, embellished with divers trinkets, which are the objects of these negroes veneration. They pay him such a profound respect, that they never presume to speak to him without prostrating themselves before him with their faces to the ground. It is accounted an act of the highest presumption to look this venerable pontiff in the face, unless by a peculiar condescension he gives them that freedom. When he appears in public, every one bows down before him with devotion, and when he goes abroad, a wooden idol is carried before him on a kind of litter.

The Gangas have their respective posts or offices assigned them; and Amobundu is the guardian of their corn, through the aid and assistance of a Mokisso, or Fetiche made of clay, and feathers, which he buries in the middle of such fields as are under his protection. Amoloco restores such to their former state of health, who had lost it by virtue of any magical incantations; for it is a received opinion amongst the natives of Congo, that no person is either sick or dies, but by virtue of some magic charms, or fascinations. We shall in the sequel of this dissertation, treat more amply of the fatal consequences that attend this notion; for Molongo foretells their good or ill success in all distempers. Neconi and Nezali have the influence or power of healing the sick, Negodi cures the deaf, Nesambi cleanses the lepers, Embungula charms the slaves, and makes them attend him by blowing a whistle; and lastly, the Ganga-Metambola, if we may depend on the veracity of Cavazzi, raises the dead by his magical incantations. The idolators of Angola pay an equal regard and veneration to their Gangas; for they imagine that their life, health, fortune, and the preservation of all their effects, are dependent on them; and they have an order of magicians, called Chibados, who always dress themselves in woman's apparel.

In our dissertations on the religious customs of Guinea, we gave a description of their trial or experiment of the Quoni, and that which is generally made use of at Congo by the Imbondo, or Bonde, is of the same kind. The prisoner is obliged to drink a stated quantity of the juice of this root; and if he be able to make water freely after he has taken the draught, he is cleared and declared to be innocent; but if he has the stranguary, and falls down after it,

it is looked upon as an incontestible evidence that he is guilty, and as such, he is instantly condemned to die, without the least hopes of pardon or reprieve. This public experiment is made before the king, or the Moni-Boma, who acts as judge in these criminal causes. There is a fee or duty to be first paid to his majesty; after which the judges, the prosecutors, and their relations meet together in some large square, or public high-road, where the prisoner, with all his friends and relations also attend. The latter are all seated by one another; for if the party charged and suspected, undergoes the experiment with success, his relations, friends, and acquaintance, must submit to it in their turns, till the Imbondo has made a discovery of the prented malefactor.

Another author adds, that as soon as the prisoner has drank this Imbondo, the judge rises and throws a small rod or wand at his head; at the same time making use of the following form of words, which doubtless amount to an imprecation: "If thou art guilty fall down; if innocent, stand up, and make water." After this, he cuts the Imbondo, into several small pieces, and throws them on the ground. All such as are suspected, are obliged to walk on these bits of the Imbondo, and such as have the misfortune to fall in the experiment, are looked upon as absolutely convicted. Notwithstanding the many frauds and abuses that are committed on these occasions, the negroes lay a prodigious stress on the practice and observance of these experiments. Nay, though they have been sufficiently convinced of the deceit and folly of these trials, it is with them, as with many others, the imposture, even after it is detected, is still carried on with success.

A king of Macoco, being very desirous to discover whether such experiments were really effectual, and might be depended on or not, pretended one day that some rogue or other had stole from him a considerable quantity of fine shells, which are the current money of the country. Two of his domestics were strongly suspected, and immediately taken into custody, who underwent with courage and resolution a very strict examination. The king, who resolved with seeming resentment, that he would try to discover the truth, if possible, ordered that they should undergo the customary trials, and charged the priest who was to preside over this affair, to use his utmost endeavours to do him justice, and find out the malefactor. The dose was accordingly prepared, but made so strong, that it had the same effect on the innocent, as it would have, as they pretend, on the guilty only. The persons prosecuted, were immediately condemned, and hurried away in order to be punished according to their demerits; but the king, who was then present, starting up, discovered ingeniously the stratagem he made use of before the



whole company, and ordered the judge to be instantly executed, in the room of his innocent domestics.

The negroes of Congo are very strict in the observance of their oaths; but if, however, they should accidentally at any time break them in the heat of their passion, it is customary for them to make a kind of confession to one of their Gangas, and ask his absolution. If the oath has been thus rashly violated but once, a single confession is sufficient; but if the crime has been aggravated by a frequent repetition, the delinquent must humble himself several ways before he can procure his full and free remission. The Ganga reduces some particular roots to powder, which he encloses in a phial, and thereupon pronounces several imprecations against the person who is perjured. After this, he orders the penitent to prostrate himself on the ground, and from the bottom of his heart to renounce and detest his sins; which done, he raises him up, and presents him with a glass of water. This salutary potion being drank with a contrite heart, the sinner returns home perfectly pardoned and absolved; having first made the Ganga some grateful acknowledgement for his spiritual consolation. Sometimes this Ganga anoints the tongue of the person perjured with the oil of dates, and accompanies the unction with sundry imprecations.

We shall close this article with the ceremony which these people practise before they enter on any warlike expedition. Curious, and fond of knowing the consequences of the approaching engagement, they put a vessel full of water, and several other ingredients, upon the fire, which must all be first consecrated and duly prepared by a Ganga. As soon as the pot begins to boil, they enter upon their magical incantations, which, as they imagine, irresistibly attract the titular genius of their enemies, and oblige him to plunge himself into it. In this painful situation they confine him for some considerable time; but when he has done sufficient penance, as they conceive, and that the torments he has endured must indisputably have humbled him, ask him several questions relating to the success of the ensuing war. Whether he gives them any express answer or not, we are not informed; they always conjecture, however, that they shall either conquer or be conquered, from the peculiar fermentation of these magical ingredients, and in all probability the genius never gives them any other satisfaction or reply.— Sometimes, also, we are informed, they set an empty pot upon the fire, and when it is red hot, turn the bottom upwards, and hovering over it, receive the heat, which, they imagine, inspires them with an invincible courage. A prepossession of this nature may often, in all probability, meet with the desired success, and numberless instances of the like nature

might be produced from the history of all ages; but it would be impertinent, and foreign to the purpose, to quote them in this work.

Notwithstanding the Portuguese have introduced Christianity amongst the natives of Congo, yet they have not been able to abolish and extirpate the practice of polygamy. The negroes, as well Christians as idolaters, have not only several wives that are free-women, but a number of concubines also, that are slaves. The former live in a separate apartment from their husbands, but the principal, or governante, has the superintendence of the whole family, and is allowed a deputy to aid and assist her.

When one of these wives proves false and inconstant, or is barely suspected, her husband discards her, without the least disgrace to any party; nay, the woman herself quickly finds out another partner with abundance of ease; and as to their concubines, who are their slaves, they buy them, for the generality, when they are very young: Sometimes they bargain for them whilst the mother is with child, who, in case she be brought to bed of a boy, is obliged to procure the purchaser a girl in his stead. In short, they marry by way of trial, according to the custom of several people on the coast of Guinea. This is the purport of what we judged most material and worthy of observance in our author before quoted, but we are farther assured, that they are so courteous to any friend and acquaintance, or any stranger, that accidentally pays them a visit, that one of their wives is always devoted to his service.

We shall now proceed to a more particular detail of their customs: As soon as their daughters attain the age of maturity, their heads are shaved all over except on the foretop, on which is purposely reserved a little tuft, like a crown. After that, their admirers begin to view them with transport, and are very importunate in their addresses to them. If a young virgin violates her chastity before she is conscious of her natural purgations, both she and her gallant are obliged to undergo a trial, something like what the French call the Congress, in the presence of the king and all his court. A wife there is under an extravagant subjection to her husband, and if we may rely on the veracity of some authors, those who have the most liberty in Lovango, or Congo, are much more passive and subservient than any of our meanest domestics. Nay, the king's consorts themselves in this country are perfect slaves, and obliged, however whimsical it may appear to work for their daily subsistence. These wives are locked up, and live like nuns, till his majesty is graciously pleased to make choice of one of them to be the partner of his bed; but notwithstanding this plurality of wives, neither the king nor his subjects, are strangers to the torments of jealousy. When the

latter are apprehensive of their wives inconstancy and ill conduct, they immediately put them away; but the former are more severe in their resentments, and death is the sure consequence of infidelity. Nay, they carry their groundless jealousies to such an extravagant pitch, that whenever any of their wives prove with child, they are constantly obliged to drink of the Imbondo, in order to give a public demonstration of their virtue, and unspotted honour. If they should have the misfortune, as abundance of innocent persons have, to be deemed guilty by such trial, there are no hopes of mercy for them; they are ordered to be burnt, and their imaginary gallants to be buried alive, without reprieve. Such is the cruel fate of the concubines of these sovereigns! But the lady whom they call the macuinda, enjoys a special privilege at Lovango; for she is one of the most ancient matrons of his late majesty's seraglio, who is elected regent of the kingdom, or, more properly speaking, the superintendant of the actions of the prince upon the throne. This macuinda, who is styled the mother of the king, may have as many admirers as she pleases, and grant them the last favours, if she thinks convenient. Moreover, she sits as president in their councils, is guardian to the prince, and has an unlimited power and authority to pardon any malefactor, though he be ever so notorious.

The king's own mother, his sisters, and all the negro ladies of the loyal family, have the same privilege. So far are they from punishing them in cases of incontinency, and breach of their conjugal engagements, that they severely correct their husbands, in case they prefer other mistresses; it is no small misfortune, in short, for a man in that country to be married to one of the royal family.

The king of Congo's principal consort is styled Mani-Mombanda; that is, sovereign of the wives, for whose service there is a public assessment made, which is very singular and remarkable. On her wedding night, every bed throughout the kingdom is surveyed by proper officers, and rated in proportion to their respective dimensions. This queen lives in an apartment of the royal palace, with her maids of honour, who have free liberty to spend their nights abroad with his majesty, or such other of the court as they think proper; this indulgence is owing to the coquetry of their royal mistress, who studies all the ways she can to oblige them.

As the profession of Christianity at Congo appears to be superficial and insignificant, we shall pass it over, and proceed, for the amusement of our readers, in the description of their nuptial solemnities. It must be acknowledged, indeed, when they enter into the state of matrimony, they observe the form prescribed by the Catholic church; but from what we have already related, and what we have still far-

ther to offer on that topic, it is demonstrable, that they pay very little, if any, regard to her laws and institutions. As for instance, in case there be three brothers, all of the same family, and one of them happens to die, the other two divide his concubines between them, share and share alike. Again, in case one of those two should depart this life, the survivor claims them all as his right and property.—And after his decease, the next heir, though it should be a son, we are informed, comes into the peaceable possession of the whole stock.

The women of Lovango are as subservient, to the men as our cattle are to us; and all of them in general, in the month of January, are obliged to make their personal appearance at the king's palace, in order to be employed in the sowing and manuring of his lands. The men likewise give their attendance along with them; and each of them is provided with proper arms for his service: not with intent, however, to work themselves, but to chastise such women as are indolent and remiss in their duty, and in short, to be their superintendants and directors. As for the rest, they spend their time in such amusements as they think most proper. This Lovango is situate in one of those unhappy climates, where the men are perfect strangers to that complaisance, that tenderness and indulgence which we naturally have for the soft sex. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the women have sufficient grounds for complaint, on account of their ungenerous treatment; and yet, in all probability, they think themselves happy, and never murmur or repine at their abject condition.

Dapper assures us, that when the young maidens of Congo begin to be tied of that heavy incumbrance their virginity, they withdraw into a particular solitary place, dressed to the best advantage, according to the custom of their country; that is to say, their skins plentifully anointed with fat, and beautifully varnished, and their cheeks, and such other parts as are for the generality exposed to view, besmeared with red paint. In this gloomy apartment they reside for about three weeks, or a month, and there is no doubt, though our author is silent, and leaves us to our own conjectures, they very seldom, if ever, return without finding some good natured person or another, who is ready to take their burden off their hands. But be that as it will, they there make choice of such young active sparks as endeavour most effectually to ingratiate themselves into their favour by such particular services, and such soft endearments, as are usual before marriage; and in this particular the blacks agree with the generality of mankind.

A wife, after she is brought to bed at Angola, has no conversation with her husband till the infant begins to cut his teeth; and there is another custom

in vogue there, which is universal, indeed, throughout all the barbarous nations. and at this day practised among the Jews, and that is, the husband and wife live apart during the periodical fluxions. Moreover, the wife must not presume to touch any one thing the husband eats, and neither lies in his house, nor approaches his bed; not to mention the marks and signatures whereby she is obliged to distinguish herself from those that are in a perfect state of health and free from pollution. Amongst other characteristics, or tokens, she wears a string about her head during the whole time of her purgations.

Circumcision is universally practised, where the Christian religion has not prevailed; and at Angola, as soon as ever they discern that the infant has cut his first tooth, they dress it up as gaily as possibly they can. Its friends and relations dandle it about from house to house, to collect all the presents they can possibly procure for it. In those countries which are still idolatrous, as soon as an infant is brought into the world, a priest is instantly sent for, who lays it under some particular solemn obligations; which, in all probability, ought to be looked upon as preservatives against the numberless casualties to which the life of man is daily exposed; or some religious vows and duties, by the observance whereof, the people imagine they ingratiate themselves into the favour and affection of their deities. The priest takes particular care to confirm and establish this notion, which is so naturally imbibed by the generality of mankind, and so beneficial and advantageous to all the sacerdotal profession in general. He mutters accordingly some certain mystic terms, as prescribed in their rubric, and afterwards imposes such obligations upon the child as he thinks most convenient; and what he determines is listened to, and regarded as the voice of an oracle.

We shall now proceed to their funeral solemnities; for all the prejudices and prepossessions espoused by these people, there are none of more fatal consequence, than the notion so generally received, that there is no such thing as a natural death, and that the decease of all persons whomsoever, is the pure result of the charms and fascinations of their enemies. The magicians, in their opinion, raise the deceased, transport him to some solitary desert, and there make him work like a slave.—They take peculiar care to feed them with fresh meat only; for should the dead man taste the least grain of salt, he would grow outrageous, and pursue the murderer with the utmost rigour; and by virtue only of this groundless and foolish persuasion, the death of one man is generally accompanied with the untimely fall of many that are innocent. The natives of Lovango begin their inquiries relating to their dead, with spells and incantations, which consist principally in leaning hard upon a knife, in

the presence of one of their Gangas, and in rubbing their hands together with all their might; and during these operations they enter upon their interrogatories. Such a person, say they, is dead and buried; was he bewitched? or did his Mokisso take away his life? If upon this query, the person that makes the experiment has not power to command his hands, it is accounted an incontestible proof that his friend's death was the result of some malicious enchantment; and from this interrogatory they run on to another, and the enquiry always concludes with the trial by the Imbondio.

These natives of Lovango are very much divided in their opinions, with relation to the state of the human soul after its departure from the body. Such as are of the royal family maintain a kind of inemptyschosis, and imagine that the souls of those who depart this life enter into the bodies of their children; others believe them mortal; but the greatest part of them think they become titular gods; in the firm belief whereof they erect little chapels, contiguous or adjacent to the places where they died; thither they resort to pray to them, and make an oblation, before they sit down to their meals, both of what they are to eat, and what they are to drink. Chicocke, of whom we have already made mention, is the guardian of their dead; and his statue, composed of wood, is erected at some small distance from their burying-ground. He takes effectual care that no magician clandestinely removes the deceased, or insults them, or compels them to work, hunt, or fish. Who knows but this guardian god has deserved the great confidence which the negroes repose in him, by as natural an effect, as that with which Horace reproaches his fig-tree Prapus? Perhaps it were not impossible, if due enquiry was made, to find miracles of this nature in some parts of Europe.

These people bury their dead with all their clothes on; and the poorer sort apply themselves to such as are men of substance to assist them in defraying the necessary expences of their funerals. At the decease of the king of Congo, all persons are strictly enjoined not to mourn for his death, notwithstanding the melancholy news is solemnly proclaimed by the sound of a kind of cornet, throughout the whole kingdom. As to the rest, the pompous funeral of a prince is solemnized after the manner of the Roman Catholics; but such as never were proselytes to Christianity, or are only such in outward appearance, strictly follow the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors. They inter with their dead, a considerable part of their effects, several valuable presents, and various sorts of goods; and as this custom has been universally observed by all idolatrous nations, both ancient and modern, it would be needless, if not impertinent, to produce instances to confirm the



truth of it. At the decease of a grandee, his favorites, clients, and slaves, carry their extravagance infinitely beyond what is practised in common, and besides the costly presents and foreign commodities which are buried with him, they furnish him with domestics to attend his royal person, and with several young ladies for his amusement in his journey to the other world, who either through compulsion, or the prepossession and artifice of their priests, are strenuous rivals, and contest the honour of being buried alive with their deceased monarch.

There are several religious customs likewise observed at Lovango, that are equally remarkable.— Their funeral solemnities are always accompanied with floods of tears, and incessant wailings; and as soon as they have carried the corpse out of the house, they dance all round about it, and during that solemn ceremony, weep most bitterly, and fill the air with most hideous lamentations. At proper intervals they very demurely ask the deceased a thousand impertinent questions; such as, whether he decamped, or removed his quarters, for want of the conveniences of life, and the like. And though the deceased never obliges them with an answer, they always ascribe his decease to some dissatisfaction of one kind or another. This funeral concert, and these melancholy interrogatories, continue for some hours; after which, they collect every individual thing the deceased is to carry along with him, and when his bag and baggage are all packed up and ready, they remove the corpse and his effects with as much precipitation as if they had stole them.— One moiety, or half part of his aforesaid effects, is allotted to be buried with him; the other is hung up and exposed to public view on poles planted round his sepulchre; but to prevent any clandestine conveyance of them away by necessitous pilferers, they either cut into rags, or tear to pieces, such goods as are thus exposed. In the evening they renew their weepings and wailings, and continue these outward demonstrations of sorrow and concern every evening for six weeks together, without intermission.

Their degree of mourning varies in proportion to the quality of the person deceased; and when a grandee dies, their lamentations are more vociferous and noisy than ordinary, and their attendance to the grave more solemn and numerous; for the people assemble themselves together from all the adjacent towns on such a public occasion. The magicians exert their skill to the utmost, and leave no charm nor enchantment whatever unpractised, in order to restore a sick grandee to his former state of health; not but the people too use their utmost endeavours likewise to prolong his days, but there as well as here, it is grandeur that is the principal attraction, and it is out of a self-interested view of being well rewarded for their pains, that they are thus diligent

and attentive. There is no question, therefore, to be made, but that such as are well versed in magical operations, are lavish of their most secret and valuable preparations, when the lives of such men as are thus honoured and esteemed are in apparent danger.

They hover round the corpse, which is either extended on a couch, or supported in a sitting posture, by one of the company, and sometimes, indeed, he is raised by proper supporters, artfully disposed under each arm. In one of these situations, his head is shaved, his nails are pared, and his body washed, anointed, and painted red; and his nearest kindred, that is, his male relations, seat themselves at a small distance from the corpse; for the women, who have their tears always at command, and are by nature qualified to excite the passions, are employed, by their violent transports and agitations, to affect the whole assembly. They dance, or rather fly about, like persons distracted, from right to left, in the utmost confusion; but in their intervals they sing encomiums on the deceased, recite all his virtuous actions, and trace his genealogy; and this, in short, is his funeral harangue. To conclude, they bury some part of his patrimony along with him, and all the valuable effects which his relations and friends have collected together for his more commodious settlement in the other world. The usual place appropriated for the burial of their blacks is generally called the *Kiengâ*; where on each respective grave are arranged, in decent order, the bow and arrows of the deceased, his wooden platter, his cup, or rather calabash, for the convenience of his drinking, when he thinks proper, and a sufficient quantity of pipes and tobacco for his smoking, &c.

The same solemnities are observed for their kings, but with much greater pomp and magnificence; for they embellish the body of the deceased with the usual regalia, according to the dignity of these black princes. He is seated in a chair of state, erected in a vault, reserved for the peculiar reception of such illustrious personages, with the representations, in wood or clay, of such as were his favourites when alive. Before him are ranged a sufficient quantity of kitchen furniture, or utensils, which were made use of at his majesty's table; such as cloths, napkins, &c. A considerable number of slaves are sacrificed, or rather murdered, for his peculiar service, who are buried near him, or in some separate vault, in order to revive with, and wait on his majesty in his journey to the other world; for they entertain some idea, though a very confused and imperfect one, of the resurrection of the dead. It was customary, in former times, to bury twelve beautiful virgins alive with the king of Congo, and these young ladies were all so loyal as to offer up their lives a willing sacrifice to the service of their mo-

narch. With warmth and zeal they disputed their title of precedence, and each one was fond of stepping foremost, and intercepting her competitors.— They dressed themselves as gaily as was possible on these tragical and solemn occasions, and their relations supplied them handsomely with all sorts of furniture, and all the conveniences of life, which they thought proper for their accommodation in the other world. This custom, however, we are informed, is at present abolished, as repugnant to the principles of natural religion; and one branch of their funeral solemnities is reduced to an elegant entertainment only, which is renewed for eight days together, on the monument or sepulchre of the deceased monarch. Whilst they are partaking of this regal banquet, they have their intervals, in which they indulge themselves in all the demonstrations of the deepest sorrow and concern, which, in our opinion, may justly pass under the denomination of a religious custom.

There is but very little difference between the funeral solemnities observed at Angola, and those of Lovango and Congo; for they wash their dead, comb them, shave them, wrap them up in a kind of shroud, and afterwards lay them on a small earthen bier. The deceased is always dressed after the most elegant manner they can possibly devise, and several beasts at the same time are sacrificed, and their blood spilt in honour of their departed friend. In the kingdom of Matamba, the corpse is covered over with rosin; and thus embalmed, or more properly speaking, besmeared all over, deposited in a deep grave, and guarded by slaves till perfectly reduced to dust and ashes. This precaution is taken, as we are informed, against the natives themselves, who are inclined to plunder these graves, and mangle the bodies of their dead countrymen, in order to carry away their limbs clandestinely, and hoard them up as sacred relics, which are more or less valuable according to the reputation of the deceased.

The relations and slaves, when they go into mourning, shave their heads and besmear their faces with oil, and divers kinds of powder, which serve instead of glue, to fasten the various feathers which at such times they stick about them. To hear their hideous outcries and lamentations, one would imagine that sorrow and affliction had deprived them of their senses; but if we may rely on the veracity of our author from whence we extract this account, they do not so much as shed one single tear. We shall close this topic with an agreeable story enough, relating to the widows of Congo. They entertain the notion, that the souls of their departed husbands reanimate their bodies, unless due care be taken to keep them at an awful distance; and such a re-animation would be an absolute bar to any new alliance. To prevent, therefore, so direful a disaster, they

make their applications to one of their priests, who plunge themselves several times in some rapid streams; after which, as they lie under no fearful apprehensions of their return, they boldly venture on their second nuptials.

It is surprising how such notions should ever enter into the human heart, or that those who are endowed with rational faculties should stoop lower in their actions than even the animal creation. All is owing to ignorance, and well might the prophet say, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." The fundamental principles upon which the civilization of mankind is built, consists in knowledge, and upon this foundation a superstructure of politeness, humanity, benevolence, and piety, is formed. To all this we may add, that an attention to these things makes way for the reception of the gospel; for although the promulgation of the gospel does not depend on human means, yet God has commanded those to be used, and therefore men are not to slight them, but use them in a proper manner.

#### *Religion of the Guaguas,*

These people inhabit the kingdom of Matamba, and we are assured both by Purchas, an Englishman, and Father Cavazzi, an Italian, that they not only eat the flesh of their enemies, but even carry it about to sell as we do butchers' meat. However horrid and unnatural this may appear to some, who have not had an opportunity of visiting foreign countries, yet we can see no reason to doubt the truth of it. Some of the American savages eat their prisoners, and it is but a few years since some Englishmen were killed, and eaten in an island in the South Seas. But to proceed with our narrative:

The chief god of these people is called Quisango, and represented under the form of a giant twelve feet high. This idol is shut up and circumscribed within an inclosure made of elephants' teeth; each being embellished with the scalp of some slave, or captive, that has been sacrificed in honour of this blood-thirsty deity. But there are oblations made him besides these, such as libations of palm wine, with the blood of goats, deer, and other animals.

The person who is at the head of this system of false religion, acts both as high priest and as general of their forces. His hair, which is exceeding long, is adorned with some particular shells, by them called Bamba, which they have a peculiar veneration and respect for, and round his neck he wears a collar composed of other curious shells, but not of such value as the former. At his girdle hangs a chaplet, the beads whereof consists of the eggs of the ostrich. Such an extraordinary chaplet as this

is, perhaps, cannot be found in any other part of the world; for many of the beads are as large as the crown of a hat. The priest wears a small vestment round his waist, falling down low enough to cover what modesty requires to be concealed. As for his body, it is embellished with a variety of figures delineated after an inelegant and artless manner. In other respects, their chieftain is besmeared all over with red and white paint, composed partly of the blood of dead men, mixed with the fat. A piece of brass, about an inch in length hangs down from his nose; and two others from his ears. He has commonly about twenty or thirty wives, one of whom carries his bow and arrows, another waits on him when he is disposed to drink, and presents him with his cup which they call calabass. When he takes it, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and sing till he has finished his draught.—Some of the wild inhabitants of Florida, observe the same customs at this very day.

Before the sovereign of Guagua enters upon any military expedition, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to his idol, before the sun rises, at the celebration whereof, two magicians attend; one at his right hand, and the other at his left, about forty women of distinction round about him, each of them having a wild horse's tail in both hands. Thus equipped, they sing a solemn service, accompanied with playing on different instruments, according to the manner of their country. In the midst of the congregation, or assembly, there is a large fire, with an earthen vessel hung over it, in which is contained a certain composition, wherewith they paint their temples, foreheads, breasts, and bellies, at the same time observing sundry ceremonies, charms, and incantations, which continue till the sun is set. After this the magicians present the general with the *cafengola*, which is a kind of hatchet, and at the delivery of it they exhort him to be resolute and courageous.—Accordingly he gives them what he thinks an uncontested proof of his valour, by raising up his hatchet, and hacking down a youth presented before him for that purpose. Having laid the youth breathless on the ground, four slaves likewise meet with the same untimely fate; two of whom are massacred on the spot, and the other two are put to death by his assistants. This human sacrifice is attended with the sacrifice of ten cows, ten goats, and ten dogs. The blood of these victims is poured forth in honour of their idol, but the flesh is reserved for the repast of the assembly, which solemn feast is concluded with loud acclamations and other testimonies of public joy.

When his troops are assembled together, he delivers a very pathetic harangue, and then orders them to march. These declarations, delivered in order to animate the soldiers, are spoken in an elevation of

voice, with such energy, grace, and dignity, as may stand in competition with those orations we meet with in the accounts of the ancient Grecian worthies. The captains follow the example of their intrepid generals, and thus these barbarians inspire the private soldiers with a savage brutal ferocity. If any private soldier discovers the least marks of cowardice, or inclination to desert and run away in the heat of an engagement, he is instantly cut in pieces, and eaten up by his companions. All such as are taken prisoners of war, are eaten either sooner or later. Those who are lean are reserved to be fattened, as we do with our cattle, but sometimes they content themselves with selling them as slaves. However, they neither kill nor eat their captives till they are at years of maturity, but are particularly indulgent to such male prisoners as are very young; for they naturalize them and train them up in the practice of their own inhuman and barbarous customs.

They put a collar round their necks, as a badge of their captivity and never take it off till they have produced before the general, the head of one of their enemies. Then they are made free, and honoured with the title of *Gongo*, which signifies a soldier, or warrior. They try the courage of their young captives, by shooting an arrow directly over their heads, and he that starts, or discovers the least signs of fear, is killed immediately and eaten. They are not to be naturalized without the strongest, and most signal proofs of their courage, and even then with initiation; for those who refuse to comply with it are treated with the utmost abhorrence. This ceremony consists in drawing out four of their foreteeth, two from the upper jaw, and two from the under; they likewise bore their ears and noses, making very wide holes in them. And here it may not be improper to relate something concerning an Amazonian princess who once reigned among them. The history of the ancient Amazons is well known. They inhabited some part of that extensive country, anciently called *Scythia*, but now *Tartary*. One of their queens waited on Alexander the Great, and we are told that hero was very intimate with her, perhaps she granted him every favour.

This African princess, whom we shall now give an account of prohibited the education of any male child within the limits of the kingdom, but strictly enjoined all parents to murder them, or expose them to the wild beasts as soon as they were born. She ordered all such children as had been preserved to be disinherited, and branded with a particular mark. She permitted the women to marry with their prisoners of war, to whom in consequence of that alliance, she granted all the privileges of the state, and this was done in order to preserve the breed of females. She charged all women who were with child, on pain of death, to avoid being delivered



within the bounds of her kingdom, lest they should pollute the ground. If in disobedience and contempt of her commands, any male child should be accidentally preserved alive, she strictly forbade the reception of him into her kingdom, unless two of his first teeth were first drawn; but when it happened that the upper fore teeth came down over the others, then he was instantly put to death.

She constituted and appointed proper judges, with other inferior officers, to see that these her laws were duly respected and executed; to put to death such women as should happen to conceal any children, and to oblige every young person to learn the rites and ceremonies of their religion. That these laws might receive the greater sanction, it was necessary to persuade the people to believe that they were the statutes and ordinances of their ancestors; that by the observance of them they would become a terror to their enemies; that their power and authority ought to be confined and established by such examples as might demonstrate a solemn renunciation of that fondness and affection so natural to parents, and which is visible among savage beasts.

Here we may observe what power can do when united with that false fear of the deity called superstition. They imagined upon the implicit faith of their sovereign, that they should so far ingratiate themselves in the favour of their idol, as to obtain the privilege of being invulnerable, if they had the courage to murder their children, and besmear themselves with their blood. The princess herself was the first promoter of this unheard of barbarity, for she murdered her own son, and had his body beaten into a powder, with which she rubbed her body all over, to set an example to the wretched deluded people. How long this monster of barbarity reigned, does not appear, but probably not long, for barbarous and savage as the people were, yet it cannot be supposed they would suffer these things any great length of time. But we should add a remark here concerning the ancient Canaanites, whom Joshua destroyed. The deists have objected that Joshua had no right to invade their country and destroy them. It is in vain for us to tell them, that Joshua was commanded by the Almighty to extirpate them, for that they do not regard; we must answer them on other principles. These Canaanites had been guilty of the most horrid unnatural crimes, similar to those we have been treating of; and therefore it was but justice that such wretches should be extirpated from the earth. Supposing an army of European Christians were to see such unnatural barbarities committed, as those we have just mentioned, would not every man present think it is duty to punish the cruel perpetrators of them? Certainly he would, and human nature knows no punishment for

murder, but that of taking away the life of the murderer. But to return to the subject:

As for the nuptial ceremonies of these people, they have nothing very remarkable in them, being so cruel and ignorant, many of them herd together like beasts, without any regard to age, sex, or decency; some of them, particularly the Jages, who inhabit the province of Ansiko, never bury their dead, but either eat them or bury them alive. They wash their bodies clean when they intend to bury them, and carry them to the grave in a sitting posture, and their wives, if they have any, are buried along with them. The ceremony concludes with cries and dreadful lamentations, which last several days.

We have already, in the course of this work, had occasion to lament, that so many of our fellow-creatures are ignorant of the knowledge of Christ, but what shall we say of those Africans, who are worse than the wild beasts of the field? Does it not serve to shew, that mankind are not what their ancestor was when he came from the hands of his maker: nay it appears from what is related here, that he is capable of anything, let it be ever so absurd, ridiculous, cruel, barbarous, or unnatural, which clearly proves our nature to be corrupted. Unless those things are granted we shall never be able to account for the practices of many of our fellow-creatures, who, even in whole national bodies, commit, or rather live in, and establish, crimes shocking to be mentioned. Hence we may conclude, that although there are many things of great value to be met with in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, yet we find they were most shockingly corrupted in their morals, when the gospel was first preached among them. From this it appears plain, that nothing but the gospel can cure our spiritual infirmities. We shall conclude the present article with the following passage from a sermon of the late Dr. Coneybear, bishop of Bristol:

"It hath been related already, (says his lordship) that sin was brought into the world by our first parents, from whence there is derived down to us, a depraved and corrupted nature. Hence both our intellectual and moral powers, have been greatly impaired, and as, in many instances, we know not what we ought to do; in others, when ignorance may not be pleaded, there is a remarkable backwardness, and even perverseness of the will. These evils must be remedied in some degree, otherwise no advantage can be made of the pardon which God, for Christ's sake, offers. For it is unreasonable to expect this should extend to any but those who embrace it by a religious return to God." Sermon I. vol. 1. page 22.

*Religion of the natives of South Caffaria.*

Mr. Kolbens, a Dutch gentleman, who resided some years at the Cape of Good Hope, and visited many of the African kingdoms, is of opinion, that there is a manifest conformity between the Caffres and the Jews. In order to support his argument, he enumerates several customs practised alike by both. The Caffres make abundance of oblations, and regulate the time of their festivals by the full and new moons. They have no conversation with their wives during particular seasons, and always use purification. They frequently make use of unleavened bread, and abstain from all sorts of salt meat.—They practise the ceremony of circumcision, or something similar to it, and they eat nothing that is strangled, nor any fish without scales. They never admit women into their councils, and are allowed to give their wives a bill of divorce, even on the slightest pretence.

He observes several other rites and ceremonies similar to those of the Jews, such as giving the names of animals, hills, mountains, rivers, trees, fruits, herbs, and, indeed every thing in nature, to their children, instead of the names of their parents or relations. But all these arguments made use of by this Dutchman to establish his favourite system, have no weight at all, as will appear when we consider the following things. Their using unleavened bread has no conformity to any custom practised by the Jews, because these Africans never knew how to make bread till they were taught to do so by the Europeans. With respect to their divorcing their wives, it will appear to the reader, from several of the former parts of this work, that many other heathens do the same, and circumcision is common in almost one half of the known world.

But he imputes to them in common with other authors, that they starve their relations to death when they are past their labour, which is contrary to every thing in the law of Moses. He says they are expert at the chase, but in that he should have compared them with the Hottentots, rather than the Jews. We agree with this author, that there is no improbability that these idolatrous Africans were descended from the Phœnicians, who went from the south of Asia, in ancient times, and carried along with them their own rites and ceremonies. However, be these things as they will, we shall now proceed to give an account of the principles and ceremonies of their religion.

They have some faint notion of the universal deity, for they have a tradition transmitted down from father to son, informing them, that their ancestors, issuing out of a door or window, established themselves on this spot of the earth, which they now

inhabit, and instructed their children in the art of agriculture. They also add, that their parents' names were Noh and Hingnou, and both these may relate to Noah and his wife, for his wife's name is not mentioned in scripture. All our travellers are very contradictory in their accounts of the religion of these people, because they are divided into clans, tribes, and hordes, and all these have different notions. However, from all these accounts we see no difficulty of collecting the truth, because several reputable writers have inquired into them, and we cannot see any reason to doubt their veracity, especially as these accounts have been approved of by the Royal Society.

They adore one Supreme Being, though their notions concerning him are very dark and confused.—They kill several cows and sheep in honour of their idol, and make voluntary oblations of their flesh and milk, as grateful acknowledgements of all his mercies from time to time; for they imagine that he alone sends them rain, sun-shine, and all the returns of the seasons. They seem to have little or no idea of a future state, and yet they have many good qualities, which should secure them from the contempt usually thrown out upon them. They are, in many respects, honest and charitable to one another. They look upon theft and idolatry as capital crimes; and such as are found guilty of them, are immediately put to death.

But notwithstanding this, every man has free liberty to marry as many women as he can maintain, although few of them indulge themselves with any more than three. A German missionary and a Protestant, asked one of these Caffres concerning his belief of the Deity, and received the following sensible answer:—"Let him that cannot believe there is a God, survey the heavens, the earth, and every object round about him, and then let him deny the existence of a Supreme Being, if he can." We have some reason to believe, that the zealous missionary dressed up the Caffre's words, and therefore it is best to consider them in the middle latitude, especially as the Jesuits have represented them as downright Atheists.

It is certain, that the Dutch have the best opportunities of being acquainted with these Caffres, or Hottentots, because no other Europeans have any settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. For many miles up the country, the Dutch have Protestant churches established, and as their ministers are men of sense and gravity, we ought at least to pay some regard to the accounts they have given us.

Kolben says, that they call the invisible God Gounia Tiqueoa, a term that means the captain of the gods. They are far from being uniform in their religious rites and ceremonies, on account of their being divided into so many clans, or hordes, which

they call cralles. The truth is, there is no constancy in any of the notions entertained by the barbarians throughout the whole world. All is ignorance and confusion, and we seek in vain for a guide to direct us; which circumstance alone should more and more endear to us Divine Revelation. The Cafres, or Hottentots, who reside all round the Cape, pay their adoration to the moon, by dancing to her honour when she changes, or when she is at the full. This religious ceremony lasts all night, and is performed with abundance of noise, hurry, and confusion. They shout, clap their hands, direct their eyes upwards, with abundance of seeming devotion, and then they mutter some words, which none can understand but themselves. Sometimes they run into vaults, where they clap their hand, and repeat several ejaculations. All this is performed during the night, while the moon is in her splendor; and they frequently prostrate themselves on the ground, then rise up again, and gazing at the moon, with loud acclamations, make the following address to her:—"We thy servants salute thee. Give us store of milk and honey; increase our flocks and herds, and we will worship thee." During this ceremony, they mark their foreheads with red paint, a practice common among the savages in America.

It appears, that like some of the rest of the Pagan Africans, they worship a being, who, according to their imaginations, can neither do them any good nor any evil. And what is still more remarkable, they worship another being inferior to this, whom they believe can do them much injury, unless his anger is appeased. This being they imagine frequently appears to them under the most tremendous form, somewhat resembling the ancient satyrs of the Greeks; and when they are asked how they can believe in such absurdities, so inconsistent with the divine attributes; their answer is to the following import:—"We follow the traditions of our ancestors, whose first parents having sinned against the grand captain, they fell into such a neglect of his worship, that they knew nothing of him, nor how to make their addresses to him." This may serve to shew, that however ignorant they may be in other respects, yet in this dark tradition they have some faint notion of the fall of man, which indeed is acknowledged by all the world, except some letter learned men among ourselves.

They pay also a religious adoration to a kind of May-bug. At the sight of this insect (for, according to their notion, it always portends some good to the family, and obliterates all the sins of those who belong to it) they sing and dance to its honour, and strew all round about it, and indeed about the whole house, the powder of a certain plant, which they call Buchu, and the herb Spiraea. At the same time, they sacrifice two sheep to this diminutive deity.

This ceremony is distinguished by a term that signifies regeneration. If this insect should fortunately crawl upon any one of the family, it is a strong indication that such person is become a new creature; he is looked upon as a venerable saint, two sheep are sacrificed for his service, an ox is slaughtered to his honour, and he is dressed with the intrails of the beast.

The Omentum is first well powdered with Buchu, and then clapped necking hot about his neck. This collar he must wear night and day, till it rots off; or at least till another May-bug relieves him, by settling upon some other regenerated person belonging to the house. As to the flesh of the ox, so sacrificed, the men regale themselves with it as soon as it is dressed; but the women, who are present at the entertainment, are allowed to touch nothing but the broth. If, on the other hand, this sacred insect settles on a woman, these Hottentots immediately canonize her: In that case, the women regale on the flesh of the ox, which is sacrificed and dressed in honour to the female saints, and the men have no right or title to any thing but the broth. They take all the care imaginable to prevent the Europeans from hurting this their favourite insect. All the misfortunes that attend it, inevitably draws down so many calamities on themselves and their cattle.

They have several solitary places which they look upon as sacred; more especially their hillocks, and little spots of ground adjacent to their rivers, which are, as they imagine, and as our German author expresses it, the abodes of some particular saints; but we have good grounds to surmise, that they think the souls of their departed ancestors reside in these holy habitations; and in all probability, there is some conformity between this notion of theirs, and that of the ancient idolators, who established the mansions of their Nymphs, Fauns, and Sylans, near fountains, rivers, hills, and forests. But be that as it will, the Hottentots never travel over such holy ground, without performing some act of devotion as they go along; which principally consists in cutting a few comical capers, and singing to themselves some extravagant eulogium of the sacred inhabitant. If they look on him as a more venerable saint than ordinary, their religious ceremonies are more solemn and of longer duration. In that case, they stop to clap their hands and hum over their divine airs with more attention and a better grace. In short, such as see through this rude and unpolished deportment, in which the difference between our conduct, and that of these savage nations, principally consists, must acknowledge, that both act in a manner upon the same principles.

Every cralle has its peculiar captain, priest, and physician: Of these latter there are sometimes two;



and sometimes also the women turn doctors, and prescribe to their neighbours. The physician is elected by the elders of the cralle. His office or employment is not hereditary; for when he dies, they proceed to the choice of another; and in case there be no person duly qualified for that important post in their own cralle, they make a farther enquiry for some able and experienced person to fill that vacancy. This honourable employment is conferred by the hottentots upon none but sober, discreet men; men of an advanced age, at least near fifty; for otherwise the people will not confide in their care, or regard their prescriptions. These physicians, we are informed, have very few patients that die under their hands; but if such a misfortune should attend them, they have a reason always ready at hand for such a miscarriage. The patient, say they, was indisputably bewitched; a circumstance sufficient at all times to support the credit and reputation of their faculty.

We proceed now to the Furi, who is the spiritual physician of these Hottentots, and whose function is also elective; he is inspector general of their manners, customs, and religious ceremonies. Whether he has the same dexterity and address as his countrymen the physicians, or not, or the artifice and quackery of the Boias, and all such as officiate as priests amongst the savages, we are at a loss to determine; but in all probability, how unpolished soever these Furis may appear to travellers, they have their manner of insinuation as well as others of their profession. The fees of these physicians, both civil and spiritual, consist in the presents which are made them: sometimes of a lamb, and sometimes of a sheep; and the dignity of both functions entitles them to a free participation of all the public entertainments of the cralle.

We shall now amuse our readers with a short account of their manner of initiation, and admission into their civil society, which is far more whimsical and extravagant than any hitherto mentioned. The Hottentots cut out the left testicle of all their male-children as soon as they are nine or ten years old at farthest. For which reason father Tachard, speaking of these people, calls them a kind of half eunuchs. They are not, however, indispensably obliged to fix this operation to the age before mentioned; since some persons more advanced in years are thus castrated; but none under eight. The introduction to this ceremony is their tying the arms and legs of the patient very fast; and moreover, they kneel upon his breast, that they may command him at pleasure and at the same time prevent him from seeing an operation which amongst us would be submitted to with the utmost reluctance, and, in all probability, be looked upon as a diminution of our manhood.

The operator having thus secured his patient, takes out his lancet, makes the proper incision, takes away the testicle proposed, and artfully conveys a little ball of the same size, composed of sheep's fat and the powder of Buchu, into the wound, and then closes it up. This Lythotomist is always one of the spiritual directors before-mentioned, and master of the ceremonies in their respective cralles. As a preliminary of this operation, some of the Hottentots kill a sheep for the entertainment of the company at the close of the ceremony. One circumstance we had like to have forgot, which is very material, and ought not to be omitted. The patient immediately after the operation, is very plentifully anointed all over his body; and to complete the initiation, the reverend doctor honours him with a plentiful profusion of his urine; and then leaves him extended at his full length upon the ground. But as soon as the tormenting pain he has been put to, begins to abate, he must crawl, as well and as soon as he is able, to a little hut erected for that purpose, where he is ordered to continue for three or four days together. The entertainment provided on this occasion for the assembly, is a sheep as before-mentioned; but both the person initiated, and the women then present are obliged to abstain from tasting the least morsel of it.

The reason which some give, though without the least foundation, for the observance of this ridiculous custom is this, that the Hottentots become thereby more sprightly and active, and better qualified for the chase. On the contrary, there are the traces of religion conspicuous in this practice. The sheep that is killed and eaten, exclusive of the women, is manifestly a kind of sacrifice. The time generally fixed upon for this operation, is when the person to be initiated attains the age of maturity; and the peculiar care which the women take, not to have any familiar conversation with such as have not undergone it, is a strong argument likewise, in our opinion, that there is a kind of religious mystery in this operation. There is another reason, pleasant enough, given for the observance of this practise, viz. That the women are thereby secured from having twins. But be that as it will, we are credibly informed, that no young fellow must presume to marry till he has thus parted with one of his precious stones.

Another custom which is very singular, is the reception of a youth, who has attained the age of maturity, into their civil society. No young person is permitted, till after this ceremony is complied with, to keep company with those who are already admitted members, or indulged so far as to eat even with his own father; and he who neglects to procure his admission, when he comes of age, exposes himself to the contempt and ridicule of all his coun-

trymen. For the solemnization of this ceremony, one of the elders of the cralle convenes a general assembly, who form themselves into a circle. Every member supports his body upon his knees, in such a manner, as that his posteriors may not rest upon the ground. The youth who is to be admitted does not enter as yet into the august assembly, but plants himself at a modest distance in the same attitude with the rest. The principal or elder, opens with a short harangue, which turns directly on the business of the day; after which he asks the consent of the whole assembly for the admission of the young man. Upon their general approbation, he advances towards the youth, and very gravely does that to him which Rancune did to the merchant, with more spleen but less formality. However, before such aspersions, he acquaints him, in as comprehensive terms as may be, that from henceforth his actions ought to speak the man, and that he is now no longer under his mother's eye, and that he must take care by his prudent deportment to merit the honour he has obtained, of being entered a member of their assembly. During the whole time of this aspersions, the young man, who receives it with all the testimonies of the profoundest veneration, bathes his body all over with the holy water sprinkled upon him. The ceremony concludes with the celebrant's hearty congratulations of the young man, in the name of the cralle, and his friendly wishes for the prolongation of his life, and the increase of his family. After that they are regaled with a whole sheep at the expence of their new member, who, notwithstanding, is not permitted to taste a morsel till the whole assembly have first eaten what they think convenient.

When one Hottentot insults another, and treats him with opprobrious and abusive language, he robs him, according to their notion, of his honour. The party injuring, therefore, must take care to redeem his credit, by presenting his companions with a fat sheep for an entertainment; who partake of it at his expence, but allow him the fat to anoint his body with, and the guts for his decoration. Should he refuse to make this peace-offering, which doubtless is looked upon as a purification, the party insulting would be abandoned, and become the object of universal contempt. From hence it is plain, that the point of honour is quite another thing with the Caffres than what it is with us, though it all tends indeed to the same end, with this difference only, that the Hottentots are so wise, as not to cut one another's throats to gratify their resentment.

When they have defeated their enemies, or destroyed a considerable number of wild beasts; when they are recovered from tedious fits of sickness, or escaped some imminent danger, they solemnize a festival, after their country fashion, on account of their

good success. The first ceremonious act on these occasions is the erection of a hut in the middle of the cralle, which, as it denotes in their opinion, the regeneration or purification of the builders, the materials ought to be all perfectly new, and never made use of in any previous fabric whatsoever. The foundation is always laid before sun-rise. The women and such youths as have not been admitted amongst the men, cut down the boughs and branches of trees, and collect a large variety of flowers for the decoration of their new hut; and then they kill a lamb or a sheep for their public entertainment. Who can tell, but that this ceremony we are now speaking of, is much the same thing as our dedication of a church? And it is very probable, that the erection of this hut is equal to our acquittal of a solemn vow for the foundation of a chapel.

They observe the same ceremony at their settlement in any new habitation; but before they remove from their old places of abode, they offer up the customary sacrifice, or make the usual oblation. Should there be a murrain among their cattle, they employ themselves in sacrifices for three days together, to avert the judgment; and if, after such solemn acts of devotion, the contagious distemper does not cease, or at least visibly abate, they generally decamp, and remove their cralle to some other place, in hopes to find more healthful pasture grounds, which they sanctify, however, before they enter upon them, in the manner before described. Moreover, they make their cattle pass through the fire, by way of purification, which they receive, as they pretend, by tradition from their ancestors; which, in their opinion, is a sufficient justification of their conduct. A Hottentot, who was a man of better sense than the generality of them are, assured the author from whom we extract this account, that it is a charm or preservative against wild dogs, which would otherwise devour their flocks, and prove more destructive and injurious to them than even the tigers or the lions. Before such purification as aforesaid, they are obliged to drain their cows as dry as possible, and give the milk to the men to drink, without presuming so much as to taste one drop of it themselves.

These barbarous illiterate people are of opinion, like the rest of their neighbours, that the living are daily exposed to the misfortune of being charmed, and the dead of being raised by magical incantations; and every transaction which surpasses their weak comprehension, is looked upon by them as the result of sorcery and fascination. The most regular effects of nature they ascribe to the irresistible force of magic, and can by no arguments, how cogent soever, be prevailed upon to swerve from their established notions on any new emergency. But why should we so loudly inveigh against the perverseness and

obstinacy of a people, who have for so many ages been deprived of all the advantages of a liberal education, when we have flagrant instances much nearer home, of persons who are confirmed in as great stupidity, and are infinitely more inexcusable! A managed horse, that had been taught a few surprising pranks, was condemned to die for his too profound learning not many years ago, as an impious practitioner of the black-art, by that supreme judge of the Roman faith, the court of Inquisition. The Greek Testament also was looked upon by those very judges, whose ignorance was their only plea, as an infamous magical dissertation. The Cafes ascribe all their distempers to the spells or charms of their enemies, and by consequence, such physicians as they apply to for relief, must be adepts, as it were, in magic. Nay, the patient's cure consists in nothing more than a stronger enchantment to repel a weaker; and for the generality, however, they try the effect of purification, before they enter upon such supernatural expedients; and their first operation, therefore, is the sacrifice of a fat wether; after that the doctor very gravely examines the omentum of the victim, strews the powder of Buchu very plentifully over it, and then hangs it reeking hot about the neck of his patient, with this formal declaration: You are enchanted, it is true, but I will engage you shall be well again in a short time; for the charm you lie under is but weak, and will easily be dissolved. The patient is ordered to wear this collar, till it rots off his neck; but if this prescription proves ineffectual, the physician enters on a new scheme, exerts all the skill he is master of another way, and has recourse to the secret virtue of a variety of simples, or medicinal herbs, which he collects in some remote and unfrequented places.

From their magical practices, and their confirmed notion of spirits, we may rationally conclude, that they entertain some confused idea of the immortality of the soul, a future state, and the resurrection of the dead. For, in short, it seems impossible, that they should have any conception of the dead returning to life, without believing that souls are immortal. Yet, if the Hottentots have any notion of a future state, it is very imperfect and obscure; since one of them was so impertinent, or rather ignorant, as to ask a traveller, "If there were any cows, oxen, and sheep in Paradise." But as to the resurrection, according to our notion of that doctrine, there are not the least footsteps of it to be discerned in any of their dissertations. A few rambling expressions dropped accidentally, or borrowed from the Christians, and collected and refined by travellers, are not sufficient to fix and determine the sentiments of any barbarous nation.—

It is very remarkable, that if we regard with attention, the arguments which the greatest part of the idolators of Africa, India, &c. make use of, we find, that all their funeral solemnities owe their rise to this notion: That the soul, though immortal, being material, is subject to the same inconveniences as attend the body, and that, by consequences, she has occasion, even after her separation, for the same accommodation of life, as when united to the body here on earth. The Hottentots, being fully satisfied in their way, of the necessities of the dead, abandon the huts which they resided in when living, and remove none of the household goods they were possessed of, that at their return, they may have no occasion to rove about for new habitations, or to seize clandestinely on their survivors.

When a woman that is with child draws near the time of her travail, two or three grave matrons of her friends and acquaintance look after and nurse her till her pains come on; then the husband is obliged to withdraw; or if he should unfortunately be present, he must purify himself; that is, sacrifice two wethers, or two lambs, in the manner before mentioned. In case she proves difficult to be laid, they prescribe a decoction of milk and tobacco, which has a wonderful good effect on these Africans, notwithstanding the medicine would be as fatal as poison to our European ladies. If the infant happens to be still-born, it is accounted a sore disaster, and a general affliction; but a still greater in case it be a male; and after its interment, the father purifies, or rather sanctifies himself, according to the usual custom. The hut he resided in is pulled down, and the ground abandoned to the sole use of the unfortunate infant, and a more propitious spot is fixed upon for a new habitation.

A new-born infant is laid directly on the floor, upon the skin of some beast or other, and there besmeared all over with cow's dung, by way of purification. In this blessed pickle it is exposed to the open air, without the least shelter from the injuries of the weather. This ordure, when dried by the sun, comes easily off, without any pain or prejudice to the infant. After this, the good women take some particular leaves, and squeeze out the juice of them betwixt two stones. With this liquid they wash the young child all over, in order, as they imagine, to make him robust and hardy.— After this ablution, they anoint him sufficiently with mutton or lamb fat, and then well dust him with the powder of Buchu. The former, they say, not only makes his limbs strong and supple, but secures his skin from receiving any impression from the excessive heat of the sun; the latter is made



use of principally as an ornament, or kind of dress, though it is allowed at the same time to have an innate corroborating virtue.

The fortune of twins is very precarious. If however, they both prove boys, their lives are not only preserved, but the joy of the whole cradle is considerably augmented. The father and mother are congratulated on their extraordinary abilities; and it frequently costs the former a sacrifice of two or three oxen. If on the contrary, the infants should happen to be girls, they meet but with a very cold reception; and the poorest sheep in the flock is looked upon as a sufficient sacrifice for such increase of their family; and in case either of them appears infirm, or too feeble and tender; if the mother has not milk sufficient to supply them both; if, in short, the father should be unwilling to bear the expense of their education, they either are dropped, without any reluctance in the open fields, or half buried, or tied to the branch of a tree. If the twins prove of different sexes, the male infant is always preserved, and the female exposed, unless she can be reared without any prejudice or inconvenience to the former; so hard is the lot of the weaker sex! The ancients, it is well known, treated them with the same barbarous partiality; nay, the Greeks and Romans themselves, though so wise, and a people polite, never scrupled to expose them, when their circumstances were narrow, and they could not well bear the expense of their education. We have already given the reader an account of the customs of the Chinese and Japanese hereupon.

We have before mentioned the names which the Cafres or Hottentots give their children, and we may add, that the husband is obliged to retire from his house, during the whole time of his wife's lying-in; and if he violates this established law, he must purify himself, by making the usual oblation. As soon as her time is expired, and he has free liberty to revisit her, he anoints himself all over, and dusts himself with the powder of Buchu. At his first entrance into the house, he takes a pipe of Dacha, without saying a word, and observes a profound silence, till the smook begins to intoxicate his brains, and makes him gay and wanton; in this merry mood he flies into the embraces of his impatient spouse, and it is easy to conceive the good effects of such an amorous encounter.

A gallant and his mistress are obliged, before they enter into any solemn contract, to ask the consent of their nearest relations, or, in default thereof, to consult their most faithful friends; at least, it is absolutely necessary, that the approbation of both the fathers should be first procured. Before that, there is no familiar intercourse, no ground to suspect the least correspondence between them; nay, they

are so cautious of their reputation, we are informed, in this particular, that some more refined and polite people than they are, might blush at their prudent deportment. As soon as a young Hottentot has cast his eyes on the dear object of his affections, the fathers on both sides, and several other relations, assemble themselves together, and the young lover entertains the whole company with their darling Dacha. When the smoke of this their tobacco begins to exhilarate their spirits, and make them gay, the parents come to the point in hand, and make their proposals.

The father of the intended bride consults for a minute or two with his wife before all the company, and then frankly declares either his free assent to, or absolute refusal of the match. In case of the latter, they all rise immediately, and go home without any further ceremony; but in case the intended bridegroom is approved of, he is addressed in the following manner: Sir, take the girl, she is at your service. Upon this, he is allowed to speak freely to his mistress, and make as warm declarations of his passion for her as he thinks proper; and herein consist all the preliminary engagements; consummation immediately ensues. But in case the young virgin happens to answer his passion with coldness and disdain, he must win the heart of his cruel beauty by force of arms, and fight all his rivals, till she relents, and submits to his superior power. It may justly therefore be said of these Cafrian gallants, that they make love like true sons of Mars, with sword in hand.

As to the public entertainment at the solemnization of their nuptials, the bridegroom treats the whole company with one, two, three, or more oxen, according as his circumstances will admit of the expense. All the guests in general anoint themselves with the fat of the beasts, and then cover themselves all over with the powder of Buchu, in which all their finery principally consists. But the women who are, for the generality somewhat more vain and affected, not only anoint themselves, but paint their foreheads, cheeks, and chins, with large spots, and strong streaks of scarlet, or some other colour that nearly resembles it. This assembly of friends and relations divide, and form themselves into two circles. In that of the women, the bride sits at a small distance from the rest; and the bridegroom follows her example, and sits apart from the men. After this the principal, or head of the cradle, whose peculiar province it is to celebrate their nuptials, walks round about three times successively, making the same solemn asperision on each of them as we have already described, when a youth is admitted into the state of manhood; and this asperision is attended with a kind of nuptial benediction.

They generally indulge themselves in marrying as

many wives as their circumstances will well admit of: but immediate death, however, is the inevitable consequence of either adultery or incest. The offenders are bound hand and foot together, and thrown into a grave, where they are left in that helpless condition four and twenty hours. The next day, the gallant is hung on the arm of a tree, and there demolished and mutilated limb after limb.—The woman, bound as aforesaid is according to Dapper, surrounded with a large heap of dry faggots, and burnt alive. They dislocate the knees of such as are guilty of murder, and fasten them to their shoulders, and leave them to expire in that merciless painful situation. From all which austere proceedings, it manifestly appears that these barbarians notwithstanding their invincible ignorance, have preserved some regard for virtue and justice.

They have their formal divorces likewise, when they see convenient; and a widow as we are informed, cuts off a joint of one of her fingers, whenever she marries a second husband; and in case of more continues the like operation, beginning at the little finger. Each joint thus cut off, is a pledge or complement which she is obliged to make to her new partner; and if to this barbarous and inhuman testimony of their affection, we should add the toils and fatigues they undergo in all their family affairs, which are their peculiar province, their abject condition, their slavery and passive obedience, which oblige them to work in the woods, and provide for their husband, without tasting of any thing but their fragments or remains, it must readily be granted, that either the motives to marriage, or the ideas which those entertain who have never tasted the inexpressible pleasure that attends that state, are impetuous and beyond all resistance. We are willing to grant both, since the most experienced widows themselves with pleasure support the galling yoke.

It is remarkable, that the Cafres, at least those who go under the denomination of Hottentots, eat no swine's flesh, nor fish without scales; from whence it is generally concluded, that these barbarians are the descendants either of the Jews or the Mahometans. But be that as it will, they have no other authority, but tradition, for the observance of that custom, or that other of the men's abstaining from sheep's milk, hares, and rabbits. The women, on the other hand, are enjoined not to taste one morsel of any thing that has blood in it; and as to such beasts which die through age or infirmity, they eat them without any scruple or reluctance, like the ancient Troglodites. The men never eat with the women; and the principal occasion whereof is the apprehension which the former lie under of being accidentally polluted through the periodical courses of the latter. For the men are strictly enjoined, by tradition, or otherwise, not to have the least

intercourse or familiarity with women in that condition.

They sing and dance to the music of their Gongs; as also to another instrument made in the form of a pot. The former is made in the shape of a bow, of a peculiarly solid and substantial wood, the string whereof is the small gut of some animal, like those we make use of for our violins. At the top of this string is fixed a quill, through which they blow, and at the same time hold the tip or extreme part of the string in their mouths, that the sound so formed by their breath in the quill, may by that means, affect the string, and that the concord, if we may be allowed the expression, which there is between them may make that sound still more melodious. When they are ambitious of making their Gongs more musical than they generally are, they take half a cocoa-shell, scooped very clean and neat, and dispose it in such a manner on the string, as that by moving it higher or lower, it shall create a variety of tones or modulations; which strike the ears agreeably enough, even of those who are good judges of far better music than that of the Cafres. They make use of another musical instrument, in the form as we have before observed, of a pot, or if you please, one of our kettle-drums; which as it is covered with a lamb-skin, braced tight, makes much the same sound as that martial instrument, but the women beat this drum with their hands. When they have occasion to cross any river or running stream, they never fail to wash themselves either before they plunge themselves into it, or at least as soon as ever they are arrived safe on the farther shore, and this ablution is always attended with capering and dancing; which ceremonious movements, in all probability, are grateful acknowledgements to the Supreme Being, for their deliverance from the perils and dangers of the waters.

As long as their ancient people are in a capacity to do any manner of business, they encourage them to proceed, support them under their infirmities; nay, charitably relieve them if there be any visible hopes of their maintaining themselves for any time without being burthensome to their friends and acquaintance. Notwithstanding the shameful treatment which the women in general meet with, notwithstanding they are universally despised by these barbarians, yet the same patience and forbearance is exercised towards them, how old, disagreeable, or infirm soever they may be, provided they can but cut their wood, or gather their roots and pot-herbs. But for those who are so far advanced in years, so infirm and feeble, that they are incapable of all manner of work, and of giving any hopes of future advantage from their labour, they take an effectual method to discharge themselves of the incumbrance, by an action which they look upon as charitable,

though we should account it, and not without good reason, very barbarous and inhuman.

They erect a hut at some distance in the fields for such an ancient and useless invalid, and after that, convey him on the back of an ox, to his last habitation. The whole cralle, in a very formal manner, attend him on this occasion, and after having left him some small pittance to subsist on for a few days, they take their last farewell and never concern themselves about the poor unhappy creature any more. The best fortune after that which can possibly befall him, is to be speedily devoured by some savage beast.

The rich as well as poor, when old age has rendered them thus useless and decrepit, meet, we are told, with the same merciless treatment. The Thoglodites however, were, if possible, they say, still more inhuman. Those ancient savages of Africa, strangled their disabled old men that could not travel, with a cow's tail; but not till they had refused to be their own executioners. A formal exhortation accompanied the dispatch of the poor wretches; for they looked upon the murder of a man, when life became a burden to him, as a deliverance from all his troubles. They accounted such as were fond of life when they could no longer enjoy the sweets of it, as very unhappy. On this established notion they charitably dispatched all sick persons, whose maladies, in their opinion, were incurable. We beg leave to make this cursory observation, that this deportment, how barbarous soever it may appear to us, and which no doubt in reality, was such, was founded nevertheless on a specious principle of humanity, and with intent to free their fellow creatures at once from all their sorrows and afflictions. As to the cure of their distempers, they sometimes make use of some particular simples, the extraordinary virtues whereof, we are informed, they are well acquainted with. At other times they have recourse to unction and friction; for which purposes they make use of the same fat wherewith they anoint and polish their skins; sometimes again they try the effects of unction with the same grease wherewith they anoint and varnish their bodies, or of incision and scarification; the method whereof is this. They take an ox's horn, which is so smooth, and so well polished at the point, that they can apply it directly, and press it likewise as hard as they see convenient, on the proper part of the body. After this, they make several incisions on the flesh, which, by the violent pressure of the horn, is so numbened, that the patient is insensible of the operation. This is repeated sometimes for two hours together, till there is some visible amendment. The time, however, is shorter or longer, according as the incisions are deep, or the constitution of the patient will enable him to bear

them. During the operation, he is laid upon his back, and if he finds no relief, they have recourse to a potion, extracted from some medicinal herbs; and if after all these artful applications, the patient's pain continues, they then try the force of friction, which, if it meets not with the desired success, it is followed by a fresh scarification.

We shall take no notice of their method of bleeding, since there is nothing in it particular, or worth our attention. They heal any infectious bite, or envenomed wound, by antidotes, which they very artfully prepare, and oblige the patient to swallow down a proper quantity, and at the same time make an external application of it, particularly near the heart. This operation is performed by incision.—They pour a sufficient quantity of their antidote into this fresh wound, that it may incorporate with the blood by virtue of its circulation, of which doubtless they have some notion, though they are not duly qualified to talk in such a philosophical manner, as we are on so curious a topic. They make use of friction and unction, when any bone happens to be dislocated; as also a violent agitation of the part or member so dislocated; and keep it in perpetual motion till it is replaced in its natural socket. The Hottentots, and indeed all the natives of Caffaria, shave their heads and beards, as a public testimony of their sorrow and concern for the loss of their near relations; but this custom is only complied with by such as are in but mean circumstances, and incapable of offering up so much as a sheep by way of sacrifice, or purification.

In order to discover whether a patient will die or recover, they take a wether, or an ewe, which they skin alive, and then let loose, permitting it freely to take its own course. If it never attempts to run away, it is a bad symptom, and the patient's life is despaired of; in that case they resign him to the will of fortune, for they prescribe no more remedies after that, but let him eat and drink whatever his own inclination prompts him to. But if the ewe or wether, after it is flayed, frisks away, they look upon it as a happy presage of his amendment.

When a patient is given over, they have no recourse on that account to the Supreme Being, nor any act of devotion whatsoever. They content themselves with flocking round about him, and waiting for his dissolution; but however, they flatter the poor man, though just expiring, and give him hopes of finding relief, either from some sovereign medicine, or irresistible charm. For that is the name, we have already observed, which they give all the medicines prepared by their own physicians, or those prescribed to them by the Europeans. When the sick man is thought to be giving up the ghost, the whole assembly weep, howl, and make such hideous



lamentations, that the patient sometimes is restored by virtue of the shocking sounds. Let what will be the cause however, he must offer up the customary sacrifice in case he recovers. If the patient be a man, those friends and acquaintance only that are men, partake of the flesh of the victim, and the women sup the broth; on the other hand, if the person thus restored be a woman, the men only sup the broth, and the women eat the flesh.

To conclude, when the patient is actually expired, they devote one quarter of an hour only to their lamentations; but they are so extravagantly clamorous and noisy, that they may be distinctly heard at a prodigious distance. The whole cralle sob, groan, and howl to an excessive degree, and moreover their expressions of sorrow are accompanied with such extravagant distortions, and such a violent clapping of their hands, that a man must stop his ears, or be stunned with the tumultuous noise. We know no instance to be given of such an external noisy way of mourning, except that of the women of Languedoc. Without entering into the sincerity of either, the latter are, in their demonstrations of sorrow, as in all other things in general, ostentatious, vain, and conceited to the last degree. Such as are not acquainted with their hypocritical deportment, would really imagine, by the seeming violence of their turbulent passions, that like the Ephesian matrons, they would bury themselves alive with their deceased husbands; and, in all probability, Petronius, when he wrote that celebrated story, copied it from these notorious originals. But to return to the mourning of the Cafres. It is one very happy circumstance, says our German author, to whom we are indebted for all the particular circumstances of these their funeral solemnities, that this excessive sorrow continues but a quarter of an hour; for every one contributes towards the speedy interment of the dead, and cheerfully makes use of any thing that he has in his own house, that will be serviceable, and testify his last respects to his departed friend.

In the first place, the principal, or head of the cralle, dispatches several Cafres to prepare his last lodgings for him, and particularly to take care so to order matters, that when he is laid in the ground, the wild beasts shall not be able to grub him up, and devour his carcase. Whilst these are performing their good services abroad, those at home bend the corpse double, lay his arms across his breast, and his head upon his knees; or, to give you a more clear idea, they set the deceased in the very same situation he once lay in his mother's womb. In this attitude they wrap him up tight in the very skin which he wore in his life-time; and always bury him within six hours after his decease. Three or four bearers, who are nominated and appointed

for that purpose by the principal of the cralle, take him on their shoulders, and convey him directly to the place of his interment. They have one custom with relation to their dead, which is very remarkable, and that is, they never carry the corpse out of the house through the usual door-way, but break down a passage for that particular purpose backwards, directly over against it. Our German is of opinion, that this ceremony owes its rise to the awful ideas they entertain of departed souls.—For they imagine, says he, that they are mischievously inclined, and apt to injure the living as they go along, destroying their cattle that are left all night on the spacious green, which is situated in the centre of the cralle. In order therefore to prevent any such disaster, they cause the deceased to be carried out of that part of the house which fronts the fields. Whilst the corpse is thus upon the removal, the relations of both sexes form themselves into two circles, and, according to custom, as near the door-way as possible. The men howl on one side, and the women on the other. Every one gives a loose to his sorrow, and it is difficult to determine, whether the male or female circle is the most extravagant.

As soon as ever the corpse is carried away, they immediately shut the house up close and abandon it for ever, for fear any who come in should accidentally meet with the soul of the deceased. The whole cralle attend the funeral to the place of interment, but without any regularity or decorum. However, to make amends, if we may rely on the veracity of our German traveller, they walk along like perfect antics, and are more extravagant in their gestures and grimaces, than can possibly be conceived. After that they deposit the corpse in a vault, which they either cover with large cumbrous stones, or entire trees, to prevent the beasts of prey from coming near it. As they return home, they repeat their noisy lamentations, their extravagant gesticulations and grimaces, and the name of the deceased without intermission, as if they would recal him from the grave. However, this is not all. At their return to the cralle, they seat themselves round about the house of the deceased, and renew, with some regularity, their weepings, wailings, and grimaces. Nay, sometimes they set apart eight days successively for this mournful solemnity; especially if the deceased was well beloved by his friends and relations. About an hour after the return of the company, the principal or elder of the cralle, rises, and very gravely obliges them all with the above mentioned aspersion, for their good offices to their deceased townsman. This first aspersion is succeeded by a second, which the reader will imagine, we presume, not so fulsome and preposterous, and more conformable to the practice of some other nations. This venerable old

gentleman strews the ashes, which he has collected with his own hands out of the house of the deceased, over the heads of the whole assembly. The first aspersion, so inconsistent with decency and good manners, has no other foundation than its antiquity, for the observance of it. This ceremony, however, is peculiar to themselves; in this they are perfect originals; whereas in the second, there are the visible footsteps of a custom religiously observed in times of sorrow and affliction by all the eastern nations. In short, some of the most disconsolate carry the point still farther, and add cow-dung to their mourning in dust and ashes.

The day after the interment the whole cralle decamps; every one packs up his bag and baggage, and pulls down his tent, or little cottage. There is not one single edifice left standing, but that of the deceased; which they leave behind them; as also the furniture and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, in order that if he should accidentally think proper to return, he may find his own apartment ready for his reception without which precaution, he might possibly resent his ill treatment, and seize upon their new habitations; and before they decamp, they take care to purify themselves, by offering up some animal, great or small, for a sacrifice, according as their circumstances will permit. Being arrived at the place appointed and agreed on for pitching their tents again, and settling at least for awhile, they purify themselves a second time. The flesh of the victims is made use of for an entertainment, as it is on all the other public occasions before-mentioned. The nearest relations to the deceased, as for instance, his children, are obliged to wear the cawl of the victim, especially if it be a sheep, for a collar round about their necks. That is their usual mourning for one so near a kin. We have already observed that such as are in mean circumstances, and incapable of offering up any sacrifice, by way of purification, sit down contented with shaving their heads and beards, as a public testimony of their affection and concern.

Such is the account we have of these people called Hottentots who reside near the Cape of Good Hope. Some of them have been converted to the Christian faith by the Dutch ministers. Those who visit the Cape town, are very civil and obliging. Many of them are employed as labourers, and they are faithful in keeping safe whatever is committed to their care. This may serve to shew, what good effects would flow from preaching the gospel in its simplicity, without an unnecessary ridiculous load of ceremonies. The Dutch clergy are, in general, a very pious laborious set of men; and it would be much to the honour of the States General to have a school for the education of youth in the Cape town. There the sons of the better sort of Hottentots might soon

be educated, and sent to preach the gospel of Christ to their poor darkened countrymen.

Christ came in the flesh that he might destroy satan's kingdom; and he has left it incumbent on all his followers, to propagate the knowledge of his name as far as their influence will reach. The Dutch have been long blessed with the light of the gospel, and the most grateful returns they can make for such an inestimable favour is to teach it to the heathens. Indeed, it will be an aggravation of their guilt if they do it not. Nay, we may venture to affirm, that all those who know the value of the Christian religion, will wish to make every one equally happy with themselves. And what happiness is so great as that of promoting the interests of precious immortal souls. To bring them from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God. What amazing progress has been made in the highlands and islands of Scotland within these thirty years: Nay, what vast progress has been made in converting many of the American savages; and both these good works have been conducted by societies in this kingdom. Of this the Dutch are not ignorant, and let them take an example from our benevolent countrymen, who, for their compassion for souls of their fellow-creatures, will receive the approbation of Christ at the last day.

### *Religion of the People of Mono Motapa*

The inhabitants of this kingdom are all idolators for although they acknowledge God as the creator of the universe, whom they call by different names, according to the qualities they ascribe to him, yet they have several idols, and in particular, they adore a certain virgin, whom they distinguish by the title of Peru. They have some particular days in every month which they consider as more solemn and holy than others. The anniversary of their sovereign's birth day is always kept as a sort of festival, and to that we may add, the awful homage and profound reverence which they pay him, by lighting up a great number of fires. That these people have not in every place a settled form of worship, will appear evident to every one who considers that some of them worship one idol and some another.

That they should pay divine honours to their sovereign, will not appear very strange, when we consider that the Romans, who boasted of their superior knowledge, actually worshipped their emperors. As for their lighting so many fires on their sovereign's birth-day, it is done as a mark of their respect, homage and allegiance, which is expected from every subject. The king orders his inferior

officers to deliver to the people throughout the whole of his dominions some wood for that purpose every year, so that the fuel costs them nothing. Every subject is under the indispensable necessity of extinguishing the fires in their houses, during the time that they light those in honour of the king.

It is at this time that all the taxes are paid to the king, and probably were it not for that, he would not be so liberal in distributing the fuel. Thus these ignorant princes in Africa, who are little better than savages, can extort money from their subjects with the same facility as the most cunning of our accomplished European monarchs. But notwithstanding, it is certain, that like the ancient Persians, they consider fire as a sacred element. For they never would be so superstitiously attached to it in honour of their sovereign, were it not that they consider something in it as endowed with Divine power, perhaps as one of the qualities of the Supreme Being.

When the king encamps at any place, a hut, or tent, is immediately erected, wherein a fire is kindled, and kept burning with all the precaution imaginable. And here it may not be unnecessary to observe, that the sophis of Persia had always some sacred fire carried before them; and we have taken notice in our accounts of the Gaures, that all the Oriental nations testified the most profound veneration for this their favourite and sacred element. The only reason we can, from the best information, assign for this regard shewn to fire is, its being considered as an emanation from the sun, and the vast benefit it is of to mankind.

They always bow their knees when they approach their monarch, and never speak to him in a standing posture. No person must speak in his presence but when he puts the glass to his mouth to drink, all the spectators make loud acclamations by shouting and huzzaing. These acclamations are echoed throughout the whole of the place where he resides, and the news is soon communicated to the neighbouring villages. This is carrying flattery and adulation to a large height indeed; but it must be observed, that all those people who live in warm climates, are, in their political notions, little better than slaves.

Like the inhabitants of many other heathen nations, both the king and his subjects are slaves to superstition, and repose an extraordinary confidence in dreams and charms. The king has a building erected, in which he hangs up all the bodies of such malefactors as have been executed. And, horrid to mention, such dead bodies are never buried while any radical moisture remains in them, which is received in a vessel appropriated for that purpose.—From this distillation they compose a sovereign elixir for his majesty's use, which in their opinion is not

only an infallible preservative against the power of magic, but also an invaluable medicine to prolong life.

In this country, the young virgins go naked till they are married, except that they cover those parts which the women of all nations conceal. When they are married and have children, they cover their breasts, and wear such other dresses as are fashionable among them. And ignorant as these people are, yet they have convents like the nunneries in Roman Catholic countries, but these are only for the young women to reside in till they are married.

Polygamy, or a plurality of wives is allowed here, but there is always one who is superior to the rest, according to the custom of many other nations. No virgin is permitted to marry till her mother, or some other woman has declared that she is capable of having children. Seduction is little known among them, for they marry extremely young. As for their old women, they pay but little regard to them; for like those of many other countries, they value women no longer than the bloom of beauty remains.

When these people are engaged in war, they never wash themselves till peace is concluded, and probably this custom is the result of a solemn vow, an engagement which they voluntarily lay themselves under, out of a laudable concern for the honour and welfare of their country. There is another ceremony observed among them, some footsteps of which may be traced in ancient history, and that is, the making eunuchs of their prisoners, and making presents of the spoils taken from their enemies to their wives, who are proud of wearing such things, as glorious signatures of their husbands' conquests. This practice very naturally reminds us of that remarkable circumstance in the sacred history of king David, that Saul would not acknowledge him as his son-in-law, till he had produced as a nuptial present, an hundred fore-skins of the Philistines. Josephus, who has altered several parts of the sacred history, to conceal some of the practices of his countrymen, tells us, that instead of one hundred fore-skins, it was six hundred heads of the Philistines that David presented to Saul.

As for the funeral solemnities of these people, they differ but little from the rest of the heathen Africans. They preserve, with the utmost care, the bodies of their deceased, and for eight days successively pay them a kind of adoration. On such solemn occasions they dress themselves in white, and set before the deceased a large quantity of provisions, spread on a table in a very decent manner. After this, they implore his benediction on his sacred majesty the king and themselves; and then they sit down and regale themselves on the



dainties. Afterwards the body is carried out for interment, either in the woods, or in some other obscure place.

To conclude, the last custom of a religious nature that we shall take notice of, is the oath they take on the most solemn occasions. When a man is charged with being guilty of a crime, and the evidence against him is not full enough to convict him, he is obliged to take a medicine to clear his

innocence. If he vomits it up, he is declared guilty, but if it digests upon his stomach he is considered as innocent, and consequently acquitted. This custom once prevailed among many of the heathen nations, and it does so still in some parts of the world besides Africa. The custom, however, is very barbarous; for the truth inconvicting criminal should never be sought out any other way than by voluntary evidence.

## RELIGION OF THE INHABITANTS OF AGAG, TOCOCKA, AND QUITEVE.

IN treating of these people we shall not enter into the controversy, whether they are subject to the king of Monomotapa, or whether they have princes of their own. Perhaps their form of government is often changed, as it is among all other barbarians in the world, and it is needless to form conjectures when we have no authority to support them.

They have, according to Purchas, a confused notion of one Supreme Being, whom the call *Mo-tungo*, but they never implore him for any favours, and consequently they never return him any praise. When they are labouring under any afflictions, whether public or private, it is to their sovereign that they make the most humble supplications for redress. To him they pray for all the blessings of Providence, which may serve to point out, that they are most gross idolators. A long and tedious drought is mostly followed by impetuous showers, and so in all the other changes of the seasons; and the people who are easy and incurious, imagine that their monarch works all these marvellous things for them, without ever enquiring any farther.

This king of theirs is for ever surrounded by a parcel of sycophants, composed of poets and musicians, who make it their whole study to persuade him that he is a god. They sing eulogiums in praise of him, and in their compositions bestow on him all the pompous epithets and swelling titles their imaginations can suggest. They style him lord of the sun and moon, and king of the earth and sea, and as in all probability they imagine that every action, whether good or evil, which approaches nearest to a pitch of perfection, deserves the character of great and magnificent, they call their monarchs the grand magician, as we do our princes' illustrious conquerors. These are very fa-

vourable appellations with them, and they likewise call their sovereigns robbers, which to them convey no bad idea, seeing plunder and robbery is the very profession, the very employment of these savages.

They offer up prayers to the souls of their deceased relations, so that we may naturally conclude they believe the immortality of the soul; and thus much is certain, that they have the most awful and tremendous notions of the devil, whom they call the inveterate enemy of all mankind. As they believe the immortality of the soul, one would naturally imagine, that they give their assent to the acknowledgement of a future state of rewards and punishments; and yet we are told, that they have no notion of hell, but flatter themselves that after their decease they shall all enter into paradise, where they shall indulge themselves in all manner of voluptuousness with their wives and children. We have, however, some doubts of the truth of what is here advanced; for the most illiterate heathens make a distinction between virtue and vice, and consequently they must believe there is a future state of rewards and punishments, whether for a time or for eternity.

They are perfect strangers to any genuine account of the creation of the world; for according to some travellers, they believe it to be eternal, but this certainty cannot be true, for those who believe that the world had not a beginning, will hardly be brought to believe that it will ever have an end. All their religious ceremonies are regulated according to the will of the prince, and the first day of every month is a holiday. Most of their festivals are held in memory of their deceased and dearest relations, and these are a sort of deities worshipped by them.—They have implicit faith in some particular oracles,

which, as they pretend, have the power to reveal to them the knowledge of future events.

It is proper we should here observe, that the ancient idolaters, of whom we read so much in the histories of Greece and Rome, did not worship their departed relations indiscriminately: No, these divine honours were paid only to the virtuous, in order that after their decease, they might become mediators between the Supreme Being and the whole race of mankind. To this may be added, that it was done to stimulate the living to the practise of virtue.

In their trials of prisoners, they have several ceremonies, but their oaths in general consist in making the accused person swallow a strong dose of physic, and according to its operation they form their notions of his guilt or innocence. When he takes the medicine, several dreadful curses are pronounced, to induce the prisoner to tell the truth. And if these maledictions and the medicines have no extraordinary effects on the prisoner, he is declared innocent, and acquitted. On such occasions, the prosecutor's goods are all confiscated, and he with his wives and children are all sold as slaves.

They have another form of trial, not much unlike the fiery ordeal in ancient times in our country of Britain. These Africans call it *Xoqus*, and it is a kind of trial by a hot iron. The iron is made hot, and the person is obliged to lick it. If he burns his tongue, it is an indication of his guilt, but if otherwise, he is declared innocent. They have several other sorts of ceremonies in the administration of oaths, but they are so much similar to some of those already mentioned in our account of Congo, that it is altogether unnecessary to repeat them.

All their wives are obtained by purchase, and the mau who has the greatest number of handsome and accomplished daughters, is esteemed the richest.—If the purchaser makes any objection to the young woman after she has been with him some time, he returns her to her parents, and receives back some part of the purchase money; after which, they dispose of her to the next person who bids most. With respect to such women as are poor, they are a sort of slaves for life, for their husbands domineer over them in the most cruel and tyrannical manner. The mean degrading manner in which the female sex are held in this country, where they are bought and sold, points out that the passions of the men are mean, low, vulgar, and selfish. Love is of a spontaneous nature, it cannot be purchased; it flows as it were imperceptibly, and thus it is distinguished from gratitude, which is a purchased duty, because it commands a thankful return.

Such as are very old and infirm, are treated in the same manner as the Caffres or *Ho'tentots*, near the Cape of Good Hope; that is, they are totally

abandoned, and their death is hastened on as fast as possible. It is true, they extend their charity for some of them so far, as to convey them into deserts, but there they are left either to starve, or be devoured by wild beasts. Nay, the poor helpless wretches, conscious of their approaching misery, beg to be dispatched out of the way, without being torn in pieces by wild beasts.

The burial of their dead is left entirely to the will and discretion of those who survive, and, indeed, they are generally interred in a very decent manner. They put into the grave some different sorts of provisions, to support the deceased during his journey to the other world. Some earth is then thrown over the corpse, and the chairs and bed of the deceased are piled over the grave. They are so superstitious as not to touch, on any account whatever, such chairs or beds, or indeed any thing that has touched the dead body. Their mourning continues eight days together, from the rising to the setting of the sun; and that time is spent in dances, songs and howlings. The mourning being over, they eat and drink in honour of their departed friends and relations, it being customary on such occasions to consecrate all whom they know.

At the first appearance of the new moon, in the month of September, the king, who is the visible God of the country, sets out from Simbaee, his capital city, attended by a grand retinue. He then repairs to the top of a particular hill, which is the place where their kings are buried, and there performs nine days' devotion, to the memory of his illustrious ancestors. As soon as they are arrived at the place, they open the ceremony with a most elegant entertainment, and there intoxicate their brains with a liquor which they call *Rombo*. After their days of joy and festivity are ended, two more are spent in grief and sorrow, and on the last of these days, they imagine that the soul of the last deceased king, enters into the body of one of the courtiers.

The person falls down, and rolls upon the ground, and the devil, by his mouth, delivers himself in an unknown tongue; but soon after he comes to himself, grows more gentle and tractable, and talks in the language and style of the late king. His imperial majesty, imagining that he perfectly collects his predecessor, approaches and salutes him; and immediately the whole assembly retreat, and testify their respect at an awful distance. His majesty being thus alone with the demoniac, consults him as an infallible oracle, on all his affairs of any importance, both public and private.

As soon as this oracle has delivered such answers as he thinks convenient, the devil withdraws, and the poor harassed demoniac, as we are informed, for the generality sits down contented all his life after,

and thinks himself sufficiently recompensed for all his fatigue by having had the honour of such a miraculous conference with his royal master. This intrigue, in all probability, is owing to the delusion and imposture of some person who professes himself an able magician, and that is all we can say of it with any certainty. It is well, known, bye the bye, that a thousand instances may be produced from the ancients of pretended spirits that have been raised by their necromancers on the like occasions.

When the king dies, his wives poison themselves the moment he expires, in order to die with, and wait on him in his progress to the other world.—As soon as his soul is departed, he is instantly conveyed to the sepulchre of his ancestors, and his successor the next morning takes possession of the royal dignity, and all the concubines of the deceased. He then exposes himself to public view, but in such a manner, that a curtain conceals both him and his wives from being discerned by the populace. He is immediately proclaimed throughout the kingdom, in order that the nobility and gentry may recognize his authority, and pay him homage. This ceremony is performed with all that passive obedience and abject deportment which is so conspicuous all over the east, and so agreeable to their imperious monarchs, who look upon themselves as deities, or at least as something more than human, when they see their subjects creeping and cringing, with such awful fear, at the footstool of their thrones, and addressing themselves with all humility to their persons, without presuming to lift up their heads, and look them in the face. Thus the subjects of Africa pay their submission and allegiance to their monarch, who graciously condescends to answer them, but still behind the curtain, which, however, is soon after drawn, and then his majesty obliges them with a full view of his sacred person. Every one immediately claps his hands, and rends the air with loud acclamations: in a few minutes the curtain conceals him again, and the nobility and gentry withdraw, cringing and crouching in the same abject and submissive manner as when they came. The whole city celebrate the festival of his happy accession to the throne, and testify their joy with loud huzzas, and a vast variety of their country music.

The next day his imperial majesty causes a proclamation to be made of his accession to the throne by proper officers, who at the same time give a general invitation to all persons whomsoever, without distinction, to see their new sovereign break the bow. This ceremony is sometimes observed when there are several competitors or candidates for the royal dignity; and there are divers instances of the like royal contentions to be met with amongst the ancient inhabitants of Europe and Asia.

The new monarch, in all probability, complies

with this ceremonious act, in order to give the people a specimen of strength and uncommon abilities. There are so many instances that may be produced from the ancients, to demonstrate that such as were appointed to be sovereigns and rulers over the people, were by them required to have a larger share of strength of body, as well as sagacity and penetration; than the generality of mankind, that it would be needless, if not impertinent, to quote them. We shall content ourselves therefore with extracting one shining example from the annals of France, to prove that the French gave into the same notion, and expected to find in their princes the very same accomplishments. Pepin the Short, perceiving himself the object of contempt amongst a particular set of his courtiers, who, on account of his figure, which was both thick and low, entertained but a mean idea of his personal abilities, invited them, by way of amusement, to see a fair battle between a bull and a lion. As soon as he observed that the latter had got the mastery of the former, and was ready to devour him, "Now, gentlemen, says he, who amongst you all has courage enough to interpose between these bloody combatants? Who of you all dare rescue the bull, and kill the lion?" Not one of the numerous spectators would venture to undertake so dangerous an enterprise; whereupon the king instantly leaped into the arena, drew his sabre, and at one blow severed the lion's head from his shoulders. Returning without the least emotion or concern to his seat, he gave those who had entertained but a mean opinion of him to understand in a jocular way, that though David was low of stature, yet he demolished the great Goliath; and that though Alexander was but a little man, he performed more heroic actions than all his tallest officers and commanders put together. David, though he met with the like contemptible treatment from Saul on the very same occasion, was, notwithstanding, remarkable for his strength, and was numbered amongst the valiant men of Israel. He says himself in one of his psalms, that by the strength of his arm he broke a steel bow asunder. Mr. Le Clerc, indeed, in his annotations, seems to intimate, that this expression is only a poetical hyperbole; yet there are other commentators, in all probability, to be met with, who give this passage quite another gloss, who look upon it as real fact, and a public testimony which David was willing to give the people of his extraordinary abilities.

When the Quiteve understands there are several rivals, and that his title is precarious, he must make all the interest he is capable of with the wives of the late monarch; for he alone, whom they admit into the royal palace, is his true and lawful successor.—To get possession by force, would be of no manner of service; for all acts of violence, in that case, are



repugnant to the laws of the land. The competitor, whoever he be, forfeits all his right and title to the crown, that is guilty of such rash proceedings. The best method therefore that he can take to maintain his claim, is to make his court to, and ingratiate himself as much as possible in the interest and favour of the ladies before mentioned.

We have already observed, that a considerable number of the king's wives are their own voluntary executioners the moment he expires. There is also, we are assured, a numerous retinue of their grandees selected to attend him, under pretence that he has occasion for their service in the other world; and the successor, for the generality, makes a shrewd choice of such as he has just apprehensions would be factious and disaffected to his government. Formerly the king himself, they say, was not exempt from that barbarous and inhuman law, whereby it was enacted, that all such as were afflicted with any incurable distempers, should hasten their death by violent means. In that case their kings themselves submitted to their fate, as soon as they had nominated and appointed a person whom they best approved of to succeed them. Any conspicuous deformity, crosses, misfortunes, adversity, or, in short, the loss of two of their fore-teeth, obliged them to the like voluntary submission. A king, say they, should have no natural imperfections. If it is his misfortune, had not he much better quit the world with disdain, and fly to another, where he will be for ever free from all infirmities?

In process of time, however, their monarchs grew more in love with life, and protested against such false principles, how heroic soever they might seem to be at first view. One of them preferring the certain enjoyment of this life before the hopes of absolute perfection in the next, caused a proclamation to be issued out, that though he had the misfortune to lose one of his teeth, he was determined to live for the good of his subjects, and wait with patience for the day of his dissolution. Several particular days are instituted and appointed by this prince for the royal diversion of hunting, on which alone the lion is allowed to be run down; which presumption is at all other times looked upon as a capital offence, because the Quiteve is dignified and distinguished by the honourable appellation of the Grand Lion.

These people never engage in any affair of importance, till they have first consulted whether they shall meet with success, by lot, with a kind of dice, or by some mystic lines or characters traced out upon the ground. Notwithstanding sorcery is prohibited on pain of death, or at least on the confiscation of their wives, children, and liberty itself, yet they have a strong propensity that way. Adultery and theft

are subject to the same penalties as the practice of magic.

When the king has any negotiations to transact with his neighbours, he nominates and appoints four ambassadors for that particular service. The first only represents his sacred person, and must be treated with the same dignity and respect as his majesty himself; the second is called the king's Mouth, and it is his peculiar province to declare the purport of his commission; the third is the king's Eye, whose business is to inspect, and pry into all that passes; the fourth and last is the king's Ear. He is obliged to listen with the utmost attention to all that is said on one side and on the other, and to make an impartial report thereof to his royal master.

In this account of these people, are so many instances of the dreadful depravity of human nature, that we are frequently lost in amazement, and were they not attested by the most respectable authority, we could not give any credit to them, but to doubt of them after such evidence, would be an equal instance of madness, as if we were to assert that the Roman Catholic religion is not professed in Italy. Unworthy notions of the Divine Being, imaginations of his corporeal existence, lead to barbarity in practice; for whenever we consider God as holy, pure, just, merciful, and good; when we consider him as infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, we are led to consider what sort of service is due to him, what he expects from us the most acceptable, and which will civilize our manners here, while it prepares us for everlasting happiness. But what can be said of those poor creatures who know no better, who are left to their own wild imaginations, and even think worse of the objects of their worship than they possibly can of themselves. As we are commanded to pray for all mankind, so we should never forget these benighted creatures in our addresses to the throne of grace. God approves of his creatures wishing for the happiness of each other, and when in that instance we discharge our duty, we are to rest satisfied, leaving the event to divine wisdom.



### *Religion of the natives of Sofola.*

All that we can learn of these people is, that they are idolaters. As to their nuptial rites and ceremonies, they are much the same as their neighbours; the following circumstance excepted, which is very singular and remarkable. The bridegroom procures a friend to carry him upon his back to the place appointed for the solemnization of his marriage, and this friendly service must be done at one stretch; for if he rests, it is looked upon as an im-

propitious omen, and the wedding must be deferred till another opportunity. Sometimes the match is entirely broke off without any further ceremony on the like unhappy disaster.

As to their funeral solemnities, they as well as all those of whom we have been before speaking, furnish their dead with a variety of provisions, and they erect two stones, one at the head and the other at the foot of the grave, and rub them with sandal. They are mightily addicted to dreams; and although the credulity of those ignorant people is for the generality imposed upon, yet they cannot be persuaded by any means to deviate from this their favourite superstition; but there is no occasion to travel as far as Sofola to find out people of the same stamp and disposition.

Some particular Cafres, who reside in these parts convey their dead into a cavern, which abounds with a vast number of crocodiles, in order that the souls of the deceased may enter into these animals, and purify themselves by that means. They have such a peculiar veneration for these crocodiles, that they leave proper provisions for them at the mouth of their dens, which are looked upon as holy ground. We have reduced this article into as small a compass as possibly we could to avoid tautologies, and numberless absurdities, which a long detail thereof would inevitably lead us into. It is no difficult task to make a collection of the numerous contradictions which are to be met with in the accounts of travellers on this topic; but it requires a world of judgment to distinguish what is true from what is false.

Indeed these people are not numerous, and in most of their religious ceremonies, they differ but little from the Hottentots, and some other African nations, whose religions we have already given an account of. The English gentlemen, who were sent over by his present majesty a few years ago, to collect plants near the Cape of Good Hope, were informed by the Dutch clergymen, who attended them during an eight day's excursion they made up the country, that these people were amongst the most barbarous of all the Hottentots, and so unsocial, that they had little or no connections with the rest of the nations around them; but an old Hottentot, who had embraced the Christian religion, assured them, that they buried alive all those aged persons who were unable to procure themselves a subsistence. This may serve to shew, that they are destitute of bowels and compassion; and what is still more, they imagine that such barbarous actions are acceptable to the idols, or rather the devils whom they worship. This indeed has less or more been the effect of idolatry in all ages and nations, which is a striking evidence that politeness, humanity, benevolence, and all other social virtues can only be

found where the human mind is enlarged with true knowledge, and adorned with real piety. Every thing else leads to barbarity, and even adds to the deformity of that nature which is already so much corrupted.

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*Religion of the people who live on the coasts of Quilimanca, Loranga, Quizungo, and as far as Cuma, towards the borders of Sofola.*

Those who reside near the first river, are some part of the ancient Troglodytes. Some of these people have no idols; and if they have, there are several of them, we are informed, that worship but one God, and acknowledge his Divine Providence, his goodness, and the immortality of the soul, and they believe, also, the existence of evil spirits.—But all this notwithstanding, does not prevent them from blaspheming the Deity, if their affairs run counter, and give them the least provocation. They observe some particular festivals and days of abstinence with extraordinary strictness; but the next day they always make themselves amends by excessive drinking. They debauch themselves with the heady liquor of maize, and a kind of sweet wine, made from their own country fruit. Mombaza is inhabited by Mahometans and idolators, and there is so trivial a difference between the religion of these people, and the others before mentioned, that it is not worth our observation. The king is, as it were, a kind of visible god, who assumes to himself an absolute power here on earth, and they carry fire before him when he takes the field.

The people of Melinda testify an unexampled veneration and respect for their sovereign, and they carry him on their shoulders, and prostrate themselves before his litter, without preseeing so far as to look him in the face. Several officers, plentifully provided with the most exquisite perfumes, march before him; and for fear he should meet with any disaster upon the road, the moment he sets out from his royal palace, they cut open a young hind, the intrails whereof their idolatrous priests very curiously examine, in order to find the good or ill success of this expedition. The people rend the air with loud acclamations of joy, and their most beautiful women present themselves before his Moorish majesty, some singing his eulogiums, and others offering up, or burning their perfumes before him.—When they are upon any important debate, they always take care to cut open a hind, and make the curious inspection before mentioned. His majesty is obliged to walk three times successively over the hind, and the priest after such incision, practises several magical experiments, in order to ascertain the

success. These people are, for the generality, addicted to the practice of magic, which principally consisting in some certain charms, and being accompanied with a dance which is very tiresome and fatiguing, affects at least one of the company then present, who, in this situation, discovers the secret they want to have revealed.

They indulge themselves in a plurality of wives, and on the wedding-day, two or three female neighbours, or relations of the bridegroom, march out at the head of a numerous train, and betimes in the morning, attend at the door of the bride's habitation, and there dance and sing, till the whole company men and women, have made the usual marriage presents, which principally consist in maize and flour. Before the testimonies of their respect are paid, the female dancers are presented with a handful of maize, and have their left eye and cheek dusted over with flour. The day concludes with joy and rejoicing, and in the evening, the bridegroom conducts his partner to his own house, which closes the ceremony. The young maidens, on the borders of Quizungu, when they are on the point of marriage, depart from their habitations, and repair into some barren field, there to bemoan themselves for the space of an hour on the prospect of resigning their virgin honours. This ceremony is observed in the day-time before a great number of friends and relations, who come to visit them on this occasion. At night they return home, and as soon as ever the new moon appears, the marriage feast begins, and the next morning the damsel is delivered to her lover, who takes her to his warm embraces without any further ceremony.

Their mourning is accompanied with long lamentations, and with weeping and wailing as loud as ever they can stretch their throats. They cover their dead, or rather wrap them up in black swaddling cloths. They bury them with their fire-arms, their equipage, and all other proper accommodations for their journey. The mat on which the person deceased lay, the chair or stool on which he sat, and the utensils or implements of furniture which he made use of in his life-time, nay, his very habitation are all burnt immediately after his interment. The loss however, as is presumed, does not amount to any considerable value; for these people are not ambitious of erecting any pompous and magnificent fabrics. The same customs are observed by the major part of the inhabitants of this coast, and it is a fundamental article with them, that the living must not touch the dead, nor any thing belonging to them, for such action would be an immediate pollution; and this unfortunate person must not re-enter his house, nor have any intercourse or familiar converse with his countrymen, till he has first washed and purified himself. The ashes of every thing

burnt about the dead are collected together, and thrown into their graves with them, and their mourning continues two hours a day for eight days together. However, about midnight, one of the company sets the tune to their lamentations, and the whole assembly strike up immediately in the same melancholy key. In the morning they visit the grave, in order to supply the deceased with proper provisions. Those who undertake this friendly office dust their left eye and cheek with flour, in the same manner as at their nuptial ceremonies. They mutter some certain words over the graves of their dead; but whether they pray to them for success in their harvest, or requests to have them in remembrance, we are at a loss to determine, for they never wash their faces till the time of their mourning is expired.

On the coast of Melinda, and the parts adjacent, the young men, nay, the boys of seven or eight years of age, wear about six or seven pound weight of clay round their heads, till they have given some visible proof of their valour in war, or in single combat, and they are obliged to produce some tokens of their victory, and some effects of their neighbours. They are under the same indispensable obligation, as the natives of Mono Motapa, to produce some undeniable testimony of their conquest and courage. Such a certificate must be had; and, doubtless, such peremptory injunction, and the scandal those lie under, who are indolent and inactive, and neglect the duty incumbent on them, are irresistible motives to the frequent practice of bold and heroic actions.

We shall conclude with this cursory observation, that there are a set of notorious, despicable fellows, between Angola, and Mono Motapa, who are addicted to Sodomitical practices, and are a scandal to their sex; by gratifying the inordinate lusts and passions of their brutal companions. These effeminate debauchees, in all probability, are species of the Floridan Hermaphrodites.

#### *Religion of the Ethiopians and the Gauls.*

Notwithstanding they live under a Christian government, there are numberless idolators in this extensive empire. They are vagabonds and barbarians says Ludolphus, who profess no religion, are under no legal restrictions, nor subservient to any king.—They are, in short, a kind of Troglodytes, and their language is very confused, rough, and unpollished. These barbarous people are reckoned amongst the number of the Cafres; but besides these, there are the Agawas, who inhabit the highlands of Goïam, the Gonguas, the Gafates, the



Gauls, who in all probability, are the Gnaguas, or Jages, whom we have already described, and several others too tedious to enumerate. We shall begin with the Gauls.

They have no idols, no outward form of divine worship; at least, no customs, wherein there are any visible prints, or footsteps of religion. They make no distinctions between the heavens, and the Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of all things. Though it is he, as they say, who comprizes all things within his own infinite immensity, yet they pay him no manner of adoration. However, they are, we are informed, very tractable, and might with ease be made proselytes to the Christian faith. The natives of Zender worship idols, or devils, and are extremely addicted to the practice and study of the black art; as to the others, we have nothing to offer concerning them that is worth the reader's attention.

The Gauls observe the ceremony of circumcision, and indulge themselves in a plurality of wives.— Their young men are not permitted to cut off their hair, until they have signalized their courage in some warlike expedition, in the death of an enemy, or in the chase, by hunting down and killing some savage monster. It is not the heads of their enemies that they produce as testimonials of their valour, but some other very remarkable member, which the reader will readily discover, when he is informed, that they must give ocular demonstration of the slain person's sex. These honourable and distinguishing marks of their prowess are hung up as trophies, at the head of their camp. Once in eight years they elect a new general or commander, who is obliged to notify his accession to the government, by an irruption on some of the Ethiopian territories.

The natives of Zender hunt all round their woods; in order to find out a king, or ruler over them, amongst the savage beasts, who by the prevailing influence of his incantations allures them to him, as Orpheus did of old, by the melody of his music.— None but the grandees, or nobility of the kingdom, have any right or title to elect a prince after the death of his predecessor. In order to find out his haunts in the forest, they take a bird of the eagle kind for their guide, who by his cries discovers the mighty hero that is to be their sovereign; and there have been people much more polished and refined, who have relied on as precarious guides for the just object of their choice. Darius, king of Persia, the first of that name, had the good fortune to be elected king, for no other reason but that his horse neighed before any of those belonging to his rivals, and competitors for the crown, who had unanimously agreed after the death of Smerdis the impostor, that he whose horse neighed first, should be elected king

without further ceremony. But to return to the king of Zender.

That innate modesty, or rather that established rule amongst these savages, which induces him to conceal himself, obliges him to oppose those who are ambitious of electing him; and he carries the ceremony so far, as to fight with and wound them, if possibly he can. For which reason the electors are obliged to treat him roughly, to provoke and torment him, in order to bring him to compliance, and accept of the crown; but he must not suffer himself to receive the least wound from any of his importunate electors; for in that case, he is looked upon as altogether unworthy of that high dignity; nay, his subjects, we are informed, are permitted to murder him in case he happens to be wounded in this affected opposition and resistance. But be that as it will, even after he has submitted to his electors, he is once more subject to the insults of those who meet him on the road, and who endeavour by force to mount him on their shoulders, ambitious of the honour of conducting him to his throne. This regal seat, we may easily imagine, is none of the most pompous and magnificent; nor is his palace any thing more than a thatched house, or at best, than a common tent or pavilion.

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#### *Religion of the islanders of Socotora.*

The islanders of Socotora or Beduins, copy after, and are successors or descendants of the Troglodytes; for like them, they reside in caverns, and hollow rocks. There are some authors who have attempted to palm them upon us for the converts of St. Thomas. However, they have no knowledge, we are credibly informed either of Jesus Christ, or of the Christian religion, though it is true, indeed, they seem to pay an extraordinary veneration to the cross, and deposit it on their altars.

They worship the moon as the parent and cause of all things; and when they have been afflicted with a long series of dry weather, they make their earnest applications to her for a supply of water, in the following extraordinary manner. They make choice of one of the assembly, whom they inclose and shut up, as it were, in a kind of circumvallation, from whence he must not presume to stir, on pain of death. This devotee thus confined, is obliged to make his humblest addresses to the moon for ten days together, to implore the blessing of her refreshing showers. If it be matter of fact, that they cut off the hands of such devotee, in case, at the expiration of the term before mentioned, the moon should reject his prayers, and withhold her rain, we may with ease conceive, that the zeal of

this devotee is as warm and conspicuous, as that of any other professors whomsoever, who, on the like emergent occasions, implore the assistance and mediation of the celestial beings, with the most surprising austerities, and under the galling yoke of the most barbarous and inhuman discipline: But we are not sufficiently apprised of all the circumstances that attend this extravagant and cruel ceremony, to be able to discourse upon it, without being liable to mistakes.

At some particular seasons, and before some remarkable fasts, the observance whereof is very strictly enjoined, the elders, or principals of the island assemble themselves together, and offer up an hundred bucks, or goats, as a public sacrifice; and this is a kind of hecatomb. To these superstitious rites they add several Christian ceremonies; such as the celebration of Christmas, which they keep holy threescore days successively, by the observance of a kind of fast or religious abstinence from milk, butter fish and flesh. In short, they are so rigid and severe, that should any one unfortunately be discovered to neglect and break this ordinance, the penalty for the first offence, would be the loss of two fingers from his right hand; for the second his hand itself; and for the third his arm.

They have a number of *Mogquamos*, a term they distinguish their temples by; and there *Mogquamos* are very small and low. They have three little doors, and in order to enter any of them, a person must be obliged to stoop almost to the ground. In each of these chapels stands an altar, on which are deposited a cross, and several sticks formed like flower-de-luces, which have something of the resemblance likewise of the cross. Every chapel has its peculiar head, principal, or priest, called *Hodamo*, who is annually chosen, and the signatures or marks of his function are a staff and a cross which he must not presume to give away on any pretence whatsoever, or suffer any person so much as to touch it, on pain of loosing one of his hands. The usual time set apart for divine service in these chapels is, when the moon sets or when she rises; and the visible marks, or external testimonies of their devotions are, for instance, the striking three times a day, and thrice every night, a stated number of blows on a long staff, with a shorter one; and afterwards the taking three tours all round the chapel, and turning themselves thrice round at every tour.—This ceremony is accompanied with an oblation of some odoriferous wood, put in an iron bason, that hangs by three chains over a large fire. After that, the altar is incensed three times, and the doors of the temple as many; and the devotees make the most solemn vows, and supplications to the moon, with exalted voices, not only within, but all round the yard or sacred inclosure. They implore her protec-

tion, and beg that she would vouchsafe to confine her favours to them alone. During this part of their divine service, the *Hodamo* sets on the altar a lighted taper made of butter, the use of all other fat being prohibited; and they always take particular care to have a vessel in the chapel full of butter. But not for that purpose only; for they besmear their crosses, and staves, which they make use of in their religious ceremonies, with this favourite grease.

On some certain days of the year they make a solemn procession round the temple, at which public times they constitute one of their principals, or chief men in their country, to carry the most cumbersome sacred staff. After the procession is over, they cut his fingers off, and put a smaller staff into his hand, which, by virtue of some mystic marks, serves him as a huckler and defence from all manner of insults; not to mention those singular honours which are paid him on account of his being possessed of such a sacred implement; and that odour of sanctity which the opportunity of carrying it in procession confers upon him. The reader no doubt very clearly discerns, by the account we have here given, what a monstrous medley there is of Mahometanism, Christianity, and Paganism in this religion. They have also borrowed, as some authors pretend, several of their rites and ceremonies from the Nestorians.

After the relation of so extravagant a religion, the reader may well expect to hear of a variety of idle and ridiculous customs. They marry as many wives as their circumstances will permit them to maintain, and put them away again at pleasure; that is, they dismiss them without the least formality whatsoever. They exchange also their partners, and take in others for the time limited and agreed on; perhaps till absence has whetted palled appetites.—But nothing surely can be more singular and remarkable than the method a father takes to assign or turn over his child to his friend or acquaintance. When he is disposed to discharge himself of such an incumbrance, he nominates this or that person to be his guardian; and such father, by adoption, is obliged to maintain and bring the boy up as if he was his own. Children thus transferred, are called the sons of fire and smoke; because these poor barbarous creatures, observing that the procreation of children is the natural result of that union to which the indulgence of their sensual appetites alone inclines them, determine, after they have gratified their passions, to transfer and make over the fruits of their labour to some other person; and for that purpose, he who is so disposed, kindles a large fire in his cavern, and throws some particular green wood upon it. As soon as it begins to rise, he runs out of his cottage or cave, and proclaims, as loud as he

cau stretch his throat, that the child with which his wife is pregnant, is the right and property of such a neighbour. He accordingly brings up the child thus presented to him, and pays the like compliment to some other acquaintance.

There is no manner of difference, in the opinion of these islanders, between a dying person and one actually deceased. For which reason, such as lie at the point of death are carried directly to their graves; and their nearest and dearest relations perform this last friendly office for them; and those who are thus expiring, having, as we reasonably suppose, shewn the like indulgence to others, never murmur at such treatment, or think it any ways cruel or unjust. As soon as they perceive their dissolution drawing nigh, they call their relations round about them, in order to exhort them not to renounce the religion of their forefathers; nor to have any familiar intercourse or correspondence with strangers, and to avenge them of their enemies. Nay, sometimes the person thus giving up the ghost, produces a long list of those who have injured him, with the particular causes of his just resentment.— Having thus vented his spleen, he departs this life with all the calmness and serenity imaginable. This is generally the lot of those who are ignorant, and incapable of serious reflection, and they sink into the arms of death without the least reluctance or concern, when life becomes an incumbrance. And so do all such as are afflicted with any incurable distemper, plunged in inextricable difficulties, or harassed with implacable persecutions.

They observe the ceremony of circumcision, and if any one should reside amongst them that has the misfortune not to be circumcised, he would have his hand cut off as soon as he was discovered; and his own wife, on such an occasion, would make no scruple to betray him. An uncircumcised person must not presume to enter into any of their moquamos, or temples; and as to the perpetration of any particular crimes, the delinquents are punished by their hadomas, according to the nature and enormity of the offence. A thief, though pursued, is secure if he has the good fortune to fly for refuge into the moquamo, and find there upon the spot some friend who is willing to be his guardian and protector; such person is looked upon as godfather to, or surety for the criminal. But if no such friend appears in the temple, he is dragged away from his asylum, and his hand is immediately cut off. The greatest act of complaisance that is practised among these Beduins, is to kiss the shoulder of the person whom they intend to honour, and the same ceremony is observed in several provinces of Abyssinia.

To what we have already remarked, we beg leave to add, that, if we may rely on the veracity of some

missionary Jesuits, there is abundance of Judaism comprised in the religion of these people. These fathers, however, ought to have descended to particulars; for there are no Jewish rites and ceremonies, as we can find, in vogue with the Beduins, but that of circumcision. These Jesuits, moreover, add in their narration, that the Beduins are strictly enjoined not so much as to touch or taste any hens, or other fowl, of what species or kind soever.— Another relation assures us, that they obey the evangelical law; that St. Thomas converted them to the Christian faith; that they are very tractable, and fond of being instructed; and that they are well affected to, and have a peculiar regard for, the Catholic religion, and the ceremonies of the Romish church. This relation adds also, that these islanders have a peculiar veneration for the cross, that all of them in general wear it about their necks, and in conclusion, that they make use of the Chaldee language in their divine service.

It is surprising that the Jesuits should so far attempt to impose upon us, as to make those who have no better information believe, that professed heathens are well affected to Christianity. The imposition might indeed have been still carried on, had it not been for the most exact accounts that have been brought us, both by English and French navigators. That there were once churches in many of those parts cannot be doubted, but that is no reason why there should be any remains of Christianity left, it being inconsistent with the people's being gross Pagans. We are assured, that the Christian religion was in the early ages after, or during the times of the apostles, propagated in many countries where paganism now prevails; but whenever men abuse the benefits conferred upon them, and slight the offers of grace and mercy, God may, in his infinite wisdom and justice, remove the light of the gospel from among them, and suffer heathen darkness to overshadow them.

It is the unhappy condition of fallen nature, never to know the value of any thing till deprived of it, and this is not confined to religion alone, it is to be met with under all circumstances of life, whether the persons are high or low, rich or poor. Thus the voluptuous person does not know the benefit of health, till by a continual round of debauchery, he has rendered himself incapable of enjoying it. He may indeed wish for the return of that which he little regarded while he had it in possession, but in vain does he even wish for it, for his emaciated body mocks the power of medicine, and he sinks down on a sick bed, a poor, helpless creature, without any person being able to administer to his comfort.

In the same manner, those who have been favoured with the gospel, and make an improper use of such an inestimable blessing, may probably wish



for them when taken from them. But God in his infinite wisdom knows, that were they to receive it again, they would turn like the dog to his vomit, and like the sow to her wallowing in the mire.—There is no doubt but God has times and seasons fixed when he will look down in compassion on the heathen nations, and once more visit them with the light of the gospel. But these times being unknown to us, we should rest satisfied that every thing will be conducted by unerring wisdom. The Jesuits, however, should never have amused us with idle tales, because nothing can appear more beautiful than the truth, when told in its primitive simplicity.

### *Religion of the islanders of Madagascar.*

We have already taken notice, that there were once Christians in this island, and that there are still some faint remains of that religion to be found. The Christian religion, like a refreshing shower, spreads its influence far and wide; men flocked under its shelter; the darkness that had long clouded the human mind was removed; light sprung up in its room, and those who were before without God in the world, became the willing captives to the preaching of the gospel. But this is too melancholy a subject to dwell on, and therefore we shall proceed to give the best and most authentic account of these islanders that could be procured, and although we do not dwell on the marvellous, yet we shall adhere to the truth.

Although they are all Pagans, there are, notwithstanding, the prints or footsteps of Mahometanism and Judaism to be visibly discerned amongst them. They acknowledge one God the creator of all things, and they honour and revere him, and speak of him with the profoundest veneration and respect.—Though they have no idols or temples, yet they offer up sacrifices to the Supreme Being. However to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the devil, they compliment him with the first morsel of their victuals; and so make him a partner with the Deity. From whence it is evident, that these islanders acknowledge two principles, the one good and the other evil. This notion was transmitted to them by the natives of the continent, who in all probability, had it from the inhabitants of Asia. But be that as it will, those of Madagascar acknowledge that God created the heavens, the earth, the spirits, and all living creatures, and according to their account, there are seven heavens. They are of opinion, that God is the cause of all good; and the devil, on the other hand, the author of all the misfortunes that attend mankind. For which reason they fear him, make their oblations to him, and even with respect

to their sacrifices, give him the preference before the Deity. It is a principle, as we have before observed, which we find for the generality true, that mankind are not so vigorous in their pursuit after that which is good, as they are cautious how to avoid that which is evil.

Dian-Manah is also the object of their divine worship. He is the god, or vice-deity of riches, and by consequence bears a very near affinity to the Plutus of the ancients. Gold is the symbol or hieroglyphic of this divinity. Upon seeing it, they take it directly in their hands, and hold it above their heads, with all the veneration and respect imaginable, and then salute it. Nay, there are several of them, who, conscious of having committed some particular sin, dip a piece of gold in a cup full of water, and then drink it up, imagining, that by such religious act, their sin is pardoned and forgiven.

They are of opinion, that there are divers orders of the genii, or spirits; that some of them govern and direct the motion of the heavens, stars, and planets; that others have dominion over the air, the meteors, the sea, and all mankind. The doctrine relating to the genii was maintained and supported by all the ancients. We have already shewed, that it is a received notion this day amongst the idolatrous nations, even amongst those of the north of Europe, and those of the new world.

Besides these genii, they admit of another order of spirits, who are as invisible as the former, but assume a body whenever they think proper, and appear to those whom they love and respect. These spirits are both male and female: they intermarry, have children, and stand in need of the necessary supports of life, and yet partake not of the infirmities of our nature. However, they die, and are punished or rewarded after their decease, according to their good or bad conduct in this life. These spirits foretel future events, and perform abundance of surprising things, which bear a very near resemblance to what our ancient writers of romances ascribe to the fairies. They imagine, likewise, that there are hobgoblins, phantoms and ghosts. They stand in great awe of the Saccare, that is, the devil, and all the other evil spirits, which they distinguish under different denominations. The Saccare, if we may believe what they assert, appears to them in the form of a fiery dragon, and frequently enters into, and possesses them for fifteen days together. In order to deliver themselves out of his clutches, or at least to relieve them under their misfortunes, they take a javelin, or long spear in their hands, and dance and caper about, wreathing their bodies into a thousand antic and ridiculous postures. All the whole town dance to the beat of drum, round about such persons as are so possessed, observing the same gesticulations as they do, under pretence

of affording them, by that means some comfort and consolation.

They have some knowledge of the fall of man, the terrestrial paradise, and the flood; but their ideas thereof are clouded and obscured by a multitude of ridiculous fables. The same misfortunes attend them with respect to some other ideas, which their ancestors might probably have borrowed from the true religion; but by insensible degrees have been most shamefully corrupted. They are of opinion, that the devil is the author of sin, and the corruption of human nature. Their faith, as to this particular article, is comprised in a kind of apologue, the sense and meaning whereof is, that the devil had seven children, who committed so many outrages upon earth, that mankind implored the Deity to deliver them from this perverse and wicked generation. God heard their supplications, and these seven children established seven capital sins in the world: theft, licentiousness, lying, gluttony, murder, pride and laziness.

They have their feasts and fasts, which are solemnized without any regularity, sometimes at one time and sometimes at another, as occasion offers. They meet together with their whole family very early in the morning, and then regale themselves with a small quantity of rice, and after that fast till midnight. In this interval they employ themselves in rehearsing and singing the heroic achievements of their ancestors. At midnight they refresh themselves and pay their respects to the devil and the Deity.— They then wash, but more particularly their feet, and chew betel; after which, they lay themselves under some particular vows and obligations, with relation to some particular circumstances, which are of the utmost importance to themselves. One thing which is the most remarkable in their feasts and fasts, is, that they sacrifice an ox, and sprinkle the whole assembly with its blood, and then make their children lay their hands upon it, imagining that such ceremony will preserve them the ensuing year from all distempers. The sacrificer cuts the victim all in pieces, and throws the first on his right hand, saying, this is the devil's portion; after this, he takes another piece, and throws it on his left hand, saying, This is devoted to the service of the Deity; and to conclude, they take a small quantity of the hair of the victim, and tie it round their necks, pronouncing at the same time some mysterious words three times successively.

It seems, likewise, according to the account of the author before quoted, that these islanders practise a kind of libation, in honour of God and the devil, before they drink; and that they offer up their sacrifices of thanksgiving on their prospect of a plentiful harvest. Their rice being ready to be gathered in, they sacrifice a black cow, and throw

one part of it into the field, pronouncing at the same time a short form of thanksgiving, and during the continuance of these festival days, they never shed any human blood; but in case any person commits a crime that merits death, he is sentenced to be drowned. In order to have the honour of sacrificing any of their victims, they are obliged to learn a certain prayer, and pronounce some particular words over the instrument, lifting up their eyes at the same time to heaven, which is a lively expression of the intent of the sacrificator. They are likewise so scrupulous in this particular, that they would rather die with hunger, than partake of any beast whatever, slaughtered by a Christian.

They moreover offer up sacrifices when they take possession of any new house, when they are any way indisposed, when they marry, when their wives lye-in, and when any of their friends and acquaintance are buried. Before they depart this life, they make a thorough confession of their sins. Such persons as are advanced in years, and draw near the time of their dissolution, make so general a confession, that they take particular care to mention each individual sin one after another. After this, they order a sacrifice to be made of several oxen, for the expiation of all their transgressions; and all this is accompanied with a solemn benediction on their whole family, and an exhortation, as is customary with old people, and men just dropping into their graves, to lead better lives than they have done before. The confused and imperfect idea which they entertain of Noah, Abraham and Moses; and of David and Jesus Christ; their circumcision, observance of the sabbath, their fast and confession, and their scruples, which we have already mentioned, are all incontestable demonstrations that their religion is a corruption of Christianity and Judaism, intermingled with Mahometanism, idolatry and superstition.

They expose such children as happen to be born on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday, or in the month of April, or in their Lent; the eighth day of the moon; or in short, in any hour that is overruled by any malignant planet. The ceremony of their circumcision is for the generality performed in the month of May, in the presence of the friends and relations of those who are to be circumcised, and a bull is the usual fee for every infant so circumcised. Several days preceding this ceremony, the vigils only excepted, are spent in a variety of amusements, and concluded for the generality, in riot and excess; for it is looked upon as an honour to be drunk on such occasions. The circumciser himself makes one a monger them in these public diversions, but the vigil of the festival is not attended with such intemperance and excess. Fathers and mothers suspend the legal pleasures of the

marriage-bed, and prepare themselves for the celebration of this ceremony with their children. The mothers lie by them in the *lapa*, which is a hut, or cottage, which their relations erect, and consecrate by the performance of some particular ceremonies therein, a month before the intended day of circumcision. The prohibition of love enjoyments does not extend to the relations only of such as are to be circumcised; but all maids or wives, married men or bachelors, who are conscious of having indulged themselves in such sensual pleasures, must not presume to draw near to, or be present at this holy ordinance; for these people imagine, that should any person so defiled profane that religious ceremony, the blood of the prepuces of such as should be circumcised would never stop, and that certain death would be the fatal consequence of such a presumption. Another superstitious custom of theirs is never to wear any thing red about them on these solemn occasions.

On the day appointed for the circumcision, all those who are to be present at the operation, bathe themselves betimes in the morning, and turning themselves towards the east, beating their drums and sounding their country cornets, pronounce some particular form of words, the sense and significance whereof we are at a loss to determine. The celebrant or operator, makes a short prayer, adapted to the solemnity of the day, and the whole congregation being assembled together at the *lapa*, about ten in the morning, the drums begin to beat to give notice of the approaching ceremony; and the circumciser having a skein of white cotton thread twined about his waist, and another about his left arm to wipe his instrument clean with, approaches the children. Thereupon, each father takes his own child into his arms, and altogether make a kind of procession round the *lapa*, going in at the west door and coming out at the east. After this they walk again in procession before the oxen, that are appropriated for the sacrifice on this solemn occasion, and are laid on the ground with their four feet bound fast together. Each infant, in the next place, touches the right horn of every beast with his left hand, and sits down a moment or two on the backs of these victims. After these processions are over, the circumciser cuts off the childrens' fore-skins, and the uncle, or nearest relation of each respective child, takes the prepuce and swallows it down in the yolk of an egg. This relation stands in the capacity, as it were, of godfather to the child, but the foreskins, however, of such as have no relations, are thrown upon the ground. The circumciser having thus performed his office, the sacrificator cuts the throats of as many cocks as there are children circumcised, and lets the blood of the fowls trickle down on the mutilated part,

mingling the juice of trefoil, or clover grass, with the blood.

Such women as draw near the time of their travail, confess all the sins they have been guilty of during their pregnancy, to some female confidant; and moreover our author assures us, invoke the virgin Mary, in hopes that she will lend her aid and assistance at a time of need, and contribute towards her safe and speedy deliverance. They are obliged to watch the proper times and seasons for erecting their houses, cutting timber, covering their roofs; and when the building is finished, they wait for the moon, and some propitious hour for the consecration, or the dedication of it, which they call *Missavatsi*. The proprietor invites all his friends to come and grace the ceremony with their presence, and each of them makes him some present or another, more or less valuable in proportion to his circumstances. They take three formal tours all round the tenement, and the whole company, after such procession, enter into the house, congratulate the proprietor on this joyful occasion, and wish him all the success and happiness in it that he can wish for, or desire. This ceremony is accompanied with the oblation of one or more heifers, the flesh whereof is distributed amongst the company, and intended as a friendly entertainment.

These islanders are all polygamists, and what is very singular and remarkable, is, to have a plurality of wives is expressed in their language by a term which signifies to create enemies; because several wives of the same husband cannot have a natural love and affection for one another, and this is no doubt as demonstrable an axiom as any in all Euclid. Moreover, their wives, we are informed, act without any thought or discretion before, as well as after marriage; for they exceed the bounds of all such as would conceal their vices, and have not the least regard to decency or good manners. The repeated lewd practices of a lascivious woman with one or more young fellows, are looked upon only as so many specimens of their dexterity and address; and in short they will never marry a man till they have divers undeniable proofs of his strength and manhood, withal to be well assured, that he will never degenerate or grow indolent, but be the same man to the very last.

Adultery is looked upon as a robbery, and fined and assessed as such; but no disgrace attends the payment of such amercement. The children of a wife that is brought to bed after she has been divorced from her first husband, are his property; at least if she does not return him his *taque*, that is, the purchase-money which he advanced on the day of marriage.

They have amongst them several effeminate or impotent fellows, either through some natural infirmity



which they brought with them into the world, or through their vicious familiarity and converse with other men. But be that as it may, these half-men, these liberhams, whom they call Tsecats, act inconsistently with their sex, dress in women's apparel, and allure young fellows by artifices, endearments and presents, to their unnatural embraces.

We have already mentioned, more than once, divers instances of the like obscenity and uncleanness; for we cannot clothe it in softer terms, at least if we judge of it in the light it presents itself to us at first view. The only plea or excuse that can possibly be made for such a course of life, is that which those islanders have found out for it; who assured our author, that these Tsecats were a people who, from their infancy, had made a solemn vow out of love to the Deity, to continue in a state of celibacy all their lives; that women were the objects of their aversion; that they avoided, with the utmost precaution, all familiar converse with them; and that they were guilty of no immodesty in their carresses of those of their sex. This correspondence of theirs, in all probability, may be much of the same nature with the *Athenosera*, which father Fitau speaks of, and of which there are several instances to be produced from the ancients.

We have made mention but very cursorily, of the exposition of their children; a barbarous custom too much practised and tolerated amongst the ancients. The Ombiasses, who are the astrological physicians, and in all probability, the priests also of the natives of Madagascar, authorise and give a sanction to this irregular practise by their pretended knowledge and skill in casting the nativities of such children as are just come into the world, or even of such as are but in embryo, and just conceived, and this they do by their false predictions and observations of the planets, on such occasions. This barbarity however, is not, always without exception; for some parents, after they have thus exposed their children, engage their slaves or relations to bring them up; and in such case those children belong to their respective guardians. Others perform their fals for such children as are born under a malignant planet, and on that account have deserved exposition: that is, offer up their sacrifice for them of cocks, or some other living creature, by way of expiation. After this, they confine him for half a day within a hen-coop, in order to accomplish their purification, and free them from the malignity of some dangerous constellation, or the fatal influences of their unhappy star.

Without these necessary precautions, the child might be a parricide, a thief, and the most profligate and abandoned vagabond in nature.

Willful miscarriages, or abortions, are very common in this island; but how should we expect them otherwise amongst a people, who are so ignorant

and unpolished; since such expedients are too often practised by the Christians themselves, who have much more light and knowledge of their duty than these barbarians? But such is the effect of the crime which reduces the female sex to this extremity; it expose them to the everlasting contempt of mankind, which is more shocking to loose women, than the loss of their virtue and integrity. We shall conclude with one more custom, as barbarous and inhuman as the former. When a woman dies in child-bed, they bury the new-born infant with its mother; for, say they, is it not much better the babe should die, than not to have a mother to nurse and bring it up.

In the first place, they wash their dead, and then dress them as agreeably as the circumstances of the person deceased, or of the relations who survive them will admit of. Their usual decorations are collars of coral, gold medals, and gold ear-rings. They furnish each of their dead with seven pagnes, that is, vestments made of cotton, which are worn from the waist downwards, that he may have a sufficient change of suits. After he is thus duly washed and adorned, they wrap him up in a large mat, in order to convey him to the grave: but before the performance of this last friendly office, all the relations, acquaintance, and slaves of the deceased, flock round about the corpse, to mourn over it in form, and as there is a large candle placed at his head and another at his feet, he may with propriety enough, be said to lie in state. Whilst those before-mentioned are drowned in tears, there are other persons present, who are employed in beating a kind of drum, to the sound whereof both the married women and maidens join in a solemn dance, and then take their turn to mourn over the deceased.— Their sighs and tears are mingled with his praises, and repeated lamentations for his loss. We must not omit making mention of the many questions which they ask him with respect to his decease; questions in fashion with divers other nations, which principally consist in enquiring of the deceased, whether he wanted the necessaries, and even the conveniences of life; in short, whether he was easy and contented or not, in his state and condition. These interrogatories are repeated till the evening, and then they slaughter several heifers, which are intended both as a sacrifice and a funeral entertainment.

The next day they put the corpse into a coffin, made of the stumps of two trees, dug hollow, and artfully joined together, and then carry it to the grave, which is made in a wooden hut, erected for that purpose, and dug six feet deep. There they inter the corpse with a sufficient quantity of provisions in a basket, some tobacco, a chafing dish, an earthen porringer, some pagnes, or changes of raiment, and several girdles. When all the matters are

thus far adjusted, they shut up the hut, and plant a large stone, about twelve or fifteen feet in breadth as well as height before the door; and then sacrifice some living creatures, and divide them into three equal parts or shares; one for the devil, another for the Deity, and the remainder for the deceased. It is customary to hang the heads of the slaughtered victims upon stakes, planted round this mausoleum, and for several days together after his interment his kinsfolk send him in plenty of provisions, pay their respects to him, nay, offer up divers oblations to him, and consult him about their own private affairs. In sickness or adversity they apply themselves to him by the mediation of an Ombiasse, who making a small breach or hole in the hut, conjures up the spirit of the deceased, and implores such assistance as he thinks he may reasonably require of him, by virtue of that intimacy and friendship which the deceased pretends he has contracted with the Supreme Being.

When a person of distinction dies at a considerable distance from his family, his head is cut off, and sent home to the town where he was born; but as for his corpse, it is interred in the place where he died, be it where it will. The men are shaved and go bare-headed on these melancholy occasions; but the women are allowed hats or caps.

Their physicians, whom our author calls Ombiasses, are astrologers, and, in all probability, also priests, soothsayers, and magicians; for all these qualifications centre in one man, amongst several idolatrous people both ancient and modern. The medicines which these Ombiasses make use of are principally decoctions, or broths made of physical herbs and roots; but besides these natural means, they make use of billets, or notes written in particular characters and hang them round their necks, or tie them to the girdles of the patients in order to charm and suspend their agonizing pains. They draw several figures, and make use of abundance of astrological projections, either to find out when the patient will recover, or know what medicines will prove the most effectual and convenient for him. To all this quackery, they add the consultations of some Aulis, of whom we shall presently give a farther account, and make use of some Talismans.

There are several orders of Ombiasses; but without entering into a detail of their hierarchy, as Placourt calls it, we shall only observe, that in their different subordinations, they seem all to be subservient to one sovereign pontiff. They have public schools or seminaries in this island, where all such as are desirous of being numbered amongst the Ombiasses, or the priesthood, are instructed in all the arcana of their sacred profession. There are some of them who boast more particularly of their know-

ledge of, and judgment in the aspects of the stars, and influences of the planets. They have several dissertations on the efficacy and prevailing power of every individual day throughout the month.

The secret virtue of their notes or billets, which they prescribe as restoratives to their patients, consists in writing some mystic characters on a piece of paper, and afterwards washing off the ink. The patient is directed to drink the water with which such operation is performed; and if he is not restored immediately to his former state of health, it is wholly owing, they imagine, to his neglect of some formality required; so that the Ombiasse is secure, and never suffers in his reputation through an unexpected disappointment.

The Aulis bear a very near affinity to those airy beings which are generally called Familiar Spirits; and these Aulis are enclosed in little boxes, embellished with a variety of glass trinkets, and crocodiles' teeth. Some of them are made of wood, and fashioned like a man; and in each box they put a sufficient quantity of powder of some particular roots, mixed with fat and honey, which they replenish from time to time as occasion requires. They wear these Aulis at their girdles, and never venture to take a journey or voyage without them. They consult them three or four times a day, and converse with them freely, as if they expected some suitable answers from them but in case they meet with a disappointment, or an answer that thwarts their inclinations, they load them with all the opprobrious language they can think of.

The method generally used in their consultation of these Aulis is to take a nap, after a familiar intercourse with them for two or three hours, and the purport of the dream, which strikes the imagination of the person during his slumbers, is looked upon as the oracle's reply.

The Ibiridi are girdles embellished with a variety of mystic characters, and these superstitious islanders ascribe a peculiar virtue to them. These unintelligible marks or signatures are the hand writing of some of their Ombiasses, who embrace the opportunity of some particular days in the year, and some propitious hours in those days, for the composition of them. Moreover, they are obliged to sacrifice a considerable number of oxen of a particular colour; from whence it is evident, that there is a great conformity between these Aulis of theirs and the Talismans; but be that as it may, they preserve them with the utmost precaution in their respective families, and transmit them down from father to son, as a valuable inheritance. These islanders have their mercenary poets, who sing the heroic exploits of their grandees, and intrepid warriors. Their poetry is, for the generality, instructive and sententious, after the manner or style of the easterns; but,

however, they do not scruple to compose a variety of gay madrigals, or love sonnets, on some particular occasions.

They have various ways for the administration of their oaths; and when they lay a person under the most solemn engagements, they oblige him to eat a small quantity of bull's liver. In some parts of the island they sprinkle their witnesses with water, who imagine, that if they should depose a falsehood after such aspersion, some heavy judgment would immediately overtake them. In order to discover a thief, or any other delinquent, they touch the tongue of the party suspected seven times successively with a red hot iron; and if no pain attends the frequent repetition of this trial, he is acquitted, as we are informed, and declared not guilty. Sometimes the prisoner is obliged to eat bull's liver, and a particular root which is poison, and the same, in all probability, as is made use of on the like occasions in Guinea, and at Congo. Sometimes, likewise, they oblige the party suspected to plunge his hand into a pot of scalding water, and take up a stone that lies at the bottom for that purpose. But may not these customs, after all, which we call trials, be only so many different methods of putting such criminals to the rack, in order to extort from them a confession of those facts whereof they are accused?

They swear by bull's liver for the ratification of a peace, and on the day appointed for the conclusion of it, both parties appear in arms, on the banks of a river. Each of them slaughter a bull, and mutually exchange a morsel of the liver of their victims, which is eaten in the presence of their respective deputies, or envoys, accompanied with this solemn oath or imprecation, May the liver which we have eaten burst us, if we violate our engagements! If one army reduces the other to the necessity of suing for a peace, the vanquished party only eat the liver, which is admitted as an oath of their fidelity and allegiance to the victor.

Their Timbouchennu is a compact, or obligation, by virtue whereof they become indebted to one another; and the form of it is this: an islander kills some well-fed beasts, divides it into as many shares as he thinks proper, and then distributes them.—Such as receive any part or portion thereof, are obliged to deliver the proprietor a calf at the year's end.

Their warlike discipline consists principally in ambuscades, and falling on their enemies by surprise. They send out their scouts or spies all round about, not only well furnished with weapons of defence, but fortified with spells, charms, poisons, and enchanted billets. The maids and married women dance all night and day, as long as the war continues, imagining, that thereby they inspire their soldiers with strength and courage.

Though we have already given several instances of their superstitions, yet this that follows is more remarkable than any before mentioned, and the result of a precaution which we could never have expected from women, who are, we are informed, so dissolute and abandoned. They are honest, and on their guard, whilst their husbands are engaged in the field of battle, because they are fearful lest their amours should prove of ill consequence to them when abroad, notwithstanding they shew so little affection or regard for them when at home. Whether this circumstance is real fact or not, we shall not determine; for who would pretend to justify all that travellers relate for truth? but this at least we venture to say with safety, that our ladies are not so prudent and cautious in the absence of their spouses.

Thus we have given the best collection we could meet with of the religious ceremonies of these islanders, and of some other customs which seem to be established on a religious foundation. All of them, however, may not be practised with equal strictness, nor after the same manner, throughout the island, since it is inhabited by several petty nations, each of whom observe some ceremonies peculiar to themselves.

Indeed we may add, that in all heathen nations there is so little difference, that we only change the name of the circumstance, and the fact will remain just as it was before. What does it signify to the man who is seriously inquiring after truth, whether one heathen nation is remarkable for worshipping images, or another for paying adoration to the vilest reptiles? The question before us is, Is the person who makes such things the object of his adorations, seeking after truth, or has he formed right notions of the Divine Being? Has he considered God as such an one as himself, or has he formed the most unworthy notions of his attributes? This much is certain, that whenever we repeat that petition in the Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come," we should at the same time wish and equally pray that the kingdom of grace may be established in the hearts of men, and that the accomplishment of the kingdom of glory may be hastened. Jesus, the once humble but now exalted redeemer of a lost world, suffered for our sins and rose again for our justification.—Can we then imagine that the goodness of God will not extend those beneficial consequences to all the sons of men; surely God will do so; for as is his justice, so is his mercy.

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#### *Religion of the Canaries.*

It is not our business at present to enquire who were the first inhabitants of this part of Africa, for



all that we can say with certainty is, that these people were formerly idolators, or, as a certain traveller expresses it, acknowledged no other God than nature, and he adds, moreover, that they spilt no blood, not so much as that of beasts, for their sacrifices. They were very superstitious, and their wives lived in common, and they had two kings, one living and the other dead; the latter they placed in a standing posture, in a cavern, with a staff in his hand, and a pot of milk by his side, for his subsistence in the other world. At present, the Guanchos are the remains of these ancient islanders; and in all probability observe privately some part of their ancient customs. But be that as it will, they still mingle so much superstition with their veneration and respect which they pay to their ancestors and their sepulchres, that no strangers presume to visit them without their permission, on the hazard of their lives.

They sometimes embalm their dead; but the composition which they made use of on such occasions, and by virtue whereof they preserved their dead from putrefaction for several ages, was a secret known only to some particular families, who were strictly enjoined to have no intercourse or correspondence with the rest of the islanders; and their priests were always some branch of these families.

After they had embalmed their dead, they sewed them up very neatly in buck-skins, well dressed and prepared. These Canaries were known to the ancients by the name of the Fortunate islands; and they were of opinion, that the virtuous resided there after their decease.

Here we shall conclude our description of all the African idolators. We have related the whole with all the care and impartiality imaginable, and in order to testify to our readers that we would not in the least impose on their credulity, we have all along quoted the authors from whom we made our extracts. As we were thus confined from any invention of our own, we thought ourselves obliged to embellish our dissertations with several additional hints and observations, in which very frequently we have spoken our minds freely, and laid ourselves under no manner of restraint. The work, however,

is not without its defects; and we are so conscious of them, that we heartily wish it more complete, more correct, better composed, and better digested throughout the whole. We are not so happy as to be numbered amongst those, to whom God, according to father Garasse, has given the satisfaction of being contented with their own compositions, as an equivalent for the contempt and censure which they meet with from the public. However, we flatter ourselves that we have advanced nothing that is idle and extravagant, or inconsistent with common sense, which is at least a tolerable plea in an age wherein the profession of compiling or composing books is so much discouraged and condemned.

Having said thus much concerning the different heathen systems of religion in Africa, we shall conclude with our earnest wish and sincere desire that these people may yet be brought to the knowledge of the truth. The goodness of God is great, and his mercies are infinite; when the sons of men forget him, he often looks down with compassion upon them. As his infinite mercies extended to them when in a lost condition, at the time of Christ's appearance in the flesh, so there is reason to hope the same compassion will still prevail; and while we form proper notions of God, we shall never have reason to distrust him. Indeed, those who trust in God, are, for the most part, sure of his favour, at least as far as it will be for his own glory and their good. And what trust can equal our waiting with patience for the conversion of the heathen nations? The heart of the sincere Christian is troubled sometimes to behold so many of his fellow-creatures sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death, but considering the divine promise, he rests satisfied, and often exclaims in those beautiful words of the poet, with which we shall conclude this article:—

Unshaken as the sacred hill,  
And firm as mountains be;  
Firm as a rock, the soul shall rest,  
That leans, O Lord, on Thee.

## RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT OR SAVAGE AMERICANS.

**I**N treating of these people, we have called them ancient and savage, by which we mean all such as were, or still are, idolatrous. And this is the more

necessary, because, that ever since the discovery of America by Columbus, so many Europeans have settled in different parts of that vast continent, that

taking the whole together, they exhibit, as it were, a new world. People of all religions are to be met with here, and even these people, in almost all provinces, differing from each other in sentiment, yet live in unity together as brethren. Most of these religious sects will come in under the article of Protestants, so that we shall say nothing of them at present, but to proceed to inquire into the population of America, and then to describe the religious ceremonies of those heathens which either once did, or still do, inhabit it.

It is very probable that the colonies which first settled in America came thither by land, and that if any happened to come by sea, it was owing to chance rather than design. Several learned men have been of opinion, that America was peopled by the Phœnicians and Carthagéniens; and they ground their conjectures on the long voyages those people used to make, who, fitting out very considerable fleets, used to send them beyond the straits of Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, and those of Cape Verde, known to the ancients, as it is believed, under the name of the islands Gorgades. It is true, indeed, that the islands of Cape Verde are the nearest land to America; but this does not prove the Phœnicians had visited the American coasts; for as to the cruizings of those Phœnicians beyond the Gorgades, they might probably have been made towards the south, rather than towards the west. We in that case should therefore look into the southern parts of Africa for those unknown lands, which the ancients tell us the Phœnicians had discovered. On the other hand, if it be true that the Antilles were known to them under the name of the islands of the Hesperides, and that the voyage to Gorgades and to the Hesperides, which is not now above twenty-five or thirty days sail, might have taken them forty, (which is but a short time considering their little experience) we shall find that no other people than the Carthagéniens could have been able to undertake such voyages. The situation of their country, and the talents they had for trade, might probably have excited them to rove up and down that great expanse of waters between Africa and America, having first settled a pretty regular correspondence between Cadiz and the Cassiterides, now called the Azores. If all this were true, we might probably suppose that the Carthagéniens and the other Phœnicians, who were settled in Spain and Africa, had carried people to the Azores, the Antilles, and from thence to the continent of America. And then, after having sailed several hundred leagues, from the coasts of Africa to the gulph of Mexico, it is not impossible but that those mariners might have attempted another as far as the main of the land.

Yet we may naturally suppose that some Phœni-

cian or Carthagénian sailors having been thrown on the coast of America by a storm, necessity had forced them to settle there, and that they there lost their language, and the little knowledge they might have had of the arts and sciences of their country. What makes this more probable is, that sea-faring men have in all ages been very ignorant, and but a degree above barbarians. The Peruvians had anciently some footsteps of those involuntary voyages; and the first Spanish writers who have collected the scattered remains of their history, make mention of certain people came from that part of their empire which lies towards the sea, and that they afterwards made a conquest of their country.

Tradition made the above-mentioned writers consider these men, whose original appeared so extraordinary, as so many giants; and, indeed, it is not unlikely they were such, since we are assured, that bones of a prodigious size have been dug up about Puerto Viejo, and in the valley of Tumbes. We have many learned men in the world, who, in the height of their raptures for this discovery, would consider these giants as the posterity of the children of Anak, of whom mention is made in Deuteronomy, and would bring the Lord knows how many far-fetched conjectures, to prove that the poor Canaanites, whom Joshua drove out of their dwellings, had fled to Peru for refuge. But to be serious: It is hardly possible to make a voyage of even a few leagues, with their Bales, Pirogues, and Canoes; neither have the Asians, the Africans, or Europeans, ever had courage enough to venture over a wide extended ocean in such weak vessels: and as on the other side it does not appear that the Americans were ever acquainted with any other kind of shipping, we may naturally suppose, that if chance did at any time throw unhappy wretches on a desert coast of America, in an age when mankind had little knowledge in the building of ships, such persons were soon forced to forget their former customs and manners, and to comfort themselves for this loss, by the propagation of their species in those regions into which fortune had thrown them against their wills.

In reality, it is more natural to suppose that the first colonies which settled in America came thither by land: by this means we avoid the difficulties that might be started concerning the passage of wild beasts thither.

However, it is impossible to fix the era when this happened, which perhaps may be as old as the flood, where the Peruvians have preserved some idea:— This is the only footprint remaining among them relating to remote antiquity; for in all other respects the Peruvian annals scarce comprehend the history of four centuries; and then what are these annals? only Guappa's or Quappo's, that is, certain strings.

with knots in them to point out the several transactions; and notice will be taken of them in the sequel of this work. But before we come to a decision with respect to the original of the Americans, it may be proper to examine whether affinity which some pretend to find between the manners and customs of the Americans and those of the Phœnicians, may reasonably induce us to conclude, that the former are descended from the latter. We shall not take notice of the affinity that has been found between the custom of living in huts, and that of roving from place to place. The Americans in this respect resemble as much the Nomades, the Arabians, the Scythians, &c. as the Phœnicians.

The comparison that might be made of the idolatry of those nations, would also hold with that of other nations of our hemisphere. The following affinity, could it be proved, would deserve our notice infinitely more; we mean that of languages. But without affecting a great depth of erudition in this place, which our etymologists are generally so lavish of, we shall content ourselves with saying, that a dozen words, whose sound and signification are the same in the language of two distant nations, are hardly sufficient to prove that they are both descended from the same progenitors. However, if it were true that the Carthagenians, after their discovery of the Hesperides, had known the continent; they might probably have left their language with some of their people behind them; and this language might have been so far confounded with the American tongues, as to remain only in twelve words. Let us endeavour to maintain this kind of paradox, though to speak the truth we are almost persuaded that the American settlements were first made by land, and that the Phœnician language was in process of time so much corrupted in Africa, that it degenerated to a meer jargon, mixed with the Lybian and other wild languages of the neighbouring nations. Secondly, this language thus degenerated, being carried into America, by a small number of people, who settled there, must naturally have been soon lost, so that small remains of it must have been left.

The reader may probably look upon this as the mere product of our fancy; but if it be duly considered, it will not appear altogether improbable.—In the whole, what man of learning will dare to assert, that the languages of those countries which lie nearest Africa, are not mixed with Punic, with Lybian, or even broken Cantabrian words? Who is able to boast his having so thoroughly studied the genius and etymology of the American languages, as to be able to affirm, that there are not some foot-steps of the African idolators, and of those places the Carthagenians possessed in Spain, to be found therein? These conjectures might have been carried

much farther, had not the languages of the Antilles been lost, after the Spaniards destroyed the inhabitants of those islands.

Some authors are of opinion, that the Americans owe their original to the dispersion of the ten tribes of the Israelites. It is true, indeed, that some traces of the Jewish religion had been found at Jucatan, and the coasts of the South-sea; as for instance, a kind of circumcision, which we might with great probability impute to the necessity, so far from being forced to ransack the Jewish religion upon that occasion. Emanuel de Moraes, a Portuguese, who had travelled many years in America, has endeavoured to prove that the Jews and Carthagenians are the common parents of the Americans. We have just now quoted his opinion with relation to the migration of the Carthagenians into foreign countries. Here follows his reason to prove that of the Jews into Brasil. The Brazilians says he, marry only into their own families, in like manner as the Jews married only into their own tribes. Both of them call their uncles by the name of father, and their aunts' mother, their cousins' brother, &c. both of them pass a month in deep mourning, and wear gowns that descend to their feet. But these affinities are of little weight, some of them being forced and the rest entirely false. But we shall leave the reader to his private opinion.

The great Grotius thinks that the Americans of Panama came originally from Norway. The Norwegians went first into Iceland; from Iceland they went into Greenland by the way of Friesland; from Greenland they spread themselves into Estotiland, which is a part of the main land of North America, and from thence they sent colonies to the Isthmus of Panama. We must own that there is one circumstance which seems to prove that the inhabitants of Panama, and Mexico, are originally of the north; and that is the traditions of the Mexicans, who formerly declared to the Spaniards, that their ancestors came from that quarter. As to Estotiland, we are told there is a city in that country, that goes by the name of Norumbegue, which still preserves in its name some marks of the passage of the Norwegians. But unhappily for this opinion there are not the least foot-steps remaining of any city in the north parts of America; and the natives of the country, if we except those who live in the cities built by the Europeans, from what can at most be called but small villages, made up only of a few houses. Besides, all that Zeni, who first discovered Friesland and Estotiland, relates of his discoveries, appears altogether romantic, and as fictitious at least as the discovery of the Terra Australis by Sadeur. De Laet in his dissertation on the original of the Americans, seems to have thoroughly refuted the reasons which Grotius alludes



to prove that the inhabitant of Mexico and Panama came originally from Norway.

As to the Peruvians and other nations of the south part of America, Grotius has pretended to prove they came originally from China. The sprightly and penetrating genius of both those nations; their common idolatrous worship of the sun; the hieroglyphic characters of both; and above all the voyages of Mancopac, who came from beyond the seas to people Peru, and made himself the law-giver of its inhabitants; all these appeared reasons sufficient to this great man, to induce him to maintain his opinion.

To this De Laet answers. That the Peruvians were never such skilful artists as the Chinese, and that the most excellent pieces of handicraft of Peru, are greatly inferior to those of China; but to this we must justly answer, that no consequence can be drawn from hence, why the Peruvians should not be descended from the Chinese. The Peruvians would not have been the first people that had degenerated from their ancestors. He adds, that before the coming of the Spaniards among them, they were wholly ignorant of the use of sailing vessels: and that it is very unlikely the Peruvians should have wholly lost all remembrance of their country, and the art of sailing; particularly if we consider, that because of the winds which generally blow from the east under the equinoctial, it is easier to go from Peru to China, than from China to Peru.

The Chinese Junks are no way able to cross the vast sea which lies between China and Peru, besides it was much more natural for the Chinese to send people into Mexico, as that country lies much nearer to China. The adoration which the Peruvians pay the Sun, has no manner of affinity with the idolatry of the Chinese, who do not worship that planet; whereas it is adored by several nations of the north parts of America; from whence it is very natural to believe that the Peruvians came by the Isthmus of Panama. It is surprising that Grotius should tell us, that those people had the use of writings; since the Inca Garcilasso tells us expressly in his history that they were ignorant of that art. Mancopac was not a Chinese; for the Peruvians said that he was born of a rock, which they shew to this day near Cusco.

It must be confessed that the original of the Americans is hid in great obscurity; but it would be otherwise, had this people been less barbarous and savage in their infancy, or had they afterwards known the methods which those of our hemisphere make use of to transmit their history to posterity; but America does not furnish one single monument to this purpose.

Those people minded only the present moment, and never troubled their heads with the time past,

or that to come; a custom which still prevails among such savages as inhabit countries not yet frequented by the Europeans. But let us not be too partial in our own behalf: Are we very certain of our own original? Do we know that of the French, the Spaniards, and the Germans? Would it not be impossible to trace the original of the first inhabitants of Europe? All the difference we may find between the Americans and ourselves, is, that Christianity has fixed the *Æra* of our histories, and has forced us as it were to leave to the discussion of the critics, the fictions and prodigies of paganism that preceded it. The ages of European idolatry are an inexhaustible fund of fictions and conjectures, which the Greeks and Romans themselves have not been free from, as has been already observed; since the true history of the Greeks is not to be traced higher than the first olympiad, and that of the Romans than the foundation of their city. We shall now give our conjecture with respect to the original of the Americans. It is very probable that America was as populous a few centuries after the deluge as it is at this time; after which states and kingdoms were soon formed: however this was done progressively, according as families separated, and the children themselves becoming parents of a numerous progeny, were obliged to quit their native countries. These separations gave rise to states, in which ambition and a desire of superiority might even in those ages have had some share. Nevertheless, it is probable that Asia did not send out any colonies, till after having been forced to drive out such young people as were capable of subsisting by themselves.

But these settlements were very easily made in those times: Husbandry was then the only employment; mankind then spent their lives in leading their flocks to pasture; and it is by the opportunities which rural occupations gave to people whose passions were as yet but in their infancy, that the first conquests were made in Asia, and the sending out of the first colonies. A shepherd who was at the head of a numerous family, master of several flocks, and who found himself well settled in Chaldaea sent one of his children or dependants, several leagues off, with a detachment of oxen, asses, and camels.

The flock went gently on, grazing in their passage, and insensibly drew farther from the true owner. In the mean time, the detachment grew more numerous; and from this flock there sprung another. The shepherd who at first was no more than a deputy, became himself the master and father of a family. He then also separated part of his wealth, and gave it to that son whom he intended should settle in a foreign country, or to some dependant that was going further off. We presume that in

this manner an hundred years was time sufficient to people Europe, Asia, and Africa, very considerably, and an hundred more to people the continent of America. Let us suppose for this purpose, that at the flood, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, had each twelve children, and that these children were fit for marriage about fifteen or eighteen years after the flood.

It is very probable, that after they had been married twelve years, they might see a posterity of four hundred and thirty-two persons. In this manner Noah might have been at the head of above five hundred descendants in the space of thirty years; and if we then suppose that every one of Noah's great-grand-children had ten children, these four hundred and thirty-two persons might have begot four thousand three hundred and twenty children in ten years time. All this might have happened in the space of half a century; so that multiplying them always by ten, and leaving an interval of about twenty or twenty-five years between one generation and another, Asia, Europe, and Africa, might have been peopled with four hundred and thirty-two millions of inhabitants, an hundred and fifty years after the flood. We think this could not be disputed were we only to have regard to the ordinary methods of propagation. It is true, indeed, that we suppose every head of a family to have had ten children, when probably several of those chiefs might not have had so many. But then how many do we see in our days who have more than ten, and if we consider what bishop Burnet has told us concerning Messieurs Trouchin and Calandin of Geneva; the former of whom at the age of seventy-five, had one hundred and fifteen children, or persons married to his children that could call him father; and the other at the age of forty-seven, had one hundred and five persons, who were all his nephews or nieces by his brothers or sisters:—If therefore, in these two instances, it will be found that our computation is modest enough, for an age when poverty and the cares of life had not yet destroyed man's vigour, nor reduced him to the necessity of refraining from marriage, the lawful method of propagation, for fear of not being able to support his family. But although the increase of our species had for one hundred and fifty years been much less than we have supposed it, and that only four hundred millions of people had come into the world; nay farther, though we were still to subtract thirty millions from that sum, for the immature or violent deaths, diseases, and wars, which in all probability were not so bloody in those ages as they have been since, it is very natural to think that some millions might detach themselves from the remaining three hundred and seventy millions in order to seek their fortunes in America. And though we afterwards suppose that

propagation may have been very much prejudiced by reason of the fatigues they laboured under in their voyage, and from the change of climate, we shall nevertheless find that ten or twelve millions of people may have been able to furnish America with forty millions of persons in fifty years time. What is here advanced ought to be looked upon as a paradox, nor should any difficulties be raised with respect to our calculation; difficulties which are founded only on the length of man's life in our days. Mankind in those ages had not invented all those pernicious arts, which at the same time that they shorten life, do also lessen propagation.

The rural life which mankind led in the first ages, the indolence of the Americans, which has been continued from father to son to the latest posterity and the tranquillity of that people, unperplexed with those cares which now prey upon us, were incapable of ruining health or of making men grow old before their time. But we will not pursue any farther a subject that would carry us to too great lengths. It is sufficient for our purpose that we have proved the possibility, and even the probability that this part of the world began to be peopled about an hundred and forty years after the flood, and some years after the confusion of tongues at Babel.

These colonies passed over into America, from the north of Asia, by the way of Tartary; there are several reasons which induce us to be of this opinion, First, father Henepin relates, that four savages came off ambassadors to the Issatis and Nadouesans, while he was among them. They came from a country above five hundred miles to the westward of that place, and had been four moons on their journey. They added, says he, that their country lay westward, and that we lay eastward with respect to their country; that they had journeyed on continually during all that time, except that which they employed in sleep, and in hunting for their subsistence. Father Henepin concludes from thence, that there is no such thing as the straits of Anian; for these savages assured us, says he, that they had not crossed any great lake, for that is the name they give to the sea. They told us further, that all the nations with whom they were acquainted, that live on the west and northwest of the Issatis, have not any great lake near the wide extended countries, but only rivers, which come from the north, pass through the countries of those people who inhabit near the confines, on that side the great lake lies, which in the language of the savages signifies sea. These people undoubtedly inhabit the north part of California, and extend perhaps to the frontiers of eastern Tartary, Japan, and the land of Jesso.

It was necessary to be the more explicit upon the first peopling of America, because this argument

has been laid hold of by deists, in order to prove that the whole human race did not descend from one man and one woman. To take notice of what Voltaire has said on this subject in his philosophy of history, is altogether unnecessary, for that author, (as lord Lyttelton justly says) is the most superficial historian that ever took a pen in hand. A vain, airy, volatile disposition, a love of gaiety, and a fixed hatred of every thing serious, induced him to take up every idle prejudice, and palm those upon the public as truth. Inaccurate in all his enquiries, and lazy even to a proverb, he has mixed romance with historical facts, and in his writings formed a real monster. But lord Kames, a late judge, has gone further, and attempted to prove, that there must have been many men created originally, because of the different colours of the human species.

His lordship is a respectable writer, for although there is reason to believe that he has conceived some prejudices against the scripture history, yet he has too much good sense to oppose any thing that tends towards traducing moral virtue, and religious obligation. He has penetrated deep in the nature of things, and so far from being attached to his own opinion in opposition to any thing that had the appearance of truth, he actually revoked his sentiments concerning the freedom of the human will, in consequence of having read the late president Edwards' celebrated work on that subject. The truth is, in all the ancient histories we are led into doubts, nor have we any we can with safety depend on besides the sacred scriptures.

Historians relate with gravity the story of Regulus, others doubt its existence, and yet there is nothing at all surprising in it, when we consider the temper and genius of the Roman people. Xenophon gives us an account of the death of Cyrus very different from what we read in other authors concerning that illustrious hero, and where is the truth to be found.

The objections made by lord Kames against the truth of the scripture history, in consequence of the variety of complexions found in the world, is too weak to be used by a gentleman of his understanding. It is well known that the influence of the climate will at all times change the colours of men, and this in a few succeeding generations, will make it totally opposite to what it was before. We might here mention a particular book written by his lordship, wherein he has, without design, established this principle, and we are extremely sorry to say, that great talents and consistency are not always found united.

It is acknowledged by Christians, that the scripture history is a supernatural revelation, so that they give themselves no manner of trouble concerning

any cavils about it; but even allowing that we were obliged to abide by a heathen, or any sort of human testimony, yet the discovery of America might be accounted for on the rational principles. This we have in some measure attempted already, and therefore we shall at present go on to describe the ceremonies used by the idolators in that part of the world, beginning with Florida, and extending our enquiries into the other parts, till we come to speak of the Protestant religion in every part of the known world.

### *Religion of the Floridans.*

The inhabitants of Florida are idolators and acknowledge the sun and moon for deities, whom they worship without offering them either prayers or sacrifices. However, they have temples; but the only use they make of them is to bury their dead, and to lodge the most valuable part of their wealth in them. They also set up the spoils of their enemies at the gates of these temples, by way of trophies, and this is all the account the *lucá Garcilasso de la Vega* has given us of the religion of the Floridans. We may justly compare them to those idolatrous nations of antiquity, who worshipped whatever they thought odd or surprising, if it be true that the Floridans were so superstitious as to adore a pillar, which captain Ribaut had erected upon an eminence, with the arms of France, when he discovered that part of North America. They offered sacrifices to it, crowned it with flowers, and dressed it up with garlands and festoons; and in a word, they emitted no kind of homage.

The Floridans worship the devil under the name of *Toia*, or rather that evil principle whom they set up in opposition to their Supreme Deity. Firmly persuaded that it is impossible for this last principle to do them any hurt, because of his great innate goodness, and they only bend their endeavours to appease the other, who they say, torments them in a very grievous manner. The devil makes incisions in their flesh, terrifies them in visions, and from time to time appears to them, to force them to sacrifice men to his honour. In case the devil does not give himself the trouble to act on these occasions, the priests have nevertheless the interest of the people too much at heart, to be wanting in the duty they owe him. We may therefore with great probability suppose; that they themselves are the evil genius, and that they more than make up for that imaginary malice which the fear of the Floridans causes them to ascribe to it.

Another author has given us the following account of the religion of the Floridans. They adore



one sole creator of all things, to whom their great pontiff offers sacrifices; but they do not think the affairs of men deserve his care, and they say, that he commits the government of this lower world to subordinate and inferior Deities; or in other words, that he leaves it to the administration of good and evil spirits, to whom the priests of an inferior order offer sacrifices and other devotions.

The savages that inhabit about the mountains of Apalache worship the sun, as author of life and creator of nature. One would think they had preserved some footsteps of the flood; for they say, that the sun having retarded his ordinary course for twenty-four hours, the waters of the great lake Theoni overflowed in such a manner as to cover the tops of all the highest mountains, that of Olaimy excepted; which the sun preserved from the general inundation, because of the temple he had built thereon with his own hands, and the Apalaches afterwards consecrated as a place of pilgrimage, where it was usual for them to pay their religious homage to that planet, and all such as could shelter themselves in this place were preserved from the deluge. The four and twenty hours expired, the sun recovered his first strength, and commanding the waters to retire back to their just limits, scattered the vapours which they spread over the earth. It is in acknowledgement for this memorable deliverance, that the Floridans, called Apalaches, have thought themselves obliged to worship the sun, and here follows the manner how they adore him, and the particulars of that worship.

We shall begin with the worship of the Apalaches. Their religious service consists in saluting the rising sun, and singing hymns to his praise, and they pay him the same homage every evening. Besides this, they sacrifice to him, and offer solemn perfume in his honour, four times every year, on the mountains of Olaimy. But as they do not offer any bloody victim to this planet, because they look upon it as the parent of life, and think that he who bestows it on creatures, can scarcely delight in a worship that deprives them of it, we can hardly give the name of sacrifice to the offerings which they make it, since they consist only of perfumes which they burn, as presents which they make the priests, and in songs which they sing in honour of the glorious planet of the day.

On the eve of the festival appointed for the offering of perfumes, the priests withdraw into the mountains, the better to prepare themselves for this solemn act of the day following; and the people are satisfied if they get there before day-break. Fires are burning all night upon the mountain; but the devotees dare not approach the temple, or rather grotto, which is dedicated to the sun. The jouanas, or priests, only are allowed access to the religious

edifice, and it is to them that the devotees intrust their gifts and oblations, which the jouanas afterwards hang on poles, that are affixed on each side of the gate, where they remain till the ceremony is ended; after which they distribute them according to the donor's will.

The moment the sun begins to shine, the jouanas sing forth his praises, by falling several times upon their knees; after which they throw perfumes into the sacred fire that is lighted before the gate of the temple, and these two acts of worship are followed by a third no less essential. Then the priest pours honey into a stone made hollow for that purpose, and which stands before a stone table; and scatters about the stone a considerable quantity of maize, half bruised and cleared from its chaff. This is the food of certain birds, whom the Floridans tell us sing the praises of the sun, and whilst the priests are burning the perfumes, and sing to the honour of that planet, the people prostrate themselves and pay their devotions. The ceremony concludes with sports, dances, and diversions, and the most essential part of the festival ends at noon. Then the jouanas surround the table, repeating their songs and acclamations; and when the sun begins to gild the edges of the table with his rays, they throw all the perfumes they have left into the fire. The ceremony does not quite end here: after the last oblation of perfumes, six jouanas chosen by lot stay by the table, and set at liberty six birds of the sun, which they brought in cages, in order that they might act their part in the ceremony. After the mysterious deliverance of these birds follows a procession of devotees, who come down from the mountains with boughs in their hands, and go to the entrance of the temples, into which they are introduced by the jouanas. Lastly, the pilgrims wash their hands and faces with the sacred water. Such is the description of this ceremony, which we have borrowed from an author who has extracted it from the relations of two Englishmen.

The temple consecrated to the sun, and to its worship, by the Floridans of Apalache, is a spacious grotto, made by nature in the rock, on the east side of the mountain. We are told that it is two hundred feet long, and of an oval form; that the arched roof rises an hundred and twenty feet in height, and that there comes in light enough by a hole which goes quite through the top to illuminate the grotto.

Garcilasso, in his history of the conquest of Florida, gives a description of another temple of the Floridans of Cosaciqui, which seems to have been used only as a burying-place for the great men of the country. The Spaniards found in those temples great wooden trunks and chests, that were placed round the walls on benches two feet from the ground.

In these trunks dead bodies were laid, which were embalmed in such a manner, as not to cast forth an offensive smell, and there were also lesser chests, and reed baskets very curiously wrought. The little chests were filled with men and women's clothes, and the baskets with pearls of all sorts: for the temple of Talomeco was the burying-place of the Gaciques of the country; and the description which Garcilasso has given us thereof, justly merits to be inserted in this place. "The temple of Talomeco, which is the burying-place of the Gaciques, is, says he, above an hundred paces long and forty wide; the walls are of a height proportionable to it, and the roof is very much raised, to supply the defect of the tiles, and to give the greater slope to the waters. The roof is made of very slender reeds split in two, with which the Indians make very handsome mats, that are like the rush-carpets of the Moors. Five or six of these carpets, laid one upon another, keep the rain from piercing through, and the sun from coming into the temple; in which particular they are imitated by the common people and neighbours, who employ their mats to the same use. Upon the roof of this temple, a variety of shells of different sizes are set, and several fishes ranged in a very beautiful order. But it is scarce possible to think whence they were brought, since those people live so far distant from the sea, unless we suppose they took them out of the rivers with which that province is watered.

All the shells are placed inside out, to make the greater show; always setting that of a large sea snail between two little ones, with spaces between the several pieces, filled with several strings of pearls of different sizes, like so many festoons, fastened from one shell to the other. These festoons of pearl, which reach from the top to the bottom, heightened by the lustre of the mother-of-pearl, and of the shells, look wonderfully pretty when the sun shines upon them. The gates of the temple are proportionable to the bigness of it, and at the entrance of it are twelve gigantic statues made of wood. They are represented with so savage and threatening an air, that the Spaniards stood a considerable time to view them; and indeed those figures were worth the admiration of ancient Rome. One would imagine that those giants had been set there to guard the door; for they make a lane on both sides, and lessen gradually in bulk. The first are eight feet high, and the rest something less, decreasing gradually in height like the pipes of an organ.

They have weapons answerable to their stature; the first on each side have clubs set off with copper, which they hold lifted up, and as it were ready to fall on those who should be so bold as to enter in; the second have pail-axes; and the third a kind of oar; the fourth copper-axes, the edges of which are

made of flint; the fifth stand with their bows bent, ready to let fly the arrow. These arrows are very curiously wrought, the tips of which are made of a piece of stag's horn, very nicely wrought, or else of flint-stone whetted as sharp as a sword. The last have very long pikes tipped with copper at both ends and stand in a threatening posture like the rest; all after a different but very natural manner.

The top of the walls in the inside of the temple, is adorned agreeably to the outside of the roof; for there is a kind of cornice made of large sea snail shells, ranged in very good order, with festoons of pearl between them, hanging from the roof. In the space between the shells and pearls, is seen in the hollow place which joins to the roof, a great number of feathers of various colours, set in a beautiful order, and besides this order above the cornice, there hangs from all the other sides of the roof several feathers and strings of pearls, all held together by imperceptible threads, fixed at the top and bottom, in such a manner that those works seem ready to fall every moment.

Under this ceiling and cornice, and round the temple on the four sides, are two rows of statues, standing one above another, the one of men and the other of women, of the size of the people of the country. Their several niches which are made only as an ornament to the wall, join to one another, which would otherwise have been too naked; and all the men have weapons in their hands, on which are rolls of pearls, each consisting of four or five rows, with tufts at the end, made of very fine thread of various colours, but the statues of the women have nothing in their hands.

At the foot of these walls are set wooden benches very well wrought, on which the coffins of the lords of the province, and those of their families are placed. Two feet above those coffins, the statues of the persons buried there are set in niches in the wall, and they represent them exactly as they were at the time of their deaths. The women have nothing in their hands, but the men armed.

The space between the images of the deceased persons, and two rows of statues which begin beneath the cornice, is filled with shields of different magnitude, made of reeds so strongly interwoven, as not to be penetrated by a cross bow, or a gun; and these shields are all garnished with pearl and tufts of several colours, which make them much more beautiful. In the middle of the temple are three rows of boxes or chests, set on benches separated from one another. The largest of these chests serve as bases to the lesser, and these to the least; these pyramids consist generally of five or six chests. As there is a space between the several benches, the passage is left clear, so that one may see every thing that passes in the temple.

All these chests are full of pearls, the largest pearls are in the greatest chests, and so in proportion to the least, which are filled with nothing but seed pearl. These were in such prodigious quantities, that the Spaniards affirmed, that nine hundred men, with three hundred horses, would not have sufficed to carry away at once all the pearls deposited in that temple. However, this will be found not so extraordinary, since we are told that the Americans of this province, deposited every individual pearl they had met with in several ages together, in those chests. And hence we may infer, that had the Spaniards kept all the gold and silver which they have brought from Peru in their hands, they would by this time have had enough to cover a great number of their churches. They also found a great number of shamoy, or wild goat skins of different colours, besides several sorts of skins with the hair dyed of different colours: several gowns of cats, martens, and other skins, which were all as well dressed as they could have been in Germany or Muscovy.

Round this temple, every part of which was very neat and clean, was a great store-house, divided into eight halls of equal bigness, which were a great ornament to it, and the Spaniards went into them, and found them filled with military weapons. In the first were long pikes tipped with very fine copper, and set off with rings of pearl, which go three or four times round. That part of the pike which lies on the shoulder, is adorned with shamoy of various colours, having tufts of pearls at the end of it, which make them much more beautiful. In the second hall were clubs like those of the giants, set off with rings of pearl, and adorned up and down with tufts of different colours, set round with pearls. In the third were pole-axes, embellished like the rest; in the fourth were a kind of spears, set off with tufts near the iron and the handle; in the fifth were a kind of oars, adorned with pearls and fringes, and in the sixth were very beautiful bows and arrows. Some were armed with flint stones, sharpened at the end like a bodkin, swords, iron pikes, or points of a dagger with a double edge. The bows were enamelled with several colours, shining and garnished with pearls in several places; and in the seventh hall were bucklers made of wood and cow hides, brought from far, adorned with pearls and coloured tufts. In the eighth were shields made of reeds, finely interwoven and set off with tufts and seed pearls.

Some savages of Florida sacrifice their first-born to the sun, or rather to their sovereigns; at least it is certain, that this cruel ceremony is performed in presence of one of those princes or Caciques, whom they call Paraousti. Whilst the mother of the infant covers her face, weeps and groans over the stone against which the victim is to be dashed to pieces,

and the women who accompany her sing and dance in a circle, another woman stands in the midst of the ring, holding the child in her arms, and shewing it at a distance to the Paraousti. This woman dances in the same manner as the rest of her companions, singing at the same time the praises of the Paraousti. After this the priest, surrounded with six other Floridans, dashes out the child's brains; but we are to observe, that the victim must always be a male infant. The same savages offer to the sun, with great solemnity, the representation of a stag; and chuse for that purpose the skin of the largest stag they can meet with. They first stuff it with all kinds of herbs; then adorn it with fruits and flowers, and lift it to the top of a high tree, with its head turned towards the rising sun. This ceremony is performed every year about the end of February, and is always accompanied with prayers and songs, which are chanted forth by the Paraousti and one of the principal jounas at the head of those devotees. The Floridans beseech the sun to bless the fruits of the earth, and preserve its fruitfulness, and leave the stag's skin hanging on the tree till the year following.

They have another remarkable festival, at which the people assemble under the direction of a Paraousti, in order to go and pay their devotions to Toia. Travellers not knowing what Toia was, at once gave it the name of the devil, and we have already observed, that Toia is the evil principle. Be that as it will, this ceremony appears to be an act of contrition, or deep sorrow of mind, by which they imagine they shall obtain the favour of that idol.—The Floridans meet together in a large open place, which the women adorn and get ready the day before the ceremony. The assembly is no sooner drawn up in a ring, but three jounas, painted from head to foot with various kinds of colours, present themselves in the midst of it with drums, dancing and singing to the sound of them, making extraordinary wry faces, and throwing themselves into a thousand fantastic shapes. The assembly answers in chorus to the music of the priests, who have no sooner danced up and down three or four times, but they suddenly quit the diversion, and fly to the woods. It is there they consult Toia; and this mysterious flight interrupts the devotion, but the women continue it during the whole day with tears and howlings. These cut and slash the arms of the young girls with muscle-shells, and throw into the air the blood which streams from the wounds, as a homage due to Toia, invoking that idol thrice. Two days after the jounas return from the woods, where they had withdrawn themselves to consult it, and dance upon the very same spot which they had left so suddenly.—The dance concludes with an entertainment, for as they had fasted three days, it would have been almost



im possible for them to have continued any longer without eating: but they were indispensibly obliged to fast, since the gods reveal themselves with greater freedom to such as observe that duty. The brain, on these occasions, is not clouded by those vapours which arise from food, and is more susceptible of the impressions of enthusiasm.

Their priests, like those of the other American nations, are likewise physicians, as also the Paraousti's counsellors and ministers of state. They carry themselves under this tripple character with gravity and modesty, and are surprisingly abstemious. Before their promotion to the priesthood, they are obliged to submit to a very long discipline under the direction of other priests, who instruct them in the mysteries of religion, and prepare their minds, as it were, for the reception of those ideas which they are to instil afterwards into the people. They are trained up in fasting, abstinence, retirement, and in a deprivation of the pleasures of sense; but then its asperities are softened by visions, and an intimate correspondence with the Deity. This is the account that travellers give of it, which, whether it be exact in every particular, we shall not take upon us to determine. However, we are not to doubt but the old priests tell their young fry that they must at least appear thoroughly convinced of the holiness of a vocation, which invests them at one and the same time with power both over body and soul; and this discipline continues three years.

They hang at their girdles a bag filled with physical herbs, and other medicaments; which is also the custom of the Virginian priests. They are pretty well skilled in the particular uses of medicaments, and the properties of simples. They also employ vomits, sweating and lancing, and they do not wipe away the blood which runs from the wounds, but suck it with their mouths, and often through a straw or reed. The Floridans are of opinion, that it is impossible but the breath and touch of the medico-priests must be of service to the sick. A modern writer informs us, that the priest mumbles over certain words on these operations, but if all these medicines are of no effect, the bath is prescribed; and if that fails, he sets the sick person at the door of his hut, with his face turned towards the rising sun; when the medico-priest earnestly entreats that planet to restore the sick man to his health, by the gentle influence of its light; and this is the last refuge of both patient and physician.

These priests are clothed in a mantle of skins, cut into pieces of unequal bigness; which dress is sometimes made in the form of a long gown, and in this case they tie it about them with a leather girdle, at which the bag hangs in which they put their medicaments. They go with their arms and feet uncovered, and wear a fur cap made like a cone, and

their heads are often adorned with feathers, which they wear instead of a cap.

The Floridans are of a very revengeful temper, which is also peculiar to the rest of the American nations. The former, to stir themselves up to vengeance, hold certain assemblies, in which one of them is placed by himself at a distance: then another rises up, and taking a javelin in his hand, strikes the former with all his strength, the wounded person not offering so much as to flinch; after this the dart is presented to others, who all strike him till he falls down wounded to the ground. This being done, the women and young people raise him with tears in their eyes; give him casina to drink, which is the common liquor of their warriors, and convey him to a hut, where they again weep round him. The women and maidens get ready some medicaments to heal his wounds, the assembly at the same time drinking, rejoicing, and singing the brave exploits of their ancestors, and stirring up one another to revenge. The whole solemnity is a commemoration of the death of their countrymen; and the wounded man is, in their eyes, an image of all the ill treatment they have met with from their enemies; and this spectacle inspires the whole nation with an irreconcilable hatred.

Before their marching out to war, they hold a council, in which the Jounas give their opinion; and nothing is there resolved upon, till they have first been made privy to it, and also consulted the oracle of their idol. The fumes of the casina contribute no less than the oracle to their taking those desperate resolutions, which are the only ones they are sensible of, but none except the warriors are allowed to drink casina, nor they neither, till after having first given proofs of their valour.

Before they set out upon their expeditions, the Paraousti turns himself towards the sun, conjuring it at the same time to be propitious to him, when taking water in a wooden porringer, having first broke out into several imprecations against the enemy, he throws the water up in the air in such a manner, that part of it falls down again upon the warriors, crying aloud, at the same time, "May you in like manner shed the blood of your enemies!" He then takes some water a second time, which he throws upon the fire that stands by him, and addressing himself to the same warriors, "May you, says he, destroy your enemies as speedily as I put out this fire!" Both these ceremonies are accompanied with hideous cries and pathetic wry faces.

Those of the Jounas whom they consult upon the fate of the expedition, are altogether as whimsical; for the pretended magician lays himself upon a shield, in a posture which it would be needless to express. He recovers himself out of that unnatural posture, after having continued a quarter of an hour

in the most violent agitations, made the most frightful wry faces, and thrown himself into as violent distortions as the highest convulsions could have occasioned. Then the god leaves his minister, who now grown frantic, rises up, goes to the Paraousti, and acquaints him with the result of the spiritual conference; relates to him the number of his enemies, the manner of their encampment, and the success of the expedition; of all which we are assured they give a perfect account.

They scalp their enemies in the same manner as other nations of North America, and hang the legs and arms of their slain upon poles set up for that purpose. An assembly gathers round those poles to hear the curses which a Joutana pronounces against their enemies; and three men kneel before the priest, who has a little idol in his hand. One of these beats three times with a club upon a stone, and answers the priest's imprecations, during which the other two sing to the noise of their gourd-bottles.

Such women as have lost their husbands in war, implore the assistance of the Paraousti, and present themselves before him with eyes full of tears: A surprising testimony of the love they bare him! Whether this grief be real or feigned, we are not to doubt; but these tears are of great service in stirring up the revenge of the warriors. Their hermaphrodites, whom we before observed to live a very odd kind of life, are employed in carrying their burthens and provisions for war; and they also make use of them to carry their sick and wounded. These hermaphrodites wear long hair like women, and are very much despised by their warriors.

The Floridan women above-mentioned are not satisfied with shedding tears at the king's feet, to excite him to revenge the unhappy deaths of their husbands, but weep and groan over their graves; and as a testimony of their conjugal affection, these disconsolate widows cut their hair quite off, and scatter it over them. Some people, who are so silly as to believe that a husband's death merits an eternity of affliction, would cry out that they would never alter their condition; but such are greatly mistaken, for they, as well as our widows, have their stated times of widowhood. The Floridan women are not allowed to marry again till their hair is grown as long as it was before, that is, till it descends below their shoulders.

They inter their Paraousti in the most magnificent manner possible; for the sepulchre is surrounded with arrows with the points fixed to the ground; and over it is placed the cup which the monarch made use of in his life-time. They spend three days in tears and fasting over the grave, by way of honouring his memory, and the Paraousti, with his allies, benoan his death with the same solemnity, for they

shave their heads as a testimony of their affliction. In fine, hired she-mourners lament his death through every day, viz. in the morning, at noon, and at night for six months together; and they burn every thing that belonged to him in his life-time; and observe the same ceremony at the death of their priests.—They burn them in their houses; after which they set fire to the house and every thing that is in it; and we are told, that the Floridans, after having burnt those sacred bodies, beat the bones to powder, and a year afterwards give them to the deceased's relations to drink. The Floridans of those provinces which Ferdinand de Soto visited, burned living slaves along with their monarchs, to wait upon them in the other world.

The inhabitants of Apalache embalm the bodies of their relations and deceased friends, and leave them almost three months in the balm. They are afterwards dried with aromatic drugs, wrapped up in rich furs, and laid in cedar coffins, which the relations keep for twelve moons at their own houses: They then carry it to the neighbouring forest, and bury it at the foot of a tree. But they shew a greater regard for the bodies of the Paraousties; for they first embalm them, and then dress them up with all their ornaments, set them off with feathers and necklaces, and afterwards keep them for three years together in the apartment where they died, all which time they lay in those wooden coffins above-mentioned; at the expiration of which, they are deposited in the sepulchres of their predecessors upon the side of the mountain of Olaimy. They are let down into a cave, the mouth of which they stop with great flint-stones, hanging on the branches of the neighbouring trees the weapons they made use of in war, as so many testimonies of their bravery. It is further said, that the nearest relations plant a cedar near the cave, which they dress with care in honour of the deceased, and whenever the tree dies they immediately plant another in its place.

The Apalachites believe in the immortality of the soul, and that those who have lived a life of virtue are carried up into heaven and lodged among the stars; but they fix the habitation of the wicked in the precipices of the high mountains of the north, among the bears, and in the midst of ice and snow. The other nations of these wide extended countries believe also that the good shall be rewarded and the wicked punished after this life. They call heaven the high world, and by way of opposition, the lower world, that which shall be the eternal habitation of the wicked. Cupai, that evil genius, whom the rest of the Floridans call Toia, and we the devil, reigns in this latter place.

The Indians of Carolina believe the transmigra-







*A King of Florida consulting his Magician  
previous to his going to Battle*

tion of souls; and whenever any of them die, they bury provisions and some utensils along with them for their use.

We shall take notice of one custom of the Floridans of Hirriga, which has some relation to that of the Apalachites. These savages bury their dead in forests, and they lay their bodies in wooden coffins covered over with boards, which are not fixed to one another, but held down only by the weight of some stones or pieces of wood, which they lay upon the coffin; and as the province of Florida abounds with a great number of wild beasts, they appoint slaves to guard the bodies.

The Indians of Florida generally marry but one wife, who is obliged to be true to her husband, upon pain of being exposed to a shameful punishment, or even of being put to a cruel death. The great men of the nation dispense with the custom which allows but one wife to the common people, for they marry as many as they please; but then one of them only is looked on as the lawful wife, all the rest being considered as concubines. The offspring of the latter do not enjoy an equal portion of their father's wealth as the children of the former do.

The Apalachites do not marry out of their families, and among them parents often make a match for their children from their infant years, who ratify what they had agreed upon when they come to age.—They are allowed to marry in any degree of consanguinity, next to that of brother and sister.

The latter give to their male children, the names of the enemies they have killed, of the villages to which they have set fire, or of such of their prisoners as have died in war. The girls bear the names of their deceased mothers or grand-mothers, for they observe never to let two persons of the same family go by the same name. Both boys and girls are under the mother's direction till twelve years of age, after which the father undertakes the education of the boys.

We are assured, that husbands have no commerce with their wives from the time of their breeding till after their lying-in; and they are even so scrupulous as not to eat any thing they may have touched during the time of their child-bearing.

The Floridans who inhabit near Panuco, do not marry young, and nevertheless we are assured, they are scarce maids by the time they are ten or twelve years of age. The women of the Lucayan islands wear a cotton apron for modesty sake; and their young women wear them as soon as they are fit for marriage.

The Floridans of Carolina make use of hieroglyphics and emblems to record their events. They take care to instruct their children in every thing which relates to their families and their nation, in order that the history of them may be transmitted to

the latest posterity. They erect a little stone pyramid in those places where a battle has been fought, or a colony settled; and the number of the slain, to that of the founders, or of those who first inhabited the place on which these pyramids are erected as seen by the number of stones.

Before we conclude this account of the ancient Floridans, it will be necessary to take notice of the present state of the country, because a remarkable change has taken place in some parts of it. In 1761, Spain declared war against England, and the consequence proved fatal to them, for many of their most valuable settlements were taken.

At the peace of Versailles, 1763, the English obtained possession of Florida, or at least some part of it, and ever since some of our British subjects have been settled there. This has opened a way for the civilization of the people, and missionaries have been appointed to preach amongst them.

These concurring circumstances have opened a way for the making of new discoveries, and it is not to be doubted, but that as soon as peace is restored, this colony of ours will be the means of conveying, to many of the heathens in America, the knowledge of the gospel. This indeed, is one of the great ends Protestants should always have in view, when they make settlements among the heathens. If the papists spared no pains to propagate their superstition, why should Protestants be remiss in seeking to make the purity of their divine religion known?

No excuse can be pleaded for such a neglect, because it is wilful, and proceeds from our not setting a proper value on the precious immortal souls of our fellow-creatures. Who can read the accounts we have already given of these Floridans without horror? And what man, who knows the benefits of Christianity, would not desire to see them equally happy with himself? For this purpose, let a few of our luxuries be retrenched, that we may have an opportunity of laying up treasures in heaven, by diffusing the knowledge of the gospel among the most remote nations. God has given us the means, and he will exact from us an account of the use we make of them. It is necessary, therefore, that we should attend carefully to these things, because the neglect of them will not only be an injury to those who are in want of our assistance, but it will also aggravate our guilt, because we were destitute of bowels of compassion to those who, of all others, stood the most in need of our assistance.

#### *Religion of the savages of Hudson's Bay.*

Hudson's Bay is so far to the northward of America, that were it not for the trade we have



established there, it would be difficult to give a proper account of it. Its territories are supposed to join to those of Russia or Siberia, but an exact discovery of this has never yet been made. It is true, some have attempted it, but we may venture to affirm, that till government gives a proper premium to the adventurers, few will undertake to go through the danger attending it. This, however, we shall leave to providence, in directing the councils of princes, and just observe what the religion of the people is at present, who have not embraced Christianity.

The savages near Hudson's Bay, have very dark confused notions of religion, for they have a variety of different gods, or rather idols, and address them according to their fancies. Indeed, the licentious vagrant lives of these savages, prevent them from attending to any proper notions of religion, or of the true God. They are not amenable, however, to the good or ill fortune that happens to them, for like the Manchians in the primitive times of Christianity, they seem to adore two principles, the one good and the other evil. They believe the sun to be the good, and the moon the evil principle, which has some affinity with the opinion of the ancients, who ascribed evil and pernicious effects to the moon.

These savages whom we are writing of, seem to consider the sun as the sovereign of the universe, for they offer him tobacco instead of incense, and this is what they call smoking the sun. This ceremony is performed in the following manner:—

The chiefs of the families assemble by day break, at the house of one of their principal men, where the latter lights the tobacco, and offers it to the sun, and waving it with his hands according to its course, till it comes to the points from whence it first began; he addresses his prayers at the same time, to the sun, implores his protection, beseeches him to direct him in his undertaking, and recommends all the families of the district or canton to his care.—After this, the chief smokes the tobacco, and then gives it to every one in his turn.

It may not be improper in this place to give a description of the instrument used by them in their religious smoking, which they call the Calumet.—It is a kind of very long pipe, made of red stones, adorned with the heads of wood-pickers, and of a kind of ducks that perch upon trees. The heads of those birds are of the finest scarlet colour in the world, and all their feathers are extremely beautiful. In the middle of the tube, or body of the Calumet, they hang or fix certain feathers taken from the wing of a bird which they call Kibon, pretty much resembling an eagle, and they always incense the Calumet before they begin any warlike expedition. But we have a still more accurate description of this in-

strument called a Calumet, by father Henepin, a learned Jesuit, who visited those parts, and resided there several years.

He says it is a great large smoking pipe, of red, white, or black inarble, pretty much like a battle-axe, with a very smooth head. The tube, which is above two feet and a half long, is made of a strong reed or cane, set off with feathers of all sorts of colours, with several mats made of women's hair, variously interwoven. To this they fix two wings, which make it resemble, in some measure, the words used by ambassadors among the ancients when they concluded a peace. They thrust this reed through the necks of theards, or tears, which are birds speckled with black and white, and about the big-ness of our geese, or through the necks of the above-mentioned ducks.

These ducks are of several different colours, and every nation both make and adore the Calumet in what manner they please, or rather according to their own ancient usages. The Calumet is a passport to all those who remove from one place to another, and being a symbol of peace, they are universally of opinion, that some signal vengeance would befall the person who should presume to break the faith of it. It is the seal of all public undertakings, of all important affairs, and all sacred ceremonies. But to return to the other religious ceremonies of these people.

The ceremony of smoking the sun is never performed but on the most extraordinary occasions, for in common things they address their prayers to some small images which they carry along with them, and which are commonly given them by their jugglers. Some of them imagine that the storms are raised by the moon, who, in their opinion, sometimes lodges in the bottom of the sea.

To pacify her, therefore, they sacrifice to her the most valuable things they have in their canoe, and throw every thing into the sea, not excepting even their tobacco. This sacrifice is preceded with singing, and certain other ceremonies which are efficacious in driving out this evil spirit. In all this there seems to be but little difference between them and the ancients, for they are far from being so barbarous as the Floridians already mentioned.

To know the issue of any affair, they address themselves to their jugglers, who pronounce their oracles with great ceremony, and in a manner that is artful enough. The juggler fixes poles in the ground, and thereon raises a circular hut, which he surrounds with the skins of caribons, or other animals, leaving a hole at the top wide enough for a man to pass through. Here the artful juggler shuts himself up alone, where he sings, sheds tears, tumbles up and down, torments himself, invokes, breaks out into imprecations and exorcisms. He then re-





*Habits of Esquimaux, Indians. - Natives of Hudson's Bay  
 Among whom the Missionaries have formed Settlements*



ceives an answer in a thundering voice ; all which is consistent with the notions the heathens in general form of the Divine Being.

This makes them believe that their gods must always deliver their answers to their prayers in a thundering voice ; nay, they imagine that no answer can come from the gods, unless it, in some measure, less or more, disorders the laws of nature. This would be undoubtedly true ; but what these infatuated people believe to be the voice of the Supreme Being, is no other than a trick contrived by their jugglers to impose on the people, and support their own authority.

As soon as the noise is heard, the juggler's enthusiasm breaks out in a murmuring noise, like that of a rock falling, when all the poles and stakes are shaken with so much violence, that one would imagine all was coming to the ground. It is in the midst of these sacred agitations that the juggler pronounces the oracle, than which nothing can be more artful, for he takes the opportunity of the people's minds being disordered by fear.

In their marriage ceremonies they are very different from the Floridians. They marry as many wives as they can maintain, and nothing is more common than to find four or five sisters married to one man. She that has the first child enjoys several privileges which the others do not, so that she is considered as the head of the family next to the husband. This is generally the case wherever polygamy is tolerated. The moment a savage becomes in love with a woman, he reveals his passion, and in order to obtain the end of his wishes, he gives an entertainment to her relations. He makes her father some presents, and no sooner has he obtained the parents' consent, than he takes her home without any farther ceremony. They never marry with an intention of binding themselves to each other for life, for they cohabit together no longer than they are pleased with each other. This practice prevails throughout most of the other nations in North America, of which we shall take some farther notice afterwards.

They bury their dead with as much pomp as possible, they dress them, paint their faces and bodies with different colours, after which they lay them in coffins, made of the bark of trees, the outsides of which they make smooth with light pumice stones. They then set up a pallisade round the tomb, which is always raised seven or eight feet from the ground.

They also make entertainments for their dead, very suitable to their own manners and customs in other respects. Every thing is sad and mournful, suitable to the circumstances of the occasion. The relations of the deceased keep a deep silence, and will not allow dancing and singing. All the guests make presents to the parents and other relations of the deceased, which they throw at their feet, saying,

at the same time, " This is to cover him, this is to make a hut for him, this is to surround his grave," and so on they mention other necessities.

We must not conclude this article without taking notice, that many of these people are more civilized in their manners since the English established a company to trade there. This shews the great advantage of commerce, and the proper use that should always be made of it ; namely, to polish the minds of a rude ignorant people, that they may enjoy the benefits of society, and the blessings of religion.

### *Religion of the Caribbee islands.*

These islands, like the rest of America, were unknown to Europeans, or at least they were unfrequented by them, till the time of Columbus, in the latter end of the fifteenth century. It was found, that at that time, there were many inhabitants in them ; but they were all idolators. It cannot be ascertained, whether by some accident or other these islands, or some of them, might not have been peopled before the continent of America, but perhaps, upon a nearer inspection, the contrary will appear more probable.

It is almost established as a maxim that America was, for the most part, peopled from the continent of Europe, and if so, it must have been from the more northerly parts. The only objection to the contrary is, that some learned men have asserted that colonies were sent from Africa, but of this we have treated already at large, so that it will not be necessary to resume the subject.

It is sufficient for us that it was found inhabited by many people when Columbus first discovered it, and knowing the near affinity that the northern parts of Russia, have with the northern extremity of America, we are naturally led to rest satisfied, that the continent of that vast territory was peopled before the islands.

It was no difficult matter for the natives of the continent to go over to the islands in their canoes, one of which is now to be seen in the British Museum. These canoes are very curiously constructed, and capable of conveying people in an easy manner, from one place to another, where the voyages are not long. It is probable, that the situation of islands in sight of each other, first furnished men with the idea of navigation, and from building small canoes they came at last to construct large vessels.—The violence of a storm might drive them out of their course, and providence might direct them to an unknown shore.

We have been the more particular in our conjectures concerning the origin of these people, because



we, as British subjects, have at present a very near connection with some of them. The avarice of the Europeans has extended so far, that whenever a war takes place, one or other of these islands become the properties of new masters. It is to this circumstance that those people have been so long kept in a state of ignorance; for the Roman Catholics have left nothing undone to make them superstitious devotees to the worship of saints and images, and Protestants, who attempted to convert them to a rational and spiritual religion, found all their designs frustrated, in consequence of the ambition of princes, who commenced wars against each other before such a salutary end could be answered. We shall therefore proceed to consider what these islands were when the Spaniards invaded them, what they are still considered under the notion of idolatry, and what they are at present in consequence of the extension of commerce, and the connection they have with trade.

The Spaniards have destroyed the greatest part of these islanders, and the rest of the Europeans, who copied after them, have not treated them much better; but still none of them have been able to deprive those unhappy savages of the liberty of exclaiming against their injustice, and the cruelties they have suffered under the government of their new masters. You have driven me out of my habitation, says the Caribbee, which you had not the least right to do, neither can you have the least pretensions to it.—You are continually threatening to turn me out of the little that is left me; must then the poor Caribbee be forced to take up his habitation in the sea with the fishes: Your own country must certainly be very miserable, since you quit it to turn me out of mine; and whence is it that you take so much pleasure in tormenting me? Ambition and avarice have almost obliterated in our minds all the maxims of the gospel. Our conquests will indeed have one specious pretext, viz. that of winning over the souls of the Americans to Christ; but then a converted Indian will answer, “Why do you not therefore consider me as a brother, since Christianity sets mankind in a state of freedom, and at the same time that it exhorts us to humility, fills our minds with a spirit of tenderness and humanity; a spirit which you have never once breathed with regard to us? To this we make no other answer, than that our interest calls for their subjection; that we want slaves to cultivate our land; that we have dispossessed these savages of them in order to improve them; and to search into their bowels for wealth, of which they were wholly ignorant; and so great is our infatuation, as to imagine that these venal motives suit with the gentle spirit of Christianity. But surely this cannot surprize us, when it is to be considered that some have endeavoured to justify the

cruel havoc which has been made of the Americans by principles drawn from religion; and have fancied the behaviour of the Israelites towards the Canaanites gave a sufficient sanction to these barbarous proceedings!

The almost total extirpation of the Caribbees gave occasion to this digression; they seem to have been destroyed with a more violent spirit of fury than the rest of the Americans; and one would think that their conquerors, in order to palliate their inhuman butcheries, had endeavoured to make them pass for the most unnatural monsters, who had neither law, nor religion; and, in a word, who had nothing human about them but their shape.

If we may believe Rochefort, the Caribbees so far from worshipping a Deity, have not so much as any word to express it by; so that whenever we speak to them concerning the Supreme Being, we are obliged to make use of a great deal of circumlocution, to give them an idea thereof. They consider the earth as a kind parent that nourishes her creatures; but they do not understand what we mean by divine essence, or the other mysteries of religion. The same is related of the greatest part of the Americans; and it is probable they confuse these barbarians with too great a multitude of ideas and arguments. They are for having them comprehend the Deity at once in the same manner as we do, and require them to believe at the first word, and on their bare word, a set of people who declare certain mysteries to them, of the truth whereof they themselves were not convinced till after long experience, a continual course of study, and a multitude of reflections; to all which, a catechism taught them in their youth, had led the way, the better to prepare their minds for imbibing the principles of the Christian faith. If it be true, that these savages have not capacity enough to understand abstracted subjects, we ought before all things to polish their minds, form them to reflection, and make them men before we go about to make them Christians.

The Caribbees acknowledge a good and an evil principle, and call them Maboia. Rochefort tells us, that they believe there are a multitude of good spirits, and that each savage imagines he has one to himself, to whom they give the name of Chemen. Other travellers tell us, they say Louque or Looko was the first man, from whom all mankind are descended; that he created fishes, and rose again three days after his death, and afterwards ascended into heaven. That after Louque's departure, the terrestrial animals were created. They believe that the earth and sea were created, but not the heavens.—They have also some idea of the flood, and ascribe the cause of it to the wickedness of mankind in those ages. Maboia, they say, is the author of eclipses; and that notwithstanding their firm persuasion of the

power and malice of this evil spirit, they nevertheless pray to it; but then it is after a very irregular manner, without having any fixed time or place for that purpose; without once endeavouring to know him; without having the least distinct idea of him; without having the least love for him; and, in a word, only to prevent him doing them any harm.—Whereas they say, that since the good principle is kind and beneficent, it were needless to pray to it. And the savages mentioned in the preceding articles have the same sentiments. They are of opinion that the sun presides over the stars, and that the latter are Cheimens, who are supposed to superintend over meteors and storms. We are not to omit, that these savages have their heroes, or rather demigods, who are now stars and Cheimens.

They offer Cassave, and the first of their fruits to their Cheimens; and sometimes out of gratitude make a feast to their honour. Rochefort tells us, that these offerings were not accompanied with either adoration or prayers, they placing them only at one corner of the hut on a table made of rushes and of Iatanira, a tree which grows in that country. Here the spirits assemble to eat and drink those oblations; a proof of which is, that the Caribbees assure us, that they hear the vessels in which the presents had been laid, move up and down, as also the noise which the mouths of those gods make at the time of their eating.

The same author relates, that they make little images resembling the form under which Maboia reveals himself to them, in order to prevent his doing them any harm. They wear those images about their necks, and pretend that it gives them ease; and that they fast and slash themselves for his sake. We are obliged to observe in this place, that Rochefort, father Labat, la Borde, and some others, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, unanimously declare, that these people are tormented with the evil spirit, who beats, scratches, nay, even wounds them in a most cruel manner, in order to force them to execute all his injunctions with the utmost exactness, and all which may be true for what we know. We have already observed, that the North Americans are also afraid of being tormented by the devil; and shall find in the sequel of this work, that those of South America are exposed to the same persecution. Father Labat assures us, that the power of this angel of darkness has no manner of ascendancy in those places where a cross is set up; and Rochefort informs us, that the devil has not the power to torture the savages when they are in the Christians. The savages, whenever the grand adversary of mankind begins to afflict them, run as fast as possible into the next Christian house they meet with, where they find a sure asylum against all the assaults of that furious assailant; and he adds, that

baptism infallibly preserves those savages from the devil's blows. From these two authorities received from persons whose principles are so very different, we may, however, draw this inference, that the devil is equally afraid both of Protestants and Roman Catholics.

They have an infinite number of omens and superstitions, two of which only shall be mentioned.—They pretend that bats are Cheimens whose office it is to watch during the night. They often preserve the hair or the bones of some of their deceased relations in a gourd-bottle, which they consult upon occasion; and their Boias, whom we are going to mention, make them believe that the spirits of the deceased acquaint them with the designs of their enemies.

These Boias, who are the medico-priests of the Caribbees, have each their particular genius, whom they pretend to conjure up by humming over certain words, and the smoke of tobacco. They never call upon this genius or demon but in the night-time, and that too in a place where there is neither fire nor light. We are that these Boias are wizards, and have the secret of killing their enemies with charms which they employ against them.

The old Boias make all their candidates to the priesthood go through a pretty severe discipline; for the novice is obliged from his infancy to abstain from several kinds of meats, and even to live upon bread and water in a little hut, where he is visited by no body but his masters, who make incisions in his skin. But they do not stop here; for they give him tobacco-juice, which, as it purges him in a violent manner, frees him, say they, from all terrestrial uncleanness, and prepares his mind for the reception of the Chemen. They then rub his body over with gum, which they afterwards cover over with feathers, in order to make him exact and diligent in his consultations of the genii, and ready to obey their orders. Nay, they teach him to cure the diseased, and to conjure up the spirit.

The Caribbees ascribe their diseases to Maboia; and as those people are observed to be of a very melancholy cast of mind, we may probably suppose that the nocturnal apparitions of the devil, and the torments which he inflicts upon them, are in reality no more than the chimeras of a brain very susceptible of the impressions of fear. We may ascribe part of the magical operations of the American priests to the same cause; for to impute them all would be going too far. Whenever they are desirous of knowing the issue of any illness with which they are troubled, they first lay the offering intended for Maboia upon a Matoutou, and then send for a Boia in the night-time, who immediately orders the fire to be put out, and turns out all those persons of whom he has the least suspicion. After this he goes

into a corner, where he orders the patient to be brought to him, then smokes a leaf of tobacco, part of which he bruises in his hands, and snapping his fingers at the same time, blows what he had rubbed into the air. The odour of this perfume brings the Chemen, who answers the demand of the Boia; when the latter draws near to his patient, feels, presses, and handles several times successively that part where the pain lies, if it be an outward one; pretending at the same time, to draw out that which occasions it, and often sucks it. These savages also make use of the bath and lancing. If this consultation with the spirit does not give the patient any ease, the Boia physician resumes his priestly function, and after having given the patient some consolation, to prepare him for his journey to the next world, he declares to him that his god, or, if the reader pleases, his devil, is desirous of his company, and to deliver him from the miseries of this life.

If the sick person recovers, they make a feast in honour of Maboia, and set victuals and drink for him upon a Matoutou. The Cassave and the Ovicou, which they present to him, continue all night upon the table, and as, to speak with these savages, the spirit eats and drinks only in a spiritual manner, every thing they had set for him over night is found untouched in the morning. The Boia takes possession of these oblations, and the Caribbees look upon them with so much awe and veneration, that none but their old men and the chief persons of the nation are allowed to touch them. When the feast is ended, they black the patient with juniper apples, which make him as ugly as the devil himself. They have frequently feasts, or rather drunken entertainments, and it is in this manner they solemnize the return from an expedition, the birth of their children, the time appointed for the cutting off their hair, and that of their beginning to go to war.—The holding a council of war, the felling of any wood or grove, the grubbing up of a piece of ground, the building of a canoe, are all considered as solemnities. They call these feasts assemblies, or drunken entertainments.

They observe a fast upon their arriving at the state of puberty, and their being made captains, upon the death of a father or mother, wife or husband; this last article is very surprising after what has been before observed of the little affection which we are assured a husband has for his wife, and, as we may naturally suppose, a wife for her husband. If that saying be true, that friendship always meets with a reciprocal return, and that according to the maxim of count de Bussi Rabutin, all those who love are sure of being beloved, it may on the other side be as true, that hatred will be repaid with hatred. The Caribbees also fast after having killed an Arouague, that is, an enemy. They have no stated time for

holding their assemblies of war, and as to all those of another kind, we have already observed that they eat, drink, and get drunk in them; to which we shall add, that in these they cut one another to pieces in cold blood.

Whenever they are about making war, some old woman draws up the whole design, and makes a speech to the company in order to stir them up to revenge; and when she sees that by the strength of her harangue, and of the Ovicou, which is their drink, the assembly begin to give manifest tokens of their being inspired with rage and fury, she then throws into the midst of them some boiled limbs of those they had killed in war; after which, a captain seconds the old lady, and makes a speech upon the same subject.

Their manner of making war is to come upon their enemies by surprise, and to fall upon them in ambuscade. They cover themselves all over with boughs and leaves, and mask themselves with an Indian cane leaf called Baliser, by making a hole for their eyes to look through. Thus equipped, they stand up close to a tree, and wait till their enemies come by, in order to beat their heads to pieces at one blow with their bonton, or club, or to shoot them with their arrows after their having passed by. Whenever they fall upon a house that is covered with leaves of cane-sticks or palm-trees, they set fire to the roof, by showering down arrows upon it, to which they tie a handful of cotton, which they light just when they let fly.

Their arrows are always poisoned, and they are full of little notches, which make so many tongues, very neatly wrought, and cut in such a manner as not to hinder the arrow from penetrating, but from coming out again without widening the wound considerably; or by driving it back to the opposite part to draw it out by making a fresh one. They always make two cuts in that part where the reed is grafted at the sharp end, in order that when it is entered into the body, the rest of the arrow may fall, and at the same time leave the poisoned end in the body. They treat the prisoners of war much after the same manner as the Canadians do theirs.

The Caribbees are jealous of their wives, and a bare suspicion of their having violated the fidelity they owe their husbands, gives them a power to kill their wives without any further ceremony. The husband is not liable to be called to an account for an affair of this nature, because the women of these islands are their husband's slaves; and notwithstanding the rigour of their slavery, we are nevertheless assured that they obey with so much exactness, silence, sweetness, and respect, that their husbands are very rarely obliged to remind them of it: an example worthy the imitation of some Christian wives,



who are daily instructed from the pulpit, but to no purpose, in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity. This doctrine will probably be inculcated to them as long as the world stands, but will have as little effect upon them as the preaching of the gospel has with regard to the Caribbee. In fine, the female world are here such complete slaves, that a woman is never known to eat with her husband, or even in his presence. Their young girls, about twelve years of age, wear the apron, which is the characteristic of modesty and chastity; and in the Lucayan islands, when a woman knows by certain natural symptoms that her daughter may assume the name of woman, the relations meet together and make a feast: after which they give her a cotton net filled with herbs, which she wears afterwards about her thighs, for before she went stark-naked. It is true, indeed, that nakedness does not make any impression upon their senses; and we are assured they have so much virtue as to say, that when they are naked they are to be looked upon only in the face. We are also told, that when a young maiden is of an age fit for marriage, she is obliged to live for ten days together upon dry Cassave; if in this time she does not die with hunger, it is a proof that she will be a good house-wife.

Such young Caribbee women as are marriageable, are not allowed to have any commerce with their young men, for their mothers never suffer them to go out of their sight. Nevertheless, says father Labat, a young woman very seldom lives to that age, without being singled out before by some young savage, who considers her the moment he has made his declaration as his future wife, till she may be of an age of being so in effect. Among these savages, relations are permitted to marry with one another, a woman not being allowed to refuse her kinsman; they often pitch upon them when they are but four or five years of age. A brother does not marry his sister, nor a son his mother. Rochefort assures us, that they look upon this crime with horror; but that they allow so general, so extensive a liberty, with regard to all the other degrees of consanguinity, and the plurality of wives, that a man often marries three or four own sisters, who at the same time, are either his nieces or cousin-germans. They reason thus, that as they have been brought up together, they will therefore love each other the more, and preserve a greater harmony. But here their notions differ greatly from ours; and we must not forget a very whimsical custom. It sometimes happens that a Caribbee shall before-hand demand the offspring of a woman with child, provided it be a girl; which if they grant him, he marks the woman's belly with Rocoou: and as soon as the girl is seven or eight years of age, he goes to bed to her, in order to inure her to the sports of Venus.

A father upon the birth of his first-born son withdraws from society, and keeps a very strict fast for forty days together; and another traveller adds, that the husband goes to bed, and acts the part of the lying-in woman; but he neither gives us the origin or reason of this custom. Here follows another that is altogether as whimsical: The time prescribed for fasting being expired, they pitch upon two young Caribbees to slash his skin, and to cut and hack his body all over. They then rub the wounds with tobacco juice, after which they seat him in a chair painted red. The women bring in victuals, which the old men present to the wounded person, and feed him as we do a child; and in like manner they pour drink down his throat, holding his neck at the same time; and when he has done eating the old men present him with two pieces of Cassave, which the poor tortured father holds in his hands. The ceremony is performed in a large open place, during which he gets astride upon two Cassaves, which he is afterwards obliged to eat. We may very well suppose them to be bloody; for they then smear the child's face over with blood, which they say contributes to the making him courageous; and the more patient the father is, the more his son will be valiant. But this is not all, he is obliged to abstain for six months together from various things, every time any of his wives are brought to bed.—The moment the child is born, he is bathed in water, and if it happens in the night-time, the father bathes himself also; then the mother begins to flatten the infant's forehead, and to squash its face, which they think an addition to its beauty; and we may naturally suppose, that the education they bestow upon them is of a piece with the rest.

They name the child about a fortnight after its birth, which they take from some of the ancestors of their family, from some tree or other object that is agreeable to them; in a word, from any thing that pleases or strikes their senses. The child is named with form and ceremony? and has its sponsors, who engage to see it properly educated according to the custom of the country. They bore a hole in the child's ear, in his lower lips, and between his nostrils. They put threads into these holes, to which pendants hang dangling; but they delay the ceremony, in case the child be too weak to go through it.

All these savages have a great number of superstitious notions, and ridiculous ceremonies, founded upon lying wonders and marvellous stories. Their priests like all the others among the savages of America, are also physicians, and before they undertake to cure a patient, they consult the oracle of their idol, and when the artful impostors imagine the distemper to be incurable, they do not use any medicines. However when they think there is no sort of

danger, then they use their medicines and charms, and when the patient recovers, the whole honour and merit are ascribed to them.

Some of the tribes of these people chuse their chief who is to govern them while they are at table, and they elect him who is the greatest drunkard. This general or chief, the moment he is chosen, puts his two hands over his head, and while he continues in this posture, a long harangue is made to him with regard to his duty, which being done, they make a trial of his courage, by whipping him till the blood follows the strokes. Before their priests are ordained to their sacerdotal office, they are obliged to go through a very severe probation, which like many more of their customs, is both absurd and ridiculous. They bruise green tobacco leaves, and pressing out the moisture, fill up a quantity of it in a vessel, equal to one of our common drinking glasses, and give it him who is to be received priest or boyá, and he is obliged to swallow it all down. In their marriages they have no other ceremony besides that of making a formal demand of the young woman from her parents. He receives her in triumph, and conducts her home to her own hut, where an entertainment is provided for the relations. When their children are born, they put them into a sink of mud, where the innocent creatures are obliged to remain upwards of four hours, till they have invoked their idols to be propitious to him. Barbarous as their practises may seem, yet it does not come up to that of the Greeks and Romans, with whom it was common to expose their children, and desert them totally, leaving them to perish. Whereas, these savages we have been treating of, only expose their children for a short time, and the healthiness of their constitutions generally saves them.

When their relations die, they hang up their carcases in their huts, and adorn them with feathers and necklaces after all the flesh is rotted off. In some places they burn their dead, and the women drink in liquor the bones of their husbands reduced to powder; and thus, says a very learned author, (Mr. Pictet) they bury with their own bodies all that was dear to them in this world. One would naturally imagine that such practices must flow from a very strong natural affection; but these savages have their own notions of fashion as well as we. Both husbands and wives know the nature of formal mourning, and just as it is among us Europeans, she who appears the most affected for the loss of her husband, procures another the sooner. Some of these savages make great rejoicings on the death of their relations, and the men get drunk while the wife of the deceased howls as if she was going distracted. They always kill some of their slaves, whom they imagine will accompany the deceased into the other world, and

they believe in a future state of rewards and punishments; a sentiment that was never perhaps, denied till the present age in which we live. And by whom has this fundamental and leading doctrine, in natural and revealed religion, been denied? Was it by heathens? No; for the most barbarous, the most unenlightened heathens believe in it. Was it by professed deists? No; the deists pride themselves in opposing Christianity, because (say they) all the ancient heathens as well as the modern believed, and do believe the doctrine of future rewards and punishments; and they believed this without the assistance of a supernatural revelation.

The truth is, attempts have been made to overthrow both natural and revealed religion, by men well acquainted with human learning, and whose very characters, as professed preachers of the gospel, naturally led them to stand up in its defence against the attacks of its enemies. Our Saviour foretold, that a man's greatest enemies should be those of his own household, and we have lived to see this literally fulfilled. These men pretended to belong to the household of faith, and yet have denied the leading principles. But never let such notions distract the minds of pious, humble Christians. As the whole frame of the Christian religion is built upon a plan consistent with the divine attributes, and suitable to the state of fallen nature, so it carries along with it the marks of infinite wisdom, unbounded mercy, unchangeable love, affective grace, and everlasting glory.

And will God suffer his own image to be trampled upon? No; he will support his church for the sake of his son, who shed his blood to restore unhappy creatures to his favour, and although the wicked and the impious may blaspheme, yet the glory of Christ's kingdom will bear down all manner of opposition, men shall be blessed in him, and all nations shall call him blessed. It was declared by our Saviour, that the gates of hell should never prevail against his church; and by gates is meant rulers, for judges of old sat in the gates of the city to administer justice, as they still do in some of the eastern nations of Asia. Now there is not a name that can be found so proper for those men, who under the name of Christians have actually attempted to make us believe there is no immortality, there is no name, we say, so proper for them as that of infernal judges.

But as the church was purchased by the death of Christ, so the Almighty power of God will support the kingdom of his glorious son.

God shall exalt his glorious head,  
And his high throne maintain;  
Shall strike the pow'rs and princes dead,  
Who dare oppose his reign.

*Religion of the Savages who inhabit the river of  
Amazons.*

These people are all idolaters, and in many respects there is but little difference between them and those whom we have just now mentioned. They have a vast variety of idols, and they ascribe to them as many qualities as they please. They believe that some of them preside over the waters, and these are represented with fishes in their hands. There are others for seed time, and others again who inspire them with courage in war. They say that their deities came down from heaven, purposely to dwell among and assist them, but they do not pay them the least worship; they carry them along with them in a case or have them in any place till they want their assistance. Hence, upon their going out to war, they hoist at the prow of their canoes, that idol in whom they repose the greatest confidence, and under whose auspices they look for victory. They have the same custom when they go a fishing, and on this occasion they hoist the idol whom they believe presides over the waters.

This practice is in all respects similar to what was observed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, who had their titular Deities for every one of their undertakings. When they went on voyages, the mariners invoked Neptune as the god of the sea, and images of him were carried along with them. But still they had sometimes the figures of other deities upon their ships; for we read that when the apostle Paul and his companions were sent prisoners to Rome, the ship in which he sailed had for her sign Castor and Pollux, Acts xxiii. 11. Here we may observe, that the Roman Catholics, in conformity with the heathens of old, have their titular saints just in the same manner as the heathens had their deities. Anthony, for instance, is the saint to which mariners address themselves in all cases of danger, and when they return home, they hang up in one of their churches something in honour of him, in consequence of the deliverance they have met with.

These savages of whom we have been treating, divide the government of nature among their gods, or idols, so as to give every one his share. They never pray to them, but in cases of necessity, and perhaps in this case, there are too many Christians who follow the same practice. All the idols whom they worship, are considered as subordinate to one Supreme Being; but of that being they have very confused notions. They stand in great awe of their priests, and hold them in the utmost veneration.— They have a particular house, or rather hut, for the celebration of their ceremonies, and this is to them, what others call a church, or a temple. There their priests address themselves to their gods, and receive

answers from their oracles. Their priests have a great authority over the poor deluded people, whose minds being left in a state of darkness, they can practise upon them what tricks they please. They also apply to them, as casuists, for the solution of their doubts; and here they act just in the same manner as some of those who call themselves Christian divines. The Roman Catholic priest is lord of the consciences of all his people, so that he may direct them to every purpose he thinks proper; and perhaps there are too many among our Protestant clergy, who assume the same dictatorial power. But here we find, that the glory of doing what was never commanded in scripture is not wholly their own, for the heathens claim an equal share along with them. Perhaps the heathens have a much better right to it than themselves, for as it was originally their property, we cannot see with what justice the Romans rob the heathens of it. Christ never taught them to do so, either by precept or example; nor is there a single passage in the whole of the New Testament, that gives authority to ministers to solve cases of conscience, except where moral duties are concerned, and there indeed it is easily done; for there is an everlasting difference between right and wrong. But to proceed:—

When these savages go to war, they apply to their priests for assistance against their enemies, and the first thing the priests do is to curse them. This has such a striking similarity to what is related concerning the history of Balaam, that we wonder how any person who has read civil history, can doubt the truth of divine revelation.

In the most early ages of the world, when one nation declared war against another, the first thing they did was, to appeal to their gods that their cause was just, and the priests being satisfied with that they declared, went to the borders of their territories and pronounced a solemn curse on those who had violated the public peace. Something of this nature is still to be found among some of our modern princes, who never declare war, without first endeavouring to make their neighbours believe, that they are not the aggressors. But besides pronouncing their curses upon the enemy, these priests present the soldiers with poisonous herbs and arrows, and other weapons.

When their priests die, they have such veneration for every precious relic belonging to them, that they preserve their bones, and lay them on the same cotton beds on which they used to repose when alive. Some of them keep the bodies of their deceased relations in their houses, in order to have a perpetual *memento mori* before their eyes. Others bury the bodies in large graves, together with every thing belonging to them in their life-time; but they all celebrate their obsequies for several days together, and



this time is spent in drinking and weeping to excess. They believe in the immortality of the soul; but then it must not be supposed that they have any other notions of it, than as a corporeal substance. This is owing to the corruption of human nature, which induces men to reject what they cannot comprehend and this is, perhaps, the source of all the errors that ever yet took place in the world. Vast discoveries have been made in astronomy, during the present age; but the one half of them are no better than probable conjectures; the others are doubtful, and involved in obscurity. In philosophy, and in physics, vast discoveries have been made; but what man will say that human knowledge is complete? Men, however, should by all means endeavour to divest themselves of pride, to be ready at all times to acknowledge their own weakness, as well as their ignorance.

The foundation of all our happiness, all our honour, and all our glory, whether in time or eternity, must be laid in humility. The wisest man that ever lived in the world, says, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." And Christ, who was greater than Solomon, says, "He that exalteth himself shall be abased, but he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

Were men once to be brought acquainted with their own weakness, their own ignorance, and their own unworthiness, compared with the rectitude of the Divine Being, they would not nourish growing doubts in their minds, concerning the truth of the Christian dispensation.

We shall conclude this article in the words of the celebrated Shakespeare, which he puts in the mouth of the great Cardinal Wolsey, when he was taking leave of lord Cromwell.

"Cromwell! I charge thee, fling away ambition;  
 "By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,  
 "The image of his maker, hope to win by't?  
 "Love thyself last: Cherish those hearts that hate  
 "thee;  
 "Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
 "Corruption was not more than honesty.  
 "To silence envious tongues, be just, and fear not;  
 "Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy country's  
 "'Thy God's, and truth's: Then if thou fall'st O  
 "Cromwell!  
 "Thou fall'st a blessed martyr: Serve the king.—  
 "And pry thee lead me in;  
 "Here, take an inventory of all I have,  
 "To the last penny; 'tis the king's. My robe,  
 "And my integrity, heaven is all  
 "I dare now call my own. O Cromwell! Crom-  
 "well!  
 "Had I but serv'd my God, with half the zeal

"I serv'd my king, he would not, in mine age,  
 "Have left me naked to mine enemies."

### *Religion of the Brazilians.*

When these people were first discovered by the Europeans, they had neither temples nor monuments erected to any deity whatever, a circumstance in which they differed much from the Peruvians and Mexicans. And even at present they have but dark confused notions concerning the creation of the world, for they regulate their time by moons only. However, it appears that they have some faint notions of the Deity; for they often lift up their hands towards the sun and moon, in token of admiration. They have some notions of the universal deluge, for they relate, that a very powerful foreigner, who bore the most violent hatred against their ancestors, caused them all to perish by a violent inundation, two persons only excepted, whom he preserved, in order that they might propagate a new race of beings, from whom they are descended. Here we have the outlines of the truth, although obscured by fable, but even that obscurity in some measure, points out the truth.

They are very much afraid of the devil, whom they call *Agneian*, and yet do not pay him the least worship. They are equally afraid of thunder, which they suppose to be under the direction of one of their gods, called *Toupan*; and when they are told to worship the god who created thunder, they answer that it is very strange, that god, who is a being of so much goodness, should make use of thunder to terrify mankind.

They pay a great veneration to a certain fruit, about the bigness of an ostrich's egg, and shaped like a great gourd, which they call *Tamaraca*; but some travellers have corrupted the word, and call it *Maraca*. When the priests go on their visitations, they always carry this fruit along with them, and oblige the people to worship it with great solemnity. They fix these fruits at the end of a staff which they stick in the ground, then dress them with beautiful feathers, and order the inhabitants of the villages to carry them victuals and drink; for (says the priest) this is well pleasing to them, and they like to be entertained in this manner. The chiefs of their tribes, and the fathers of families go and offer part of their provisions to these *Maracas*; and it is considered as a very great crime for any one to take away what has been consecrated to these idols. The priests assure their votaries, that the spirit pronounces its oracle, by the mouth of the *Maraca*, so that here we have an instance of fruit speaking. They

look upon these Maracas as domestic gods, and therefore every one is obliged to have one in his house, so as to consult it on every occasion; but they are of no service to them, unless purchased of the priests.

The essential parts of their festivals consist in dances and songs, the subjects of which are, their glorious achievements in war, and are also of use in transmitting to posterity, the memories of their warlike heroes. One of the greatest of these festivals, is that of butchering their poor miserable prisoners, who have the misfortune to be taken from their enemies in war. Having put these wretches to death under the most execrating tortures, they then sit down and feast on the flesh. This is horrid enough, and such as human nature shudders back at the thought of; but still it is too true to admit of the least doubt, there is no exaggeration in the least, and to dispute it would be to say, that all our voyagers and travellers, many of whom were men of integrity, told nothing but falsehood.

All their Boias, or priests, are fortune-tellers, and interpreters of dreams, which knowledge they make the people believe the devil communicates to them. The Boia consults the oracle in a hut built for that purpose, where a virgin of about ten or twelve years of age, prepares a hammock for him, with a good quantity of provisions. The priest, or Boia, who is obliged to abstain for nine days together, from all commerce with women, washes himself before he goes to bed, and there consults the spirit, who is so good-natured that he never fails to answer his prayers; but it is proper to observe, that he is always alone when he consults the spirit.

These savages, in the Brazils, never marry any of their relations, within those lines of consanguinity, which we call incest: so that it seems they have, at least in that instance, some traces of morality among them. The moment a youth is considered as fit for marriage, he is allowed to look out for a wife; for they never consider whether he has means sufficient to support a family, or conduct to guide himself through the world. Formerly a young man was not permitted to marry till he had killed one of the enemy; but now, when a young savage has placed his affections upon a young woman of his own tribe, he addresses himself to her parents, and asks their consent to marry her. These savages are unacquainted with all our preliminaries of marriage, for there is no such thing among them as a declaration of a mutual passion, nor any amorous intercourse. If the young woman's relations give their consent, he is from that moment her husband, for the ceremonies afterwards are but trifling.

Polygamy is in as much esteem, among them as in any parts of Asia, and although the women frequently live together in harmony, yet their tyrannical

husbands have a right to put them away whenever they please. When a woman is delivered of a child, there are many ridiculous ceremonies observed; for if it is a boy, the father lays down beside it a bow, an arrow, and a knife, exhorts it to bravery and courage, and concludes by naming him after the object that makes the greatest impression on his mind. The girls are brought up in domestic affairs, and generally married very young.

These people have some faint notions of the immortality of the soul; for they believe that when a person dies, his soul goes to reside in paradise, behind their high mountains. When a person is taken sick, one of his relations throws himself with so much violence upon him, as almost knocks out what little breath he has remaining. If the sick person dies in the evening, the following night is spent in mournings and lamentations, and the neighbours of both sexes are invited to join in the mournful solemnity.

When the patient expires, they wash and comb him, after which they wrap him up in calico, and if it be one of their chiefs, in his hammock, adorned with all his feathers and other ornaments.—They lay him in a kind of coffin, but in such a manner as not to let any earth touch the body, and they carry him provisions every day, in order to prevent his dying with hunger, after he is dead; nay, they believe that he wears himself so much with dancing in the other world, that he is glad to return to earth to get a little refreshment.

It appears evident from what we have related of those people, and indeed of all other heathens whatever, that the knowledge of the one true God, and life and immortality were never brought to light till the promulgation of the gospel, and this should teach us, above all things, to set a proper value upon that more than inestimable blessing.

#### *Religion of the people who inhabit near the River La Plata.*

The river La Plata, that is, the river of Plate, is perhaps the largest in the universe, and an inexhaustible source of wealth to the Spaniards. It was in this river that the famous Sir Francis Drake destroyed a vast number of ships belonging to the Spaniards, and brought into England an enormous load of plate. There are vast numbers of people inhabiting near the banks of this celebrated river, but the Spaniards do all they can to keep other Europeans ignorant of them. However, we have learned as much concerning them as is necessary to give us an idea of their religious sentiments.

Some of them consecrate the skins of their ene-

mies as so many trophies in certain houses, which seem to have been designed for religious worship, and others adore the sun and moon. Some of these nations, at the new or full moon, make certain incisions with bones, to which they give an edge, and use them instead of knives. Those of Tucuman have some notion of a Deity, and have priests among them who act the part of sooth-sayers, upon which Coreal makes the following just reflection: "I am of opinion, says he, that wherever there are priests, there must necessarily be some shadow of religion, and that the one is always relative to the other." However, the dispute does not relate to the true signification of the word religion, but to the idea only. The other savages of Paraguay and Uragha, that is, those whom the Jesuits have not civilized, do not differ from these Tucumans in these particulars. Their priests are also physicians, as in other places, and cure their patients by sucking the diseased part, or by the smoke of tobacco. They admit an universal spirit who pervades matter, and acts on all parts of it; but this is too philosophical for savages. Let us rather say, that they imagine every thing is formed with its peculiar genius or spirit, which flows from their gross ignorance; though after all, it is certain, that some very polite nations, both ancient and modern, have supposed the immediate action of an universal spirit, and that of genii upon earthly bodies. Agreeable to this notion, we are assured, that the savages in question address invocations to these genii, and some worship a pretended invisible tiger.

Such as are candidates for the priesthood or physic, are obliged to fast often, and for a long time together; must have fought several times against wild beasts, particularly tigers, and at least have been bit or scratched by them. After this, they may be raised to the priesthood; for they look upon tigers as almost divine animals, and the imposition of his holy paw is as honourable among them, as the receiving the doctor's cap in the university of Salamanca in Spain. Afterwards, the juice of certain distilled herbs is poured upon their eyes, and this is the priestly anointing; after which, these new priests know how to calm the spirits of all beings, animate, or inanimate; hold secret intelligences with those spirits, and share with them in their virtues.

There are other medico-physicians superior to the above-mentioned, whose office extends no farther than to calm the spirits, and receive their oracles.—They never attain to this supreme dignity till after having practised physic for a long course of years; they are also obliged to fast for a whole year together, and their abstinence, says the relation of the Moxes, must exhibit itself by their pale and wan countenances. At certain seasons of the year, particularly at the new moon, they assemble their

people on some hill at a little distance from the town. At break of day, all the assembly march to that place with a deep silence, but the moment they arrive at the halting place, they break out into hideous cries, say they, to mollify the hearts of their deities. The whole day is spent in fasting and confused noises, and, towards the evening, they conclude with the following ceremonies. The priests begin by cutting the hair, which among them is a token of great joy and gladness, and cover their bodies with red and yellow feathers; which being done, they have great vessels brought them, into which they pour the liquor prepared for the solemnity; this they receive as the first fruits offered to their idols, of which they drink moderately, then give it to all the people, who quaff it off to great excess, and the whole night is spent in drinking and dancing. One of them sings the song, when all of them drawing round him in a circle, begin to draw their feet after them in cadence, and to loll their heads from one side to another with a careless air, at the same time throwing their bodies into very indecent postures; and the warmth of their piety and religion, is judged by the distortions into which they throw themselves.

Some other nations, who are all confounded under the name of Moxes, in the relations of the Jesuits, worship the sun, moon, and stars, and others pay adoration to rivers. Some always carry about them a great number of little idols, made in a very ridiculous shape. Every act of piety and religion flows from a principle of fear, and among so great a number of people, to whom the missionaries and Spaniards have given the name of Moxes, they, says the author of that relation, have not been able to discover but one or two nations who employ any kind of sacrifice. Their medico-physicians, enchanters, or quacks, prescribes also to their sick, but we do not hear that they take their degrees like the priests of Paraguay: Be that as it will, when the former are sent for to the sick, they mumble certain superstitious prayers over them, promise to fast for their health's sake, and to smoke tobacco a certain number of times every day. But it may be a question whether they really do it as sincerely as they pretend to do? They also suck the deceased parts, which is a prodigious favour; after this they withdraw, but upon condition, however, of being liberally rewarded for their services.

Their marriage consists in the mutual consent of both parties, and in some presents which the bridegroom makes to the bride's father, or nearest relation. The consent of those who contract it, is looked upon as nothing; and they have another very whimsical custom among them, viz. that a wife may live where she pleases, and her husband is obliged to follow her up and down. If they have



but one wife, it is because they can get no more, for they favour polygamy both by custom and inclination, and always put it in practice whenever they have an opportunity to do it. They look upon the incontinence of women as a most enormous crime; and if any of them happens to run counter to her duty, she is looked upon as an infamous creature, and a prostitute, and is liable to be put to death.—If men are unjust in any thing, it is certainly on this occasion; for why are not women allowed to punish the lewdness of men? Or at least, why do we not indulge a sex whose frailty is the daily subject of our ridicule, to divert themselves at the men's expense, who are vastly more frail than women? forgetting twenty times a day at their feet, their so much boasted strength of mind, and sacrificing all that is most valuable to their charms.

The women prepare the liquor which their husbands drink, and take care of the children. They have the barbarity, whenever a woman dies, to bury her little children with her, and in case she happens to be brought to bed of twins, she buries one of them, and the reason she gives for it is, that it is impossible to nurse two children well together. They have a very obscure idea of the immortality of the soul, and bury their dead with very little ceremony. The relations of the deceased dig a grave, whither they attend upon the body with a deep silence, which is interrupted by nothing but sobs; and as soon as the body is laid in the ground, they divide between themselves the things it was wrapt in. Father Sepp tells us, in a letter of his published in the eleventh collection of curious and edifying letters, That some people of Paraguay cut off their own fingers, and afterwards their toes, according as their relations go off the spot. A man is very unhappy in that country who has a great many old relations, for he runs the hazard of being mutilated very young: But then we may ask father Sepp, if he himself was an eye-witness to that unaccountable mutilation.

The truth is, the Jesuits in all their accounts of these people, consider particular practices as general rules; and thus because there really are some such enthusiasts among these people, who cut off their fingers and toes, so they have told us that they all do so. There are many women in the East Indies, as has been already taken notice of, who burn themselves along with the dead bodies of their husbands; but this is so far from being an imposed law, that no one is obliged to do it.

Indeed, when we consider the nature of the Spanish government, and the bigotry of the people, we need not be surprised that these savages have remained so long in ignorance. The heathens see nothing in the Romish ceremonies, except a few gaudy genteel ornaments; and probably the man of reading and experience, will pay little regard to the

difference subsisting between rudeness and politeness in religion, so as both consist of idolatry.

### *Religion of the Peruvians.*

Peru was long a celebrated empire, and if we may believe some writers, silver and gold were in as great plenty here, as the basest metals, nay, even as coals are with us. But what we have to treat of are their religious sentiments.

The Peruvians, before their being governed by their Lucas, worshipped a numberless multitude of gods, or rather genii. There was no nation, family, city, street, or even house, but had its peculiar gods, and that because they thought none but the god to whom they should immediately devote themselves, was able to assist them in time of need. They worshipped herbs, plants, flowers, trees, mountains, caves; and in the province of Puerto Viego, emeralds, tigers, lions, adders; and, not to tire the reader with a numeration of the several objects they thought worthy of religious worship, every thing that appeared wonderful in their eyes, was thought worthy of adoration.

These ancient idolators of Peru offered not only the fruits of the earth and animals to these gods, but also their captives, like the rest of the Americans. We are assured that they are used to sacrifice their own children, whenever there was a scarcity of victims. These sacrifices were performed by cutting open the victims alive, and afterwards tearing out their hearts; they then smeared the idol, to whom they were sacrificing, with the blood yet reeking, as was the custom of Mexico. The priest burnt the victim's heart, after having viewed it in order to see whether the sacrifice would be agreeable to the idol. Some other idolators offered their own blood to their deities, which they drew from their arms and thighs, according as the sacrifice was more or less solemn; and they even used, on extraordinary occasions, to let themselves bleed at the tips of their nostrils, or between the eye-brows. We are, however, to observe, that these kinds of bleeding were not always an act of religious worship, but were often employed purely to prevent diseases.

Such was the state of idolatry all over Peru, when Mango-capac, the law-giver of that vast empire, taught those savages the worship of the sun and the Supreme God, under the name of Pachacamac.—Before we make any reflections on that new religion, we must inform the reader, that Mango-capac and his wife were the children of the sun, and that they both received a commission of equal import from that planet, to teach and humanize the Peruvians.—They set out from Titicaca, and guiding themselves

with a golden rod which the sun had given them, and which was to sink in the earth when they were come to the place where they were to settle by the command of that planet; they accordingly travelled northward, having continual instances of the virtue of this golden rod, which at last sunk down in the valley of Cusco; and it was here they took a resolution of fixing the seat of empire. Immediately this offspring of the sun employed spiritual weapons; the brother and sister began to preach their father's religion, and made a great number of proselytes, who possibly might have been as much won over by the novelties of the equipage, and the advantages of the new religion, as by the force of inward conviction. The boldness of these missionaries, their surprising vocation, the ideas of power and superiority which they infused into the minds of those gross and brutish people, raised them undoubtedly a considerable number of followers in a little time; among whom; the new law-giver was particularly careful of making choice of the ablest and most skilful, for the better establishing his authority, which he afterwards enlarged by conquest, and at last abolished the ancient religion, commanding, says the Inca Garcilasso, all his subjects to worship the sun. This Inca Mango-capac, not satisfied with making a reformation among his subjects in things relating to the Deity, also gave them excellent political laws, and founded such wonderful institutions as might justly be compared to the most boasted among the Europeans.

The last words of that monarch merit our utmost attention. He above all recommended to the Peruvians, the worshipping of the sun as their god and father. It must necessarily have happened, says the Inca Garcilasso, that Mango-capac having a perfect knowledge of the stupidity of this people, and the great need they had of being instructed in the duties of morality, judged it would be proper for him to feign that he and his wife were the offspring of the sun, and that their father had sent them from heaven. The better to possess the Peruvians with this opinion, he appeared among them in a splendid manner, and distinguished himself particularly by the largeness of his ears, which were of so incredible a size, that we could never have believed that circumstance, had it not been seen in his descendants.

In this manner the ancient law-givers made an advantage of the favourable opinion their people had of them; and some of them have even had artifice enough to make a merit of certain pretty remarkable defects, both of body and mind. The long and repeated retirements of Numa Pompilius, during which he was probably seized by violent fits of melancholy, and the ecstasies of Mahomet, are well known. And as Mango-capac, continues Garcilasso, corroborated the fiction of his genealogy by

the great advantages he procured his subjects, they really believed him to be the offspring of the sun, and that he was come from heaven to assist them.

These would almost persuade us, that they were guided by a more exalted principle than that of nature, were we not certain that several ancient legislators exhibit as shining examples of the force of natural truths.

The virtuous Mango-capac was soon after deified: his subjects raised altars to his honour, and to his successors after him; not but they were persuaded that those Incas were mortal men, but they had paid them these honours out of gratitude for the favours they had received from the posterity of the sun, whom, we are told, they worshipped only.

In order to make this system of religion appear less absurd and ridiculous, we must suppose that they considered their Incas in the same light as the ancient Greeks did their heroes, and the Romans, Romulus, and some of their emperors. They might imagine that the children of the sun, became the titular divinities of the kingdom, and that in recompence for the virtues they had practised in this mortal life, they enjoyed the privilege of being the depositaries, as it were, of their prayers, as also of presenting them to that planet. However, the Peruvians denied, pretty strongly, the consequences which might have been drawn from their practice.

Garcilasso relates, that the above-mentioned people, in process of time, built temples to the sun, and embellished them with ornaments of prodigious value; but they did not pay the same honours to the moon, for though they looked upon her as both wife and sister of the sun, and even as mother of the Incas, we yet do not meet with one single instance of their paying any worship to that goddess, or their having sacrificed on her altars, or erected temples to her glory, though at the same time they had her in the utmost veneration, so far that they call her the universal mother of all things; but their idolatry went no farther. They called thunder and lightning, the executors of the sun's justice; and in that quality they were honoured so far, as to have an apartment allotted to them in the house of the sun at Cusco. But this is no consequence of their having been ranked among the number of the gods, as a Spanish historian would persuade us they were, so far from it, that if a house, or any other place happened to be struck with thunder, it was so much detested by them, that they immediately stopped up the door with dirt and stones, in order to prevent any one's ever entering into it; and if any thunder happened to fall in the country, they always pointed out the place with stakes, or such marks, in order to prevent any one's walking over it. In a word, they gave the epithets of unhappy and cursed to those places, and added, that the sun sent

down those curses upon them, by the mediation of thunder, which they considered as his lackey, and the minister of justice.

Notwithstanding they adhered so zealously to the worship of the sun, yet the most knowing among the Indians acknowledge a soul of the world, or rather first mover of matter, called by them Pachacamac, which Garcilasso tells us signifies expressly, he who animates the world. He adds, that their veneration for this word was so great, that they did not dare to utter it; but in case they were forced to do it any time, they always pronounced it with the greatest tokens of submission and respect, shrugging up their shoulders, stooping their heads and bodies, lifting up their eyes towards heaven, and on a sudden casting them on the ground; laying their hands extended on the right shoulder, and kissing the air.—They paid a considerable part of this worship to the sun, and even to the Incas, nevertheless Garcilasso relates, that they had in reality a much greater veneration for Pachacamac than for the sun. They acknowledged, that he alone animated and continued the universe; but then, as they had never seen him, they considered him as the unknown God, or rather an invisible and immaterial Being. From an answer which the Inca Atahualpa made, one would be apt to think, that the word Pachacamac was one of the sun's attributes. The Peruvians took the character of Cupai to be directly opposite to that of Pachacamac, and whenever they were obliged to name him, they used to spit upon the ground, in token of their mortal aversion for that wicked being. They only paid a bare respect to the moon, in quality of the sun's wife and sister; and they honoured the stars, whom they said were the women, or maids of honour to the house of these planets.

Here follows the account that Garcilasso gives of the Huacas or Guacas, which seems more just and rational than what Purchas has cited in his collections, upon the authority of several Spanish authors. Garcilasso informs us, that the word Huaca signifies idol and sacred things; such were the representations of the sun; the offerings they made him, such as the figures of men, birds, quadrupeds, in gold, silver, and wood; not excepting rocks, trees, stones, caverns, temples, and tombs, which God sanctified either by his presence or his oracles. They also give the name of Huacas to the genii; to the heroes ranked among the immortals; to all such things as were most beautiful and excellent in their kind, and even to the misshapen and monstrous. The Spaniards, continues Garcilasso, who were ignorant of these various significations, imagined that the Indians took all those things to which they gave the name of Huacas for deities, and likewise fancied that the Peruvians worshipped hills and hillocks un-

der the name of Apachitas, for want of knowing that the corrupted word Apachecta, which often signifies, he who causes to support or surmount some difficulty, expressed, in the Laconic way of speaking, used by the Indians, the following kind of blessing: Let us return thanks to him who has enabled us to support the fatigue we have undergone in walking up this hill.

These prayers were offered up to Pachacamac, whom they then worshipped mentally, for having assisted them in this fatigue. When they were got to the top of the hill, they laid down their burthens, in case they carried any; and after having lifted up their eyes to heaven, they cast them down on the ground, and gave the same tokens of adoration as they used with regard to Pachacamac. Moreover, they repeated the dative Apachecta two or three times over, and afterwards used, by way of offering, to pull up the hairs from their eye-brows, and whether they tore them up or not, they always blew them in the air, as if they intended to waft them to heaven. They had also a custom of putting an herb called Cuca, in their mouths, which they threw into the air, in token that they offered all their most precious things to Pachacamac. They were even so foolishly superstitious as to offer him splinters of wood, or even straws, in case they could not meet with any thing better, or some flint stone; and for want of these, a handful of earth. Large pieces of these offerings were seen upon the tops of the hill. They never looked up to the sun when they performed these ceremonies, because they did not then worship that planet, but Pachacamac.

The Incas, and the Peruvians their subjects, used to sacrifice several sorts of animals in honour of the sun. They also offered him cocoa, corn, rich clothes, and a liquor made of water and maize.—They always presented the last offering to the sun, in the following manner: When they were very dry, they first fell to eating, and afterwards dipt the tip of their finger in the vessel into which the liquor was poured, and this being done, they lifted up their eyes to heaven in a very submissive manner; shook that finger on which the drop hung, and offered it to the sun, as an acknowledgement for his goodness in providing drink for them. At the same time they gave two or three kisses to the air, and this oblation being made, they all drank as they thought proper. Every time they entered into their temples, the chief man in the company laid his hand on one of his eye-brows, and whether he tore off any of the hairs from thence or not, he blew it into the air before the idol, as a mark of its being an oblation. They paid the same adoration to trees, and to all such things as they imagined a divine virtue had made sacred and religious.

The Peruvians paid a kind of worship to the city



of Cusco, because of its being founded by Mangocapac, and we shall observe that heathen Rome had anciently the same reverence paid to it by its inhabitants. At Cusco was that wonderful temple of the sun, the beauty and riches whereof surpassed imagination; we shall transcribe the description which the Inca Garcilasso has given us thereof. His words are as follows: The high altar of this pompous edifice stood eastward, and the roof which was made of timber, and very thick, was thatched over, they having no tile or brick among them. The four walls of the temple, to consider them from the top downwards, were all covered over with plates of gold. On the high altar was made the figure of the sun, which was also represented on a gold plate, twice as thick as those above mentioned. This figure, which was made of one continued piece, was represented with a round face, surrounded with rays and flames, in the same manner as our painters usually draw it. It was of so prodigious a breadth, that it almost covered one side of the wall, on which nothing was represented but that idol: the reason of which was, because this was the only one those Indians had, either in that or any other temple; nor did they worship any other deity than the sun, whatever some writers may affirm to the contrary.

On each side of the image of the sun, the several bodies of their deceased monarchs were ranged in order, according to the course of their respective reigns, and so embalmed, the manner of which was a secret, that they seemed to be alive. They were seated on thrones of gold, raised on plates of the same metal, with their faces looking towards the bottom of the temple; but Huana-capac, the best beloved of all the sun's children, had the peculiar advantage above the rest, of being placed directly opposite to the image of that planet; and that, because of his having merited adoration during his lifetime, and for having practised the most exalted virtues, and discovered qualities worthy the greatest monarch, from his very infancy. But upon the coming of the Spaniards, the Indians hid those bodies with the rest of the treasure; and notwithstanding the strictest search had been made after them, they are not yet found.

This temple had several gates, which were all covered over with plates of gold, the chief of which looked towards the north, as it still does to this day. Moreover, round the walls of this temple was a plate of gold, in the shape of a crown or garland, and above an ell broad. On one side of the temple was a cloister, built in a quadrangular form, and in its highest enclosure a garland of pure gold, an ell broad, like the above-mentioned. Round this cloister were five great square pavilions, or houses, covered over in the shape of a pyramid. The first was built for the habitation of the moon, the sun's wife,

and stood the nearest to the great chapel of the temple; the doors and inclosures of it were covered with silver plates, its white colour denoting that it was the apartment allotted to the moon, whose figure was painted like that of the sun, but with this difference, that it stood upon a silver plate, and was represented with a woman's face. It was here these idolators came and offered up their prayers to the moon, whom they imagined to be sister and wife to the sun, the mother of their Incas, and of their whole posterity. In quality of this last, they gave her the name of Mama Quilca, or Mother Moon, but without offering any sacrifices to her as to the sun. On both sides of this figure were the bodies of their deceased queens, ranged in order, according to their antiquity. Mama Oello, mother to Huayacac, had her face turned towards the moon, and from a peculiar advantage, was placed above the rest, because of her being the mother of so worthy a son.

Next to the mansion of the moon, was that of Venus, the Pleiades, and those of all the other stars. They gave the name of Chasca to the planet Venus, by which her long and curled hair was signified.—Venus was, moreover, greatly honoured, because they fancied her to be the sun's page, saying, that she sometimes went before, and at other times behind him. They also paid great reverence to the Pleiades, because of their wonderful disposition, and their appearing to be equal in magnitude. The others in general were called the moon's waiting-maids, and for this reason they have an apartment assigned them near their lady, in order to be at hand whenever she wants them, because they imagined that the stars were fixed in the sky for the service of the moon, and not that of the sun, since they are visible in the night only. This apartment and its great gate were covered over with plates of silver, like that of the moon, and its roof seemed to represent the sky, being adorned with stars of different magnitudes. The third apartment next this last was sacred to thunder and lightning.

The two last were not considered as gods, but as the sun's lackeys, and they had the same idea of them, as the ancient heathens had of thunder, which they looked upon as an instrument of Jupiter's vengeance. For this reason, their Incas assigned an apartment, ceiled with gold, to thunder and lightning, which they fancied were the sun's domestics, and consequently reside in his house; and they did not represent either of these images in relief, or on a flat surface, and that because they could not copy them from the life, they chiefly studying nature in all their images; but they honoured them under the name of Yllapa. The Spanish writers have not yet found out the signification of this word; for some of these have endeavoured to

drew a parallel between their idolatry and our holy religion, in this respect; but they have been prodigiously mistaken in it, as well as in several other particulars, wherein they have sought, though with less foundation, for symbols or signs of the blessed Trinity, by giving such an explication as they thought proper, to the names of the country, and ascribing a belief to the Indians which they never had, as has been already shewn in another place.

The fourth apartment was sacred to the rain-bow, because they found that it owed its birth to the sun. This apartment was all enriched with gold, and the rain-bow was represented after the life; on plates of this metal, with all its variety of colours, on one of the faces of the building, and this phenomenon was drawn so prodigiously large, that it reached from one wall to the other. They called it Cuyehu, and had it in very great veneration; and whenever it appeared in the air, they immediately shut their mouths, and put their hands upon it, imagining that were they to open it ever so little, their teeth would infallibly rot. The fifth and last apartment was that of the high priest, and of the other priests, who administered in the temple, and who were all obliged to be of the royal blood of the Incas. This apartment, enriched like the rest, with gold from top to bottom, was not used either for eating or sleeping, but as an apartment for giving audience, and to consult about such sacrifices and other things as related to the service of the temple.

We must not omit a very remarkable circumstance, which is, that in the temple of Cusco, there were the several gods of those nations whom the Incas had conquered. These were there served and adored in the presence of the sun, but their worship was conditional. They were first obliged to worship that planet in quality of the great god, upon which consideration, they were permitted to serve the other deities; and such was the state policy of the Incas, who did not make a dreadful havoc of men's consciences, by terrifying them with sword and halter. On the contrary, they were of opinion, that some regard ought to be paid to the religion of a vanquished people, and justly perceived that it would insensibly die away at the sight of a worship, which, as it was less absurd, was at the same time supported by the royal authority; nor were they mistaken in their conjectures, for the worship of the sun was more and more received, and would have rooted out that of their strange gods, had not the empire of the Incas been destroyed by the Spaniards. But we shall drop these reflections, and leave the reader to draw such conclusions as he shall judge proper, from what has been already mentioned.—We shall not describe the pompous temple at Titicaca, but refer the reader to their other ceremonies. This was one of the most solemn ceremonies of the

great feast of that planet, which was kept in June, and is a proof of what we before advanced, viz. that Pachacamac was one of the attributes of the sun, that resplendant fire, which was anciently worshipped by the Persians and Chaldeans. The Peruvians asserted, that in this solemn feast they particularly worshipped the father of light, as being the sole, supreme and universal god, whose light and virtue gave birth and nourishment to all worldly beings. They also solemnized it as a public acknowledgment that the sun was the father of the first Inca, and of all his posterity.

The festival opened with sacrifices, and they said it was not lawful to use any fire in those sacrifices, but that which was presented them by the sun's own hand; for this purpose they made use of a great bracelet, called Chipana, like those which the Incas wore on their left wrists, with this difference, that that which was worn by their chief priest was larger than the rest. They had instead of a medal, a concave vessel, about the bigness of half an orange, very smooth and glittering. This they placed directly opposite to the sun, and in a certain point where the rays which shot from the vessel were collected; and applied to it instead of a match, a little cotton lint, which immediately took fire from a natural effect. With this fire thus lighted, and given by the hand of the sun, they used to burn their victims, and roasted all the flesh which they eat that day.

After that, they took some of the same fire, carried it to the temple of the sun, and the house of the virgin's elect, and there it was preserved all the year; and its going out was considered as a very unlucky omen. In case the sun happened not to shine out the eve before the festival, on which day every thing was prepared for the sacrifice that was to be made on the morrow, and consequently if there were no possibility of getting fire that way, they then took two little sticks, about as thick as one's thumb, and half an ell in length, made of a wood called Vyaca, very like cinnamon, and these, by being rubbed together very hard, had several sparks of fire drawn out of them which set fire to the match. Notwithstanding that this was a very good way of striking fire, they nevertheless, when necessity forced them to use it in the sacrifices which were made on their festivals, discovered a deep affliction, and looked upon it as a very ill omen, saying, that the sun must necessarily be very angry with them since he refused to give them fire with his hand.

The chief captains of the empire, and the Curacas or Caciques, always assisted at this festival: These, when they were prevented from administering at it in person, either by very urgent affairs, or extreme old age, used always to send their sons or

brothers, accompanied with the noblest of their relations as their proxies. The Inca, in quality of son to the glorious planet of the day, always opened the festival; nor could he be prevented from so doing, unless war called him another way, or he was obliged to make a progress through his empire.—All the nobility of the empire went in procession to present their oblations to the sun, and the Curacas appeared in a most splendid, but very whimsical dress. Some of these had robes, adorned with gold and silver plates, and garlands of the same on their caps, and others were dressed in lions' skins.

After these there advanced others, whom, with regard to their dress, we shall take the liberty of comparing to angels, they wearing the wings of a bird to which they give the name of *Cuntur*. These wings were speckled black and white, and sixteen feet long from end to end, and those who adorned themselves with the feathers of these birds, did it purely to shew they were descended from them.—The *Yuncas* used to disguise themselves with certain frightful masks, by which means they made the most hideous figures that fancy could possibly paint. To see the apish tricks and distortions they made in those assemblies, one would have taken them for mad men; and to make themselves appear more completely so, they used to make a confused noise of dissonant instruments, such as flutes and drums, holding torn skins in their hands, and with these they used to play a thousand silly tricks. After these Curacas there advanced others dressed in a different manner, and each nation carried the weapons used by them in war, such as bows, arrows, lances, javelins, long and short hatchets, to fight either with one or both hands.

There were others also who wore ornaments, on which were represented the glorious actions they had performed in honour of the sun, and of their *Lucas*; and others again were attended by a great train of servants, who played on atables, and blew on the trumpet. In a word, every nation appeared there in as much pomp and splendor, and with as great a train of domestics as they could possibly procure; they all endeavouring to rival their neighbours in grandeur and magnificence. They always prepared themselves for the solemnity of this festival by a most strict fast, eating nothing every third day but a little white raw maize, with certain herbs called *Chucani*, nor ever drank any other liquor but water. During this time, they abstain from all commerce with their wives, nor were fires made in any part of the city.

After this fast, on the eve of the feast of the sun the Inca priests, whose office it was to perform that sacrifice, spent the night in getting ready the sheep and lambs which were to be sacrificed; and they also prepared the victuals and drink that were to be

presented as an oblation to the sun: These several affairs were settled, after they had first taken a pretty exact account of the number of the people who were assembled at the festival; for not only the Curacas, the ambassadors, their relations, their domestics and subjects, partook of these oblations, but likewise all the nations in general who were then present at the solemnity. On the same night the women of the sun were employed in kneading a kind of dough called *Cancu*; and this they made in little round loaves, about the bigness of an apple. We are to observe that these Indians never made their corn into bread except at this solemn feast, and another called *Citua*, and then they never eat more than two or three pieces of it; for their common bread was called *Gara*, which was a kind of pulse; and the corn of which it was made was either baked or parched. None but such chosen virgins as had devoted themselves to the sun, in order to be his wives, were permitted to knead the dough of which that bread was made, particularly that which was eaten by the *Lucas* and those of the royal blood, or to prepare the other viands which were to be eaten on that feast; because on that day the sun's children did not eat their father, but rather the sun gave a banquet to his children. The common people were waited on by a numberless multitude of other women, who prepared their victuals, and took a vast deal of care in working up the bread which was made for their use, and was always of the finest flour. They were not allowed to eat any of it except on this solemn day, which was the greatest of all their festivals, for they thought this bread to be of a very sacred nature.

On the most solemn day of the feast, the Inca appeared in public, accompanied with his relations; when he went with all his train to the great square in *Cusco*, and there waited barefooted till such time as the sun should rise, during which he looked attentively towards the east. The moment he saw it appear upon the horizon, he fell prostrate on his knees, and opening his arms directly opposite to his face, kissed the air. The Curacas and other of the nobles of the empire stood at some distance, and worshipped the sun in imitation of the Inca, and the princes of the blood. Then the Inca rose up, the rest continuing still upon their knees, and took two great golden vases, filled with drink, and at the same time he, in quality of chief of the sun, lifted up one of those vases, and shewing it to the sun, invited him to drink. The Peruvians were persuaded that this planet pledged the Inca and all the princes of the blood.

After the Inca had invited the sun to drink in this manner, he poured all the liquor that was in the vessel dedicated to the sun, which he held in his right hand, into a golden tub with ears, whence the



drink diffused itself as from a spring into a pipe that was curiously wrought, and which reached from the great square to the house of the sun. When that was done, he drank a little of it, as his portion, out of the vessel which he held in his left hand, and at the same time the rest was divided among the Incas, by a little gold or silver vessel which each of them had brought with him. In this manner they insensibly emptied the Inca's vessel, the liquor whereof, according to them, was sanctified by his hand, or that of the sun, whose virtue is communicated to them. All those of the royal blood took a draught of this liquor, but they gave the Curacas the drink which the sun's wives had made, and not that which they believed to be sanctified.

This ceremony ended, which was no more than a prelude to a quaffing-bout, they marched in order to the house of the sun, when all, the king excepted, pulled off their shoes and stockings at two hundred paces distance from the gates of the temple. Then the Inca and his relations entered it, as being the sun's legitimate offspring, and prostrated themselves before his image. In the mean time, the Curacas, who thought themselves unworthy of entering his temple, because they were not related to him, stood without in a great court which was before the gate; and the very moment the Inca had, with his own hand, offered the golden vessel, with which he had performed the ceremony, the rest gave theirs to those Inca priests who had been nominated and dedicated to the sun; for they only were allowed to execute that office, and not even those who were related to the sun, unless they were of the priesthood. When the sacrificers had offered the vessels of the Inca, they went all to the door, to receive those of the Curacas, who all walked according to their respective ranks, and in the order of time they had been reduced under the empire of Incas. Besides their vessels, they also presented to the sun several gold and silver pieces, representing in miniature, but very naturally, various kinds of animals, as sheep, lambs, lizards, toads, adders, foxes, tigers, lions, birds of all kinds, and every thing that grew in their respective provinces.

The offering being ended, each of them returned in order to his place, and at the same time the Inca priests were seen advancing forwards with a great number of lambs, barren ewes of all colours, for they are naturally speckled in this manner, like the Spanish horses. Out of all these beasts, which belonged to the sun, they took a black lamb; the Indians making choice of that colour preferably to any other, particularly in their sacrifices; because, according to them, it had something divine in it. To this they added, that a black beast was generally so all over the body, whereas a white one has commonly a black spot upon its snout, which they looked

upon as a blemish, and for this reason their kings were generally dressed in black, and their mourning habits were of a mouse colour.

The first sacrifice which they made of a black lamb, was in order to obtain happy or unhappy presages of the solemnity of their feast; for these people in every important action, whether in peace or war, always sacrificed a lamb, when they took out its heart and lights, in order thereby to judge whether or no their obligation would be agreeable to the sun; if the war in which they were going to be engaged, would be happy or unsuccessful, and whether the earth would yield an abundance of fruits that year. But we are to observe, that they always sacrificed different animals, according to the nature of the presages which they were desirous of obtaining by that means, as lambs, sheep, barren ewes; for they never killed any but what were so, nor eat their flesh till such time as they were past bringing forth young. In these sacrifices they took the lamb or sheep which they had marked out for slaughter, with its head turned eastward, without tying its feet together; but three or four men held it with all their strength, to prevent its stirring. They then ripped up its left side, the beast being still alive, and thrusting in their hands, took from thence the heart, the lights, and all the rest of the harslet, which they were obliged to pull out entire, without tearing the least part of it.

They were as superstitious at least as the Greeks and the Romans in inspecting the entrails of their victims, and this is manifest from that passage of the history of the Incas above cited. When the lights, after being just taken out, were found still panting, it was looked upon to be so happy an omen, that all other presages were considered as indifferent or of no consequence; because, said they, this alone sufficed to make them propitious, how unhappy soever they might be. After they had taken out the harslet, they blew up the bladder with their breath, then tied it up at the end, or squeezed it close with their hands, observing at the same time how the passages, through which the air enters into the lungs, and the small veins which are generally found there, were swelled; because the more they were inflated, the more the omen was propitious.—They also observed several other particulars, which it would be a difficult matter for us to relate.

They looked upon it as an ill omen, if while they were ripping up the beast's side, it rose up and escaped out of the hands of those who held it down, and they also looked upon it as ill boding, if the bladder, which generally joins to the harslet, happened to break, and had thereby prevented the taking it out entire; or if the lights were torn, or the heart putrified, and so on.

The sacrifices concluded with a feast of the sacri-

ficed victim; this they distributed among all persons who were present at this solemnity, viz. to the Incas, and afterwards to the Caracas, and their train, according to their respective ranks. After they had been thus served up with meat, bread (which Garcilasso calls Cancu) was given them. They were then served with other kinds of victuals, all which they used to eat without drinking; the Peruvians not being allowed to drink at meals. They never drank till these were over, but then they would drink as copiously as any of the European nations.

They also had other festivals, and that to which Garcilasso gives the name of Citu, was very remarkable, and might be looked upon as a general lustration or purging by sacrifice. The design of this lustration was, to cleanse the soul from those pollutions which it contracts with the human body, and to preserve the latter from the diseases to which it is exposed. These people always prepared themselves for it by fasting; were obliged to abstain from all commerce with women, and fast for twenty-four hours.

The Peruvians, the night after the feast, used to knead pieces, or balls of Cancu, in a very devout manner; laid them in earthen kettles, and parboiled them till such time as the Cancu was collected into one great lump. Of this they made two sorts, one was mixed with blood, which they drew from between the eye-brows and nostrils of young children. All those who had fasted, washed their bodies before day-break, and afterwards rubbed their heads, their faces, their stomachs, shoulders, arms, and thighs, with the above-mentioned dough, in order, said they, by this purification, to drive away diseases and all kinds of infirmities. The purification being ended, the oldest person of the highest quality in each family, took some of the above-mentioned dough, rubbed the door of his house with it, and left it sticking, to shew that his house was purified. The high-priest performed the same ceremony in the palace, and in the temple of the sun, whilst his subalterns or deputies purified the chapels and other sacred places. The moment the sun began to appear, they began worshipping it, and an Inca of the royal family presented himself in the great square at Cusco, magnificently robed, having a lance in his hand, adorned with feathers of various colours, and enriched with a great number of gold rings; which lance was also used for a standard in war time. This Inca went and joined himself to four others, who likewise were armed with lances, which he touched with his own; and this was a kind of consecration. He then declared, that the sun had made choice of them to drive away diseases and infirmities; upon which these four ministers of the sun immediately set out to execute their orders: They then visited the several quarters or districts, upon which occa-

sion every body came out of their houses, shook their garments, and rubbed their heads, faces, arms, and thighs. Such were the ceremonies which they thought purified them; and the whole was accompanied with great acclamations of joy. The ministers of the sun took away those evils which the people had just got rid of, and drove them to five or six leagues distance from the city.

The night following, the above-mentioned Incas ran up and down with straw torches, after which they came out of the city, and this nocturnal lustration was of service in driving out those evils to which the people are exposed in the night time, as that of the lances had been serviceable in repelling those of the day. They threw into the river in which the people had washed themselves, those half burnt torches, and whenever any pieces of them were found by the water-side, they would run away from them as if they had been infected with the plague. These feasts concluded with rejoicings, intermixed with prayers, thanks, and sacrifices to the sun.

But this account we have given of the religion of these people, is only consistent with what state they were in when the Spaniards first invaded them. For before that time, there were many other religious sentiments embraced, and therefore in this article we shall only give a transient account of those nations whose idolatry the Incas destroyed in order to establish their own. Those of the valley of Rimac afterwards called Lima, worshipped the idol Rimac under the figure of a man, who answered such questions as were asked it, like the ancient oracles of Greece. Rimac is as much as to say, He who speaks, and this idol was lodged in a very magnificent temple, which, however, was not so pompous as that of Pachacamac.

They also worshipped Pachacamac, but offered no victims to his honour; and so great was the veneration they bore him, that they did not dare to once cast their eyes up to him. Their kings and priests always walked backwards wherever they entered his temple, and came out of it in the same manner, without so much as once lifting up their eyes towards the idol.

The Autis, a people who inhabit towards the mountains of Peru, worshipped tigers and adders, and also the herb coca. They put all their captives to death without the least mercy, but with this difference, that a prisoner of no distinction was immediately put to death, whereas a man who was thought worthy of that fatal honour, was sacrificed with great solemnity; for which purpose he was stripped naked, then they tied him to a great stake, and afterwards slashed his whole body with knives and razors, made of a flint stone, ground very sharp. They did not immediately tear him to pieces, but

first cut the flesh from off the most brawny parts, such as the calves of the legs, the thighs, and buttocks, after which, their men women and children smeared themselves with the blood of these unhappy wretches, and devoured them before they were dead. The women used to rub the tip of their breasts with their blood, and afterwards gave their children the blood of their enemies to suck, mixed with the milk which nature had given them for the sustenance of those little creatures. These inhuman wretches called this bloody execution a religious ceremony, and ranked all such as had suffered death with courage, or rather with a savage bravery, in the number of their gods, and lodged them under the huts on the tops of their mountains, but such as snk under the violence of their tortures were thrown among the carion.

The savages of the province of Manta worshipped the sea, fishes, tigers, lions, and several other wild beasts, as also an emerald of a prodigious size, which they used to expose to public view in their solemn festivals. They used to slay their prisoners of war, and after having stuffed their skins with earth and ashes, hung them up as trophies on the gates of the temples of their idols. We shall wave a farther description of these absurdities, since they would only tire the reader.

They relate, that a man of extraordinary shape, whose name was Choum, and whose body had neither bones nor muscles, came from the north into their country; that he levelled mountains, filled up valleys, and opened himself a passage through the most inaccessible places. This Choum created the first inhabitants of Peru, giving them the herbs and wild fruits of the field for their sustenance. They also relate, that this first founder of Peru, having been injured by some savages who inhabited the plains, changed part of the ground, which before had been very fruitful, into sand, forbid the rain to fall, and dried up the plants; but that being afterwards moved with compassion, he opened the springs, and suffered the rivers to flow; and this Choum was worshipped as a god, till such time as Pachacamac came from the south.

Choum disappeared after the arrival of Pachacamac, who was much mightier, and metamorphosed all the men whom Choum had created, into wild beasts. The Peruvians had some knowledge of the flood; but as it would be a difficult matter to draw any thing accurate from the account they give of it, we shall not take any notice here of the great veneration they paid to the rainbow: their superstitious opinions concerning comets; the predictions which they drew from dreams; nor of the opinion they had that the sun at his setting used to plunge himself into the ocean, where it lost its light and heat, both which it recovered after having passed under the

earth, which they placed on the surface of the waters, and that it afterwards rose in the morning through the gates of the east. Hence we may judge of the nature of the human mind, when uninformed of certain things, and whether the people of all countries are not disposed to receive the same impressions of superstition.

Indeed there is great difficulty in getting quit of superstition, after a person has arrived at years of maturity; for a long persuasion of the truth of any thing sinks deep into the mind; and to use the old proverb, "Custom becomes second nature." In all addresses to people to induce them to leave superstition, and embrace the truth, we ought to be extremely cautious; for those who are too precipitate in attacking prejudices, generally run those whom they attempt to convert into a disbelief of every thing, which commonly lays the foundation of deism.

We shall conclude this article of their religion with the notion they had of eclipses. Whenever the sun was eclipsed, they imagined he was angry with them, and looked on the disorder, which, said they, appeared in his countenance, as a manifest proof of it. When the moon was eclipsed, they fancied it was sick; and when totally, that it would infallibly die; that then it would fall from the sky, that all would be destroyed, and the world be at an end. In order to prevent these misfortunes, they, the moment the eclipse began, made a prodigious noise with horns, trumpets, and drums. They tied dogs to trees, and whipped them unmercifully, in order to make them bark so very loud, that the moon, whom they now thought was now fallen in a swoon, through the violence of pain, and who loved those creatures, because of the signal services they had formerly done her, was forced to awaken at their cries.

None but the Incas, who were of the royal family, were admitted to be priests of the sun; but those who were Incas by a special grant, that is, had been raised to that honour for their merit, were allowed to officiate in the inferior services of religious worship. We have already mentioned the sacrifices which the priests made to the sun, to which we will now add, that they did not always sacrifice in the same place, but frequently in the court of the temple of the sun; but that the sacrifices of the chief feast of the sun were performed in the great square at Cusco. The priests were obliged to enter the temple of the sun bare-footed and bare-legged.

They always chose one of the king's uncles or brothers for the sovereign pontiff, in default of which they were obliged to elect a legitimate relation of his. The priests had no habit peculiar to their order, but in all those provinces where the sun had a great number of temples, none but the natives, and



such as were related to the chief man of each province, were allowed to exercise that religious employment. The chief priest, who was something like a bishop among them, was obliged to be an Inca. And in order that they might conform themselves to their metropolitan in their sacrifices and ceremonies, their Incas were always elected as superiors in times of peace and war; but they did not remove the natives, to prevent their having any room to say they were despised, or treated in an arbitrary manner. The chief priest told the people the things he had consulted the sun about, and what the latter had commanded him to declare to them, according to the doctrine of their religion. In a word, he declared those things to them which he had discovered by auguries, sacrifices, and such like superstitious as prevailed among them; and they give their priests a name which signifies to guess or divine.

There were several apartments in the house of the sun, appropriated to the priests and domestics, who were all, as we have before observed, Incas by special grant; for no Indian, though of ever so great quality, was allowed to enter into it, unless he was an Inca; neither were the ladies suffered to go into it, not even the kings' wives or daughters. The priests administered in the temple in their turns weekly, which they consulted by the quarters of the moon, during which they abstained from all commerce with their wives, and continued in the temple day and night. All the time that the priests and ministers of the religion of the Incas were performing their respective functions in the temples, in which they administered weekly, as was before observed, they were maintained out of the revenues of the sun. This was the name they gave to the produce of certain lands, which they gave to that planet as his demesnes or inheritance, which generally include about a third part of the lands of each province.

These people had also nuns among them, who devoted a perpetual virginity to the sun. They were so very scrupulous upon this head, that they always made choice of girls under eight years of age, to prevent their being imposed upon. They were particularly cautious with regard to those virgins of the religious house at Cusco, they being designed for the sun's wives; for which reason none were admitted in that convent but the daughters of the Incas of the blood-royal, which was not mixed with that of strangers. The most ancient among these were chosen as abbesses. These had the direction of the younger; taught them all kind of needle-works, instructed them in divine service, and had an eye to their infirmities: Their confinement was so close, that they never had an opportunity of see-

ing either men or women; nor had they either turning box or parlour in their convent.

We are assured that these injunctions were observed with the utmost exactness, and that the law by which those who broke the vow they had made to the sun their husband was punished, was inexpressibly rigorous. Garcilasso says as follows upon that head. If among so great a number of religious, any one of them should happen to violate her chastity, there was a law, by which it was enacted, that the nun so offending should be buried alive, and her gallant hanged. But as the putting to death of one man only was thought vastly disproportionate to so great a crime as that of violating a maiden devoted to the sun their god, and the father of their kings, it was moreover enacted by the same law, that not only the person offending should be punished, but also his wife, children, servants, relations, and all the inhabitants where he resided, not excepting the babes who suckled at the breast. For this purpose, they razed the city and paved it with stones, by which means every part of it remained desert, cursed, and excommunicated, as a testimony of that city's having given birth to so detestable a wretch. They likewise endeavoured to hinder any one from treading upon that ground, and even beasts if possible. This law, however, was never put in execution, because no one ever happened to be guilty of this crime in that country.

They had convents, like those of Cusco, in all the chief provinces of the empire. In these they admitted maidens of all ranks or degrees, whether of the royal blood and legitimate, or bastards and of foreign extraction. They sometimes admitted into them, which, however, was a very great favour, the daughters of such lords as had vassals under them, not excepting those of the meanest citizens, provided they were beautiful: for upon that condition they were educated, in order to their becoming one day the daughters of the sun, or the Incas' mistresses, and were superintended with as much care as the women dedicated to that planet. These, like the rest, had young women to wait upon them, and were maintained at the king's expence, in quality of his wives. Moreover, they, as well as the virgins of the sun, generally spent their time in spinning, and in making robes or gowns for the Inca, who always distributed part of them among his relations and the Curacas, as likewise among the most renowned generals, and such as he was desirous of distinguishing by his favour; which was both looked upon as just and seemly, since those habits were wrought by his own and not by the sun's wives, and were made for himself, and not for his father.

The above-mentioned women had also their Ma-

macunas like those of Cusco, but with this difference, that these were always legitimate children of the royal family, and were obliged to spend their lives in those convents, to all which conditions the wives of the sun were obliged to submit; whereas in the other convents of the empire, they received maidens of all ranks and conditions, provided they were beautiful, and virgins of unsullied chastity; they being devoted to the Incas, to whom they were delivered up at first asking; and these were allowed to keep them as their mistresses, in case they happened to be agreeable in their eyes; and these convents were in reality so many seraglios, like those of the east. Such as attempted to violate the honour of the Incas' wives, were punished with as much severity as those who debauched the virgins devoted to the sun; for the law had enacted in this manner, because the crime was equally enormous.

Such young women as had been once pitched upon for the king's mistresses, and had had any commerce with him, were not allowed to return home without his leave, but attended in the palace in quality of ladies of the bed-chamber to the queen, till such time as they were permitted to return back into their own countries, where they received the utmost civilities, and were waited upon with a religious respect, because the people of their country thought it a great honour to have one of the Incas' wives. As for such nuns as were not chosen by the king for his mistresses, they remained in the convent till they grew in years; and after the king's death, his mistresses had the title of *Mamacuna* bestowed upon them by his successor, because they were appointed governants of his mistresses, whom they used to instruct, as a mother-in-law would teach her step-daughters. We should not have related these several particulars, which seem fitter for an episode in romance, than to embellish the religion of a people, had not the Peruvians considered every circumstance which relates to their sovereigns, as so many religious rites, or ceremonies.

There were several other ladies of the blood royal, who led a retired life in their own houses, and made a private vow of chastity without entering into any convent. If at any time they went abroad, it was only to visit their nearest female relations, when they were either indisposed, in labour, about cutting off the hair of their eldest children, or about giving them a name. These women were so conspicuous for their chastity, and the strictness of their lives, that they were honoured with the peculiar title of *Oello's*, a name which was sacred in their idolatrous religions. These ladies were obliged to be sincerely chaste, and not disguise it with a false varnish; for if ever the least trick or artifice was discovered in their conduct, they were either burnt alive or thrown

into the lion's den. A widow never stirred out of her house during the first year of her widowhood, and seldom married again if she had no children; and if she had any, she spent her life in perpetual continence, and never entered a second time into the married state. This virtue gained them so universal an esteem, that several very considerable privileges were granted in their favour; and there were many laws and statutes, by which it was expressly enacted, that the widow's lands should be ploughed sooner than those of the Curacas, or even of the Incas.

Before we conclude this article, it will be proper to take some notice of their confessions and the penance that followed after it. Persuaded from reason and the convictions of conscience, that the sins of mankind do necessarily draw down evils and the avenging arm of heaven, they imagined themselves bound to expiate their crimes by sacrifices and penances. There were confessors established in all parts of the empire, who always imposed a chastisement proportionable to the greatness of the sin, and there were also certain women who had a share in this religious function. In the province of Collasuyo they employed charms for the discovery of sins, and sometimes discovered them by inspecting the intrails of victims; for he who conceals his faults was beat with stones. They confessed themselves on all those occasions where the divine assistance is immediately necessary; but the great and solemn confession was made whenever the Inca was sick. The Inca confessed himself to the sun only, after which he washed himself in a running stream, addressing it in these words: Receive the sins which I have confessed to the sun, and carry them into the sea. Their penances consist in fastings, oblations, withdrawing into the most desert part of the mountains, scourgings, &c. and now we shall proceed to the marriage ceremonies.

We shall begin this part with the marriage of such as were either nearly or distinctly related to the Incas, of which Garcilasso gives the following account:—The king caused to assemble annually, or every two years, at a certain time, all the marriageable young men and maidens of his family, that were in Cusco. The stated age was eighteen or twenty for the maidens, and twenty four for the men; for they were never allowed to marry younger, because, said they, it was fitting the parties should be of an age requisite for the well governing their families, and affirmed that it was mere folly to dispose of them sooner in marriage.

When the marriage was agreed upon, the Inca set himself in the midst of them, they all standing one by another: he then called them by their names after which taking them by the hand, he made them promise a mutual faith, which being done, he gave

them into the hands of their parents. Then the new-married couple went to the house of the bridegroom's father, and the wedding was solemnized for three or four days or more, according as the nearest relations judged proper. The young women who were married in this manner, were afterwards called the lawful wives, or the wives given by the hand of the Inca; a title which was bestowed purely to do them the greater honour. When the Inca had thus married his relations, the next day the ministers appointed for that purpose married the rest of the young men, sons to the inhabitants of Cusco, in the same order, according to the division of the several districts, called Higher and Lower Cusco.

The relations furnished the moveables or utensils of the house, every one bringing something; and this they performed very punctually among themselves, and never made any sacrifices or other ceremonies at the weddings. The governors and Curacas were, by their employments, obliged to marry the young men and maidens of their provinces in the same manner. They were bound to assist in person at those weddings, or solemnize themselves in quality of lords and fathers of their country.

The corporations of every city were obliged to provide houses for their new-married citizens, and the nearest relations to furnish them with moveables. They did not allow the inhabitants of one province or city to marry with those of another, but were all obliged to marry among themselves, and with their own relations, like the ancient tribes of Israel; which was done to prevent their nations and families from being blended and confounded with one another. They nevertheless excepted sisters. All the inhabitants of the same city, or of the same province, called themselves relations, in case they were of the same nation, and spoke the same language.

To which let us add, that they were forbid to quit their province or city, or to go from one district to another, because they could not confound the *De curia* which had been established by the citizens; besides, their corporations regulated the houses, which they were not permitted to do more than once, and that only in their own districts, and with the consent of their relations.

The heir to the crown used to marry his own sister, in imitation of the sun and the first Inca. For, said they, since the sun took the moon his sister to wife, and had married their two first children together, it was but reasonable the same order should be observed with regard to the king's eldest children. They also added, that the blood of the sun must be mixed with that of men; that the succession ought to devolve on the heir both of the father and mother's side, and that otherwise he lost his right; for they were very exact with regard to the succession to the crown. The elder brother was lawfully

heir to the crown, and married his own sister; but in default of an own sister, he married that woman of the blood-royal who was nearest related to him, whether she was his half-sister, his cousin, his niece, or his aunt; and this she-relation might inherit the crown in default of male issue, as in Spain. In case the king's eldest sister brought him no children, he married her second or third sister, till such time as some were born to him.

This wife was called *Coya*, that is, queen or empress, and these kings, besides their lawful wives, usually kept several mistresses, some of whom were aliens, and others related in the fourth degree of consanguinity and even beyond. They looked upon those children which they had by their relations as legitimate, because they were of their own blood; but those whom the Incas had by the aliens, were considered as bastards; for notwithstanding the respect that was shewn them because of their royal extraction, they yet did not revere them as much as those of the royal blood: these they worshipped as gods, but honoured the others as men.

Purchas relates, on the testimony of the Spanish writers, that the bridegroom used to go to the house of his bride, and put her on the *Otoia*, a kind of shoe. If the bride were a virgin, the shoe was made of wool; but if a widow, it was made of a kind of reed. The royal habit of the Incas requires a particular explication; for which purpose we shall borrow the description of it from the author of the history of the Incas. The Inca generally wore a kind of twist about his head, called *Lauta*, of about an inch wide, and made almost in a square form, which went five or six times round his head, with a coloured border that reached from one temple to the other.

His habit was a waistcoat that reached down to the knee, called by the natives *Ucu*, and by the Spaniards *Cusma*, which is not a word of the general language, but rather of some particular province. Instead of a cloak they wore a kind of smirton called *Yacola*. The nuns also made a kind of square purse for the Incas, which they wore as it were in a sling, tied to a twist neatly wrought, and about the breadth of two fingers. These purses, called *Chuspa*, were used only to hold the herb *Cuca* or *Cocoa*, which the Indians generally chew. This *Cuca* was not then so common as in our days; for none but the Inca was allowed to eat of it, his relations and certain Curacas excepted, to whom the king used to send yearly several baskets full, by way of present, which was looked upon as a very great favour.

From their marriages, &c. we pass on to those customs which relate to their children, and the education they gave them. The Incas always made great feasts, and extraordinary rejoicings at the weaning of their eldest children; because the right



of seniority, particularly of males, was had in great esteem by the Incas, and after their example, by all their subjects; but few rejoicings were made at the birth of their daughters or younger children.

They weaned their children at two years old, and cut off their hair which they had brought with them into the world; never touching them till that time, nor did they give the name by which they were to be called. When this ceremony was to be performed, all the relations met together, and he who was chose godfather first cut the child's hair with his scissors, (if we may give that name to certain razors made of flint stone,) which they employed for that purpose, the Indians being unacquainted with those scissors used among us. After the godfather, the rest cut off some of the child's hair in their turn, according to their age and quality; which done, they all agreed upon giving it a name, and then offered it their several gifts, some giving clothes, others cattle, others weapons of several kinds, and others gold and silver drinking vessels, which however, were presented to none but those of the royal extraction, for the common sort of people were not allowed to use them, unless by a special grant.

The presents being made, they all drank copiously otherwise the festival would have been good for nought, and danced and sung till night. This lasted for three or four days, according to the quality of the child's relations. They observed almost the same ceremony at the weaning of the heir to the crown, and also cut off his hair, if we except that this was a royal solemnity, and that the high priest of the sun was always chosen for his godfather.—On this occasion all the Curacas of the kingdom assisted personally, or by their ambassadors, at the solemnity, which held for twenty days together, and made rich presents to the prince, such as gold, silver, precious stones, and the most valuable things of their respective provinces.

As subjects love to imitate their princes, the Curacas, and in general all those of Peru, made likewise great rejoicings on these occasions, according to their rank and quality: and this was one of their most solemn festivals. They were extremely careful not to bring up their children too tenderly, and this was generally observed from the king to the beggar. The moment the child was born, it was washed with cold water, and then wrapped up in swaddling clothes, which they repeated every morning, after having left the water in the dew the greatest part of the time. Moreover, when the mother was for feeding her child in an extraordinary manner, she took water in her mouth, and squirted it over all his body, the crown of the head excepted, which she never touched. When those people were asked why they did this, they answered, that they did it to insure their children to cold and toil, and strengthen

their limbs. They never swathed their arms till they were upwards of three months old, saying, that it would weaken them: And they generally kept them in a cradle, which was a kind of bench with four feet, one of which was made shorter than the rest, purposely that they might be rocked with greater ease. The bed in which the child lay, was a kind of coarse net, in which the babe was wrapped on both sides of the cradle, to prevent his falling out.

Mothers never took their children in their arms, not even when they gave them suck; for, said they, they would always be for staying in them, were they to be used to it, and then it would be a difficult matter to confine them to their cradles. However, whenever they thought proper to take them out of it, they used to make a hole in the ground, and set the child upright in it breast-high; they then swathed them with old cloths or rags, in order to make them lie the softer, and at the same time gave them several play-things to divert them with, but never once took them in their arms, though they were the children of the greatest lords in the empire. When a mother wanted to give her child suck, she used to lay herself down upon it, but never give it suck above three times a day, viz. at morning, noon, and evening; nor would she ever give it the breast but at those times, and would let it equal rather than suffer it to get a habit of sucking all day long. All the women of that country did the same, and the reason they gave for it was, that it made them nasty and subject to vomiting, that they became gluttonous when they grew up, and that the beasts themselves furnished them with an example, who never suckled their young but at certain times of the day, and not all night long. The greatest lady in the empire brought up her children herself, and never gave them to another to nurse, unless forced to it by some great indisposition; nor had she any commerce with her husband all the time she suckled it, for fear of spoiling her milk, which might throw the child into a consumption.

As the child grew up, they strengthened its body by labour and exercise, after which it was put under the direction of the Amautas, who were the Peruvian philosophers or doctors. These Amautas regulated the manners of their youth, instructed them in the ceremonies and precepts of religion, in the laws of the empire, and the duty which man owes to his fellow-creatures. The minds of children were cultivated almost from their tender infancy; at six or seven years of age they always had some employment assigned them, which was always suited to their years. In fine, the care they took to shun idleness and indolence, was such, as might justly put nations infinitely more knowing than themselves to the blush. Nor were they less careful of flying

from luxury, still more dangerous than idleness, whose only aim is to flatter the senses, and administer fuel to vanity, to awake in us a sense for pleasure in proportion as it decays in us, and which keeps the spirits in a perpetual hurry, even to the last gasp, notwithstanding its inability to produce the least fruits from all its labours, or even to discover one single mark of it.

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*Religion of those Savages who inhabit Canada and its Neighbourhood.*

The Jesuits have related many things concerning these people, which might have passed for truth had it not happened that great part of that country was in 1763, given up to the English, so that we have now the most uncontroverted accounts of every thing relating to them. That they are all idolators is not saying that they are any worse than the inhabitants of other heathen nations, and it must be acknowledged that in some things they are not so horribly gross and abominable as those in Africa. But then they are divided into so many different clans, tribes, hordes, &c. that in some particulars they differ much from each other. Of all these we shall proceed to give an account from the best and most respectable authorities.

In several of these nations, they worship the sun and as soon as they perceive day break, they waft the first cloud of smoke that comes from their calumets toward that object, at the same time mumbling over a few words, as their first morning prayers.—They afterwards smoke towards the four quarters of the world. Some of them paint their bodies over with the figures of wild beasts, to make them appear the more terrible to their enemies, which practice is of great antiquity, for we find it was practised by the ancient Britons.

In other parts of this vast extensive country, the savages believe the world to have been created by a woman, who, together with her son, presides over it. They say that man is the principle of every thing good, and woman the principle of every thing evil. They further believe, that the woman who created the earth, being big with child, fell down from heaven, and dropped on the back of a tortoise. It will appear evident to every unprejudiced person, that we have here the outlines of the Mosaic history of the fall of man, and although blended by fable, yet not more so than what is related by the Greek and Roman poets.

Others of these savages are of opinion that the world was created by a spirit, and that one Misson restored it after the flood. They tell us, that one

day as Misson was hunting, his dogs lost themselves in a great lake, which happening to overflow, soon spread itself over all the earth.

Those savages who inhabit near the source of the river St. Lawrence, believe that a woman hovered sometimes in the air, and at last fell down on the back of a tortoise, that mud gathered round the tortoise from the sea and formed the earth.

However, as this woman did not delight in solitude, a spirit descended from above, and finding her asleep, drew near to her, that the result of this was, she became with child, and was delivered of two sons who came out of her side. When those children were grown up, they exercised themselves in hunting, and as one of them was a much more skillful hunter than the other, jealousy soon occasioned discord, and the unskillful hunter, who was of a very savage temper, treated his brother with so much cruelty, that he left this world and ascended to heaven. This notion of theirs seems to relate to the two sons of Adam, Cain and Abel.

They have some idea of the flood, and they believe that the world began at that time. They say that Michapous, whom they look upon as a supreme being, first created the heavens, and afterwards created all the animals that were on floating woods and groves. With these he made a bridge, but foreseeing that all these creatures could not live long in that state, and that his work would be imperfect, unless he took care to secure them from misfortunes, and from being starved; and having at that time command only over the heavens, he addressed himself to Michinisi, the god of waters, and would have borrowed some land of him in order to settle his creatures on it, but Michinisi was not willing to comply with his request.

Thus disappointed, Michapous sent the beaver, the otter and the rat one after another, to search for land at the bottom of the sea, but none of them brought any thing except the rat, who had in her mouth a few particles of sand. Michapous kneaded this sand into a leaven, which swelled to a great mountain. The fox was ordered to walk round this mountain; but it was so large that he soon became weary, and the Michapous enlarged the mountain into a large terrestrial globe. Some of them are of opinion, that men sprang originally from the putrified carcases of beasts, and we find Virgil embracing the same notion concerning the origin of bees.

A steer of two years old they take whose head,  
Now first with burnish'd horns begins to spread:  
They steep his nostrils, while he strives in vain  
To breathe free air, and struggles with his pain.  
Knock'd down, he dies; his bowels bruis'd within,  
Betray no wound in his unbroken skin.

Extended thus, in his obscene abode,  
They leave the beast, but first sweet flowers are  
strew'd:

Beneath his body, broken bonnets and thyme,  
And pleasing Cassia, Just renew'd in prime.  
The tainted blood in this close prison pent,  
Begins to boil and thro' the bones foment;  
Then wondrous to behold, new creatures rise,  
A moving mass at first, and short of thighs;  
Till shooting out with legs, and impud with wings,  
The grubs proceed the bees with pointed stings.

These savages tell us farther, that some of the animals having quarrelled among themselves, Michapous killed them, and a man rose from the putrefaction; and this new man invented the bow and arrow, which he employed against the beasts. It happened one day, that one of them being separated from the rest, discovered a hut, where he found Michapous, who gave him a wife, and prescribed the several duties to be observed between them.—Man had hunting and fishing allotted him for his part, and all domestic affairs were committed to the wife. From these men proceeded, and they lived in felicity together, having power over the wildest and fiercest beasts; but as they began to multiply, so they were obliged to look out for new countries to hunt in. At length discord and jealousy began to arise among the hunters, and this they consider as the origin of wars.

We have been the more particular in our account of those different opinions concerning the creation of the world, because Lord Kames has, from those differences inferred, that there is not, in the whole world, any certain accounts to be depended on.—His lordship was of a very different opinion when he wrote his essays on religion, but alas! in his advanced years, he has changed his sentiments.—Some of these savages have temples erected to the sun, one of which is described in the following manner.

It is surrounded by a high wall, and the area within the wall serves for a place for the people to walk in. Upon this wall a great number of spikes are set, on the sharp ends of which they fix the heads of their enemies, and likewise those of the most notorious criminals.

Over the front is laid a great log of wood, raised high, and surrounded with hair, and garnished with scalps as so many trophies. The inside of the temple is painted with a vast number of figures, and in the middle is a sort of fire, a place which serves them for an altar. Two priests dressed in white, burn these logs, while the congregation are offering up their prayers. There is a closet in the wall which they call the tabernacle of God, and two eagles with extended wings hang on it, looking to-

wards the sun. Their prayers are three times a day, viz. at sun-rising, noon, and sun-setting.

The Canadians give the name of great spirit to that Supreme Being, whom they also call Quittici Manitou, and to whom they celebrate grand sacrifices.

They not only believe in the Supreme Being, but likewise in the immortality of the soul; and they consider all souls as emanations from the universal father of spirits. This notion is the same as we find embraced by the Greeks and Romans, and, indeed by almost all nations in the world, except those who are called Materialists; but happy for mankind their numbers are but few. But although these savages adore but one Supreme Being, yet, like other heathens, they have their idols, that is, they have images by which they represent the Divine attributes and operations. This propensity to idolatry among them needs not to be wondered at, when we consider, that they are followed, in some measure, by some who call themselves Christians.

The subject matter of all their hymns, is the praise of the beauties of the works of nature: the goodness of the Supreme Being; their victories, and the defeat of their enemies. The women address speeches to the rising sun, and present their children to him at the same time. From all this it appears, that these people are far from being Atheists, and probably it may be a doubt whether there is an Atheist in the world. Seneca, a heathen, says, that although men may in words deny the being of God, yet their hearts condemn the thought; and it is certain, that without a firm persuasion of the existence of an almighty power, man would be more miserable than the beasts in the field. For man has hopes or fears of something hereafter, whereas the beasts have none.

We are assured that it is a very difficult matter to convert these people to the Christian religion which can only be ascribed to two causes: first, the superstition of the Roman Catholics, whose ceremonies are in some measure, as ridiculous as their own; and secondly, to the want of human learning. It is necessary, however, to observe, that in consequence of these people being now subject to Great Britain, though still governed by the French laws, many improvements have been made; but of this we shall speak more largely afterwards.

In their marriage ceremonies they differ but little from the savages who inhabit Hudson's Bay. When a young man falls in love with a girl, he makes a formal demand of her from her father, or the nearest relation then living.

When they are come to an agreement, the young man's father assembles all his relations, and declares to them his intention of bestowing his son in marriage, and his relations bring as many things to the



hut as they can offer, as presents for the young savage.

His mother carries part of the goods to the young woman's hut, and, at the same time, the bride's mother declares to her daughter, that she has married her to such a person, meaning the young man already mentioned. The maiden must not make any objection, for that would be dishonourable. Every one gives something towards the bride's portion, but one of her relations always lays with her before her husband goes to bed.

There are several other particulars that might be mentioned concerning their marriages, but being of a civil nature, they have no connection with this work. We shall only observe, that the husband has a right to put his wife away if she is barren; but then they are obliged to give her proper notice, that she may provide herself with a new husband.

In Canada, when a husband and wife are determined to part, they bring into the hut where the marriage ceremony was performed, all the little pieces of a wand used on that occasion; and these they burn, without hesitation, which completes the divorce without any manner of dispute. When they imagine a woman to be past child-bearing, they never pay their addresses to her; for they look upon the fraud and design of marriage to be that of propagating the human species, and certainly this was its original design. Thus we find that the Jewish women were considered as objects of reproach when they had no children; and something of that nature is to be found in all nations in the world.

In all nations where those people whom we call savages live in a state of nature, they are not much afflicted with disorders, except such as are rather the effect of the climate than the effect of gluttony. And as they have but few diseases, so we should naturally imagine they could have but little occasion for physicians; for it may be said in the words of the poet,

The first physicians by debauch were made;  
Excess begun, and sloth sustain'd the trade.  
By toil our first forefathers earn'd their food,  
Toil-strung their nerves and purified their blood:  
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,  
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.  
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,  
Than see the doctor for a nauseous draught.  
The wise for health on exercise depend;  
God never made his works for man to mend.

But notwithstanding these salutary rules, yet we find, that even those savages who live in a state of nature, have their physicians, or rather impostors,

for they deserve no better name; their jugglers or mountebanks pretending to cure all manner of diseases by charms, spells, and enchantments; but then we may consider that few of these diseases are inveterate. Sweating is one of the methods used by them, and another of their methods is too curious to be passed over in silence.

They make a hot bath, into which the patient goes stark naked, along with others as naked as himself, whose business it is to rub him. This bath they cover over with the heads of wild bulls, flint stones, and pieces of rock made quite hot. The patient thus shut up in the bath, is obliged to keep in his breath every now and then, and while the juggler is singing as loud as he can bawl, those who are along with him in the bath also sing in concert.— They cure diseases of the legs and thighs by lancing the parts infected, with a knife made of stone or iron. These incisions are afterwards rubbed with bear's grease, or the fat of some other wild beast; and to expel the poison of serpents, they have a variety of charms. All those who act as physicians are also the priests, and they undergo a long probation, the manner of which is as follows: They shut themselves up in a hut during nine days, and are allowed no other subsistence than water. The novice holding a kind of bottle in his hand, full of pebble stones, with which he makes a continual noise, invokes the spirit, intreats him to speak, and to admit him into the number of spirits. The whole is accompanied with the most terrible howling, cries and agitations both of the body and mind, and he foams at the mouth like a madman.

As soon as this ridiculous part of the ceremony is over, he comes out of his hut, and boasts of his having conversed with the spirit; and having received from him the power of healing all sorts of diseases. Father Hemeipin adds, that nothing can be more dreadful than the cries and distortions of those jugglers, at the time of their practising their pretended enchantments. It is certain, that they carry on the deception with great skill and cunning, but in general the tricks they perform are too ridiculous to gain the esteem of any man of common sense. And to this may be added, that most of their pretended cures are rather the effect of chance, than any way owing to their knowledge of the human frame.— However, they are acquainted with the virtues of several physical herbs, which undoubtedly was the first way in which all diseases were cured.

When the juggler visits the patient, he asks him a great number of questions, promising, at the same time, to root out the evil spirit. He immediately withdraws to a little tent for that purpose. Here he sings, howls, and dances like a madman. He then sucks the patient's wounds, and drawing some little bones out of his mouth, tells him he has taken them

out of his body. He then tells him to be thankful under his sufferings, as it will be in his power to cure him. The juggler then demands his fees, and when he is paid, he sends several young men to hunt the elks and other deer. And here it may be necessary to observe, that many of the tricks practised by our quacks in Europe, are as ridiculous as any of those we have now mentioned. It frequently happens, that when the juggler finds he cannot cure the patient, he gives him something to dispatch him, and then tells his relation that the spirit has revealed to him that he is incurable. This supports the credit of the impostor, and ensures to him his fee, which is all he has in view. And is this not like the conduct of many of our European doctors, who amuse the relations of the patient while they are killing him according to the rules of art.

The juggler sometimes endeavours to persuade the patient that he is bewitched, and on such occasions, stretches his body upon a floor covered with beaver skins, or of the skins of some other beasts. The juggler then feels every part of the patient's body, till he comes to the place affected, and then he pronounces his charm which has the desired effect, because the disease instead of being real was only imaginary.

Although these savages believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet they have but confused notions concerning it; for they believe that souls transmigrate from one body to another; and as we have frequently occasion to mention these notions we may once for all observe, that because they could not account for the apparent unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, and not having proper notions of a future state, they believed that the souls of the wicked went into other bodies to be tormented.

They bury their dead with great pomp and ceremony, for they dress them, and paint their faces and bodies with different colours, after which they lay them in coffins made of the bark of trees, the outside of which they make extraordinarily smooth, with light pumice stones. They then set up a palisade round the tomb, which is always raised seven or eight feet from the ground. Their women wear mourning for eight years together, during which time they are not permitted to marry; but in this there is nothing extraordinary, because among these savages a widow seldom obtains a husband. Several of these people solemnize festivals in honour of the dead, and on such occasions they take the bones out of the graves, and put them into new ones lined with beaver skins.

Hunting is considered by these people as a religious exercise; and a few days before they set out to hunt the bull, their old men send out some young ones to view the place where the chase is to be.—

When the hunters are got there, they dance and sing according to the custom of the country, and at their return they expose for three days successively, several great kettles filled with feathers. During these three days, a woman of distinction walks in procession with a cauldron on her back, before a great number of hunters. The company is headed by an old man, who with great gravity carries a piece of cloth by way of standard or ensign. Before a young hunter goes to the chase for the first time, he is obliged to keep a religious fast, to which he prepares himself with the utmost care and attention that is generally observed by those who go through a state of probation in any order whatsoever. This fast continues three days during which time the novice is obliged to daub his face over with black, and this he imagines to be an homage he owes to the great spirit.

When they swear in their courts of judicature, they dip their heads in the blood of the victim that is to be offered up in sacrifice, and rub part of it over their foreheads. This they do as an appeal to the Supreme Being, that they tell the truth; and consequently were they to tell a falsehood, they would look upon themselves as condemned to eternal perdition; and this may serve to shew, that divine wisdom has impressed on the minds of the most unenlightened heathens, an obligation of telling the truth.

Such was the state of those savages when the French first settled among them; and those who were not converted to Popery, embrace the same sentiments even to this day. It is certain, that it was the design of the legislative power of Britain to convert these savages to Christianity; but unsurmountable difficulties presented themselves. First, when Canada was ceded to the English, the civilized part was inhabited by bigotted Roman Catholics, and the priests of that religion are always assiduous in making converts; on the other hand, the missionaries sent from Britain, were obliged to be extremely cautious, because by the treaty of capitulation, the civilized part of the Canadians were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

Missionaries from Britain could not therefore expect much success, and an act passed in this country, confirming all the privileges which these people formerly enjoyed, whether of a civil or religious nature. But still our society for the propagation of the Christian religion did not stop at these difficulties. Four missionaries were sent over to Canada, and are maintained there to this day, at the rate of two hundred pounds a year each. When we consider the troubles that have been in that part of the world, we need not be surprised that the labours of the missionaries have not yet been attended with the desired effect.

Secondly, another object the society had in view was, to convert the savages, but here many difficulties lay in their way. They were ignorant of the language spoken by the people, consequently they could not communicate their sentiments to them.—Probably these difficulties would have been got over, had not the war broken out; and it may be naturally supposed, that the Romish priests in Canada would rather wish to see the savages continue in a state of heathenism, than be made acquainted with the Protestant religion. All those who are members of false religion, are inveterate enemies to those who practise Christian duties. From the whole we may draw this conclusion, that nothing will ever, under the dispensation of the British government, bring about the conversion of these savages, but the pious lives of our missionaries. Let them only consider that they are accountable beings; let them consider that they were not born for themselves, and then they will go cheerfully on with the work committed to their care; they will enlighten the heathen nations, and join in immortality with those souls of whose conversion they were the instruments.

### *Religion in California.*

It is much to be lamented, that notwithstanding the many discoveries lately made in commerce, in the extension of trade, and the knowledge of navigation, yet we are still left in ignorance concerning the religion, or even the civil customs and manners of the people of California. This is still the more to be wondered at, when we consider that many of our navigators have visited that country. One thing indeed, must be observed, that seamen are bad historians, and therefore we must take our accounts of them from such authors as are of the highest reputation for their integrity. The form of their government is such as discovers that they are not totally ignorant of those circumstances that conduce to the maintaining of order and regularity. But nevertheless, the little religion they seem to have, is vastly odd and fantastic, but still they are not, so far as we can learn, very superstitious. Great adoration is paid to water, because, say they, it contributes towards promoting the growth of corn and other food, as the proof of its being the only support of life.

Their dress consists mostly of figures made of rabbit skins, whimsically daubed over. In this manner, the king of the country consents to be daubed also; but it will be asked, what has all this to do with religion? The answer is obvious. These people know nothing of religion, for they observe so many ridiculous ceremonies, that all sentiments of

an intellectual nature are alienated from their minds. As they worship idols, so they have temples erected to their memories, where they perform what they call their sacred devotions. They imagine that it is here that the devil comes to divert himself whenever he is forced to ramble from one place to another. But here we must not be too precipitate in our judgments, because travellers are apt to relate things from bare hearsay, without knowing any thing of the nature of them. The Jesuits who visited the country, imagined that the only way to ingratiate themselves into the affections of these people, was to make them believe they came from the sun; for by an evasion, they thought they might easily substitute the sun of righteousness in place of that luminary which gives light to the world.—Some Indians who suspected the truth of this mission, asked why these messengers had not been sent from the sun before? To which it was answered, he was too young. This answer was suitable enough to a savage, and the conclusion of the conference was that they acknowledged him to be the son of that planet. This pretended son, in order to increase the number of the faithful, raised a wooden cross, and commanded his companions the Spaniards to adore it, as an example for the imitation of the infidels. To these he prescribed the time and manner of adoration, and as we may take it for granted, that he worshipped the rising sun in the morning, they were to worship the cross at the same time.

In their marriage ceremonies they have very little remarkable, any farther than that they are of a very mercenary nature. The young man gives a certain sum of money for the bride, who is considered as an article of commerce. When the parties are agreed, the relation of the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride's parents, and makes a formal demand of her. He mentions what money, or other things he has advanced as purchase-money, and they give their approbation in consequence of their being satisfied.

These preliminaries being settled, the bride is conducted home in triumph, and there is a feast prepared for her and all the family relations. Polygamy is permitted among these people, for they are allowed to marry as many wives as they can support, but they are not to discard them on every frivolous pretence. Indeed, the nature of conjugal duty is not considered as very sacred in this country, because there are some crimes committed that ought not be named. However, thus much we may take notice of, that the men in this country, if they are rich, keep a great number of boys dressed in women's clothes; what use they make of these boys needs not be mentioned, but we are only surprised to find that savages should commit the same unna-



tural crimes as those who live in what are commonly called civilized nations.

Is not this shocking!—Shall those who are called polite, be more addicted to unnatural crimes than savages? Yes; and to the dishonour of mankind, and the disgrace of human nature; where learning is cultivated—vice generally increases. And is this owing to learning? No; It is owing to the abuse of it. The corruption of human nature is such, that men seldom make great progress in learning, without, at the same time, dishonouring themselves by an attachment to all those vices which are a dishonour to their characters, and make them even more contemptible than the beasts that perish.

When we consider the antiquity of this horrid crime, its extension among the heathen nations, the encouragement it still meets with in Italy, and the progress it has made in Great Britain, we are lost as it were in astonishment to discover that passion which gives rise to it. Indeed it is a just and very pertinent observation of archbishop Fenelon, That notwithstanding all the pretended politeness of the Greeks and Romans, yet as to mortal virtue and religious obligations, they were no better than the savages in America! But to proceed with our narrative.

When any of these people die, the whole village is in an uproar, for the women meet together and scream out in the most hideous manner. They tear their hair, and throw ashes over their upper garments, to make the people believe they are sincerely in earnest. The body of the deceased is washed and laid out, after which they carry it out to a funeral pile erected in the neighbourhood.—Here a great many hymns are sung in honour of the deceased, reciting all the heroic actions of his life, and these songs are attended with a great number of gestures.

This part of the ceremony being over, a great number of aromatic herbs and flowers are brought to the funeral pile, and when the priests have mumbled over a certain number of prayers, fire is set to the pile and all the materials are consumed along with the body of the deceased. They do not burn the bodies of the women along with their husbands as is done in the East Indies, from which circumstance we may learn, that all heathens are not equally barbarous. There is one circumstance which must not be omitted relating to these people, and that is, adoption.

Men who have no children of their own, in order to perpetuate their names and keep up their family distinctions, make choice of the son of a slave, whom they educate as their own, give him their name, and at their death, leave him in possession of their whole fortune. This piece of mean, vulgar, pride was much attended to by the ancient Romans,

and it was common among them to have as many adopted sons as real ones. Perhaps it was owing to this, that the Romans have been so frequently accounted as destitute of natural affections. A parent may be a man of humanity, he may do many things to relieve the wants of his fellow-creatures, but still notwithstanding all that, he cannot consider the child of another as his own. It is certain, however, that this prevailed in ancient times in Asia, and it is easily to be accounted for.

Polygamy, as it makes wives cool and regardless towards their husbands, so it makes fathers forget the duty they owe to their children. The man who has more wives than one, has not a sincere friend in the world, and the parent who has children by different wives, is, in general, partial to those descended from favourites.

Mr. Gray says,

—A favourite has no friend.

Had the poet reversed the words, and said, that favourites are generally spoiled in the education, perhaps he would have acted more consistent with his character as an able writer; but this we may venture to affirm, that wherever polygamy exists, the parent can never do his duty to all his children. His affections are as it were divided; he loves his offspring, but he is obliged to offend his favourite wife, if he is not partial to her children instead of the others.

We shall conclude this account of the religion of California, by observing, that if our modern navigators had been as assiduous in promoting the interests of these savages, as they have been in giving us a description of the country, they might have procured immortal honour, and brought everlasting glory to their country. But why should we look for that in some men, who deny a particular providence? Bold and intrepid they go out on voyages, paying no regard to death or eternity. They laugh at every thing that is serious in religion, and boldly assert, that Divine providence has no concern with the affairs of this lower world. Such is the effect of abused talents, such is the use that is too commonly made of human learning. But still let it never be forgotten, that those who love religion, will at all times endeavour to make every one as happy as themselves; for the exercise of real knowledge is to do good to all those who want our assistance.

### *Religion of the Virginians.*

In treating of the religion of the Virginians, we do not mean those British subjects now settled in

that part of America, but the ancient savages, and particularly those who still inhabit the back settlements. These Indians are so tenacious of every secret relating to their religion, that it is considered as sacrilege in any one to reveal a single secret of it.

When the English first settled here in the reign of queen Elizabeth, they found a temple about thirty feet long and eighteen broad, and there was a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. The gate of the temple was at one end, and at some distance on the outside, stakes were set up quite round it, the tops of which were painted, representing men's faces.— They did not find one window in all the temple, nor any place for the light to enter in at, except the door, and the hole in the chimney. At the end, over against the door, there was a separation made of matting, worked very close together, which inclosed a place about ten feet in length, and which did not let in one single ray of light.

The English adventurers were at first afraid to prevail upon themselves to enter into this place, but at last they did, and found in the middle of the inclosure, a place surrounded with stakes, at the top of which were great shelves, from whence they drew these mats that were rolled up and sewed together, on one of which some bones were laid, and on another the Indian weapon of destruction, called a tomahawk. They had tied to one of these tomahawks, the waddles of a turkey-cock painted red, and the two longest feathers of his wing hung at the end, tied with a string of about five or six inches in length, having a notch at the top for the setting in of the head. In the third mat was some inlaid work, which they took for the idol of the Indians. Underneath was another board, not half so long as the former, and which they fastened with pieces of wood, that, being set in on every side, stood out about fourteen or fifteen inches from his body, and which are round the knees of the image to bend.

The Virginians have several names for this image, but he is in general represented with a pipe of tobacco in his mouth, and what is more surprising, he really smokes, but then there is a priest artfully placed behind him, who, unseen by the worshippers, lights the pipe. The darkness with which this idol is surrounded, prevents the ignorant worshipper from seeing the priest who carries on the deception; for were they once to look in, they would no longer pay any worship to inanimate beings conducted by knives. And here we have a beautiful allusion to many passages in the sacred scriptures, where idolatry is compared to darkness, and the truth or true religion to light. Lord King justly observes, that by darkness is not only meant the ignorance of the heathen nations concerning divine things, but likewise those numerous abominations which were trans-

sacted under the covert of real darkness, and some of these are such as ought not to be described.

These Virginians, like many other heathens, worship the sun; and at day-break the devotees of both sexes go out fasting to their idol temples, and wash themselves in a running stream. The ablation continues till the sun appears, nor do they suffer their children of ten years of age to omit this religious duty. As soon as the sun is above the horizon, they offer him tobacco. They consider all nature as entirely under the direction of their idol, which is much more to their honour, although idolators, than to the reputation of those who call themselves Christians, yet blasphemously deny a particular Providence.

Whenever they go on a journey, they then burn tobacco to the sun, in order to obtain his assistance. When they cross a lake or river, they throw tobacco into it, in order that the spirit who presides in such place, may grant them a safe passage. And when they return home from hunting, from war, or from any dangerous employment or enterprise, they offer up the best part of their spoils to their idols. Many of the ancients observed the same customs, and even at present, not only among the Roman Catholics, but even among the Protestants, the colours and standards taken in war, are put up as trophies of victory in the most celebrated churches. And why all this formality? And why should the sentiment so universally prevail? The answer is obvious. There is a principal implanted in the human mind, that leads men to consider themselves as dependent on some superior being. They hereby acknowledge that it was to him they were indebted for the victory obtained; and, as a grateful return, they dedicate to him the most valuable of the spoils taken from the enemy.

These savages have but a confused notion of the creation of the world, but they all acknowledge that there is a Divine Being, to whom all their gods or idols are subject. They say, that this Being leaves men entirely to the freedom of their own wills, while he himself continues in a state of indolence, out of which all the worship they offer him is not able to recover him. This system being entirely that which was embraced by the followers of Epicurus amongst the heathens, and the Sadducees among the Jews, we shall not say any thing concerning it, because it is a bold attempt to set aside the utility of public and private worship; for if God does not take notice of the actions of men in this life, then the whole bounds of religion are removed; there is no motive to duty; there is nothing to restrain us as mortals from committing the most horrible, the most unnatural crimes.

But that the reader may have a just notion of the

sentiments of these people, which are the same with those of Lucianus, we shall here present him with what Lucianus has written on the subject.

How the vast mass of matter, nature, free—  
From the proud care of th' meddling deity,  
Doth work by her own private strength and move,  
Without the trouble of the gods above;  
For how good gods can those that live in peace,  
In undisturb'd and everlasting ease,  
Rule this vast all, their labouring thoughts divide,  
Twist heaven and earth, and all their motions  
guide:

Send heat to us, the various orbs controul,  
Or be immense, and spread o'er all the whole?  
Or hide the heavens in clouds, whence thunder  
thrown,

Does beat their own aspiring temples down.  
Or through vast deserts breaks th' innocent wood,  
Mother to the bad, but strikes the just and good.

All we shall here add is, that those who have been the most irreligious in this world, formed their notions upon the inequality of rewards and punishments. Were all the wicked to suffer just punishments in this life, and all the virtuous to be rewarded, what occasion would there be for a future judgment? In many cases God has shewn himself to be at the head of divine providence, but not in all; to convince men, that however hardened they may be in wickedness while in this world, yet there may be a time, or a period, when the mask of hypocrisy will be laid aside, nay, it will be stripped off, and the daring sinner will stand as a culprit at the bar of infinite justice. On the other hand, the oppressed virtuous man should rest satisfied in this that God will be his friend at the last day, notwithstanding all the sufferings he may have been subjected to in this world; for it is an established maxim both in natural and revealed religion, that the upright judge of the universe, will not deceive his creatures.

Peter Williamson, who published the account of his captivity among those Virginian savages in 1758, has given us a particular description of their priests, who are at the same time, a sort of vagabond quack doctors. They use a vast number of spells and charms; and although they are no strangers to the efficacy of herbs in curing many diseases, yet they are such amazing impostors, that they make their patients believe that they cannot be cured till they have invoked the assistance of one of their idols.—This is a mystery of iniquity indeed, but not more than is to be met with in other heathen nations.—When they have been successful in war, they come home loaded with spoils, and having collected the whole tribe together, they light a fire and dance

in a confused manner round it. Their priests partake of this solemnity, dressed in their sacerdotal habits, and these priests begin the song. Nothing can be more terrible than to behold their solemnities? for they roar out and make such a hideous noise, that even wild beasts would be afraid of them.

When they go out to war, every one carries a hatchet or tomahawk in his hand, and when peace is concluded the hatchet is buried; probably it is owing to this custom that so many hatchets have been dug up in Virginia, some of which are now to be seen in the British Museum.

We are assured that the Indians in Virginia look upon marriage as a very solemn act; and that the vows they then make are solemn and inviolable.—The husband and wife may live separately if they cannot agree; but divorces are looked upon as scandalous. As for their children, they plunge them into cold water the moment they are born, and they educate them much after the same manner as the Canaries and other savages of North America, from their earliest infancy, till they arrive at years of manhood.

These savages believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, but still they seem to have very odd notions concerning it. They look upon the separate state of departed souls as an habitation beyond the mountains, and into those unfrequented mansions, they imagine the soul retires after death. This may serve to shew, that although these people are barbarians and savages in their manners, yet they retain the first principles of natural religion. This will for ever remain as an eternal scandal to those who have denied this leading sentiment.—Whether their notions concerning the immortality of the soul are of a corporeal nature or not, is not easily known. This probably was the reason why the heathens have run into so many gross notions, concerning things of the utmost importance.

The last thing we shall take notice of, is, what should always come last, viz. an account of their preparations for death, and their funeral solemnities. When a person is taken sick, he sends for the priest, who comes and mumbles over him a great number of words which no person understands but himself.

They beat drums so as to stupify the patient, and when he expires, they say that he would have lived longer had he not been guilty of some unpardonable crimes. This is undoubtedly a very good juggling trick, and the character of the priest is supported although the patient dies.

In their funeral rites and ceremonies they differ but little from the other savages in America. When a person dies they wrap up his body for one day in



linen cloth, or in the skins of beasts. Next day they cut the flesh from off his bones, and burn it in the fire. They then prepare for the funeral, and the women make a dreadful howl round the corpse. They make a wooden coffin in which they put the body, and then it is carried to the place of interment.

The body is laid in the grave, which is generally in one of the woods, and there another howling begins, which continues for several days without intermission. They sacrifice some sheep and goats in honour of the deceased, and what will perhaps seem very surprising, they rejoice that they have been delivered from all the afflictions of a tumultuous world. The women dress themselves in white, and the men are dressed in the most sumptuous manner, according to the custom of their country. When they have deposited the body, they sing several mournful elegies, and they have an entertainment provided for them. This is just what the Greeks call a dirge, and what we commonly call a funeral solemnity. They remember annually the deaths of their friends; all which may serve to shew that these heathens are not such strangers to natural religion as we are too fondly apt to imagine.

### *Religion of the Natives of Hispaniola.*

With respect to this part of south America, we are well acquainted with it, our connections with the people have been great, and therefore we can with the greater clearness, give an account of their religious sentiments. That their religious sentiments are much the same with those we have already mentioned in our account of Peru, will appear from comparing them together. The Peruvians adored the sun, and so did the inhabitants of Hispaniola. The grand object of worship among the heathens was the sun, and therefore we need not be surprised that so many persons were addicted to it. From what motives the heathens were led to adore the sun, is not our business to inquire, but we shall now proceed to give an account of the religious sentiments of these people at present. Indeed we may naturally imagine, that the worship of the sun was in such honour and respect among idolators, that they looked upon every person who found fault with it as no better than a blasphemist. This, however, is a dangerous notion; for nothing can be considered as an object of worship but what is recorded as such in Divine Revelation.

These people were actually guilty of offering up human sacrifices, and their merciless hearts were deaf to the cries of innocent children. We are sorry

to say, that in the course of this work, we have had occasion to point out these crimes. Let them be ever so horrid in themselves, yet they are of great antiquity; they were practised among the ancient Canaanites, and if any regard is to be paid to history, they were common even among the ancient Britons. However, not to enlarge upon things remote from the subject, we shall only take notice, that as these people offer sacrifices to the sun, so they naturally expect some favours from him. Not that they have any reason for doing so, but only because superstition having laid hold of their minds, they do not chuse to quit the favourite object. It is true, that they have temples to the sun, but they are poor mean structures; for what they were in former times is entirely out of the question at present, which, however, we shall have occasion to take some notice of afterwards, and in the mean time we shall proceed to consider their mode of worship, duties, articles of marriage ceremonies, vows, solemn engagements, treaties of war and peace, their priests, religious obligations, attending upon their festivals, the manner in which the sick are healed on a death bed, their funeral rites, and what they observe in honour of the deceased, which increases according to the nature of his quality.

The religious worship they paid their idols or demons, had something remarkable in it; for the Canques always caused the solemnity of it to be proclaimed by heralds, and used on the day appointed for the ceremony, to walk in procession by beat of drum, at the head of the subjects of both sexes, who were dressed in their best clothes, but (strange to imagine) the maidens went naked. The whole company went afterwards to the temples of those false gods, who were there represented in a very grotesque manner, and much in the same manner as our painters represent the devil.

The priests used also to worship these idols, and pray to them with so much zeal, or rather with so many cries and howlings, as must necessarily terrify a company of poor wretches, who had not cunning enough to find out the trick which those insidious priests concealed under their pretended devotion.—It was then they presented the oblations of the devotees to their gods, which were partly cakes brought by women in baskets, adorned with flowers; after which, as soon as the priest had given the signal, they danced and sung the praises of the *Zemes*, whom we have already mentioned under the name of *Chemens*, and offered their cakes. The whole concluded with the praises of their ancient kings, and with prayers for the prosperity of the nation.—The priests used to divide these cakes into several pieces, and distribute them among the men, and they were obliged to keep them a whole year in their

houses, because they were considered as sacred, and antidotes against several sorts of disorders, as well as common accidents.

When the procession was got to the door of the temple, the Guagua, who was at the head of it, set himself down at the entrance, and all the people went in singing, and passed as it were in review before him. When they were got to the idol, they thrust a little stick down their throats, in order to make them vomit, for they were obliged to present themselves pure and unsullied before their god, and with their hearts as it were on their lips.

Their Zemes revealed themselves to the priests, and these priests acted their parts so well as to make the people believe that the idols spoke to them, which was, in all respects, consistent with the tricks practised by the priests among the Greeks and Romans of old. If the idol danced and sung, it was a good omen, but if he discovered a sorrowful air, the people were sad and dejected, gave themselves up to grief and tears, and fasted till there were some hopes of their being reconciled to their gods.

The account they give of the origin of mankind, is whimsical enough, and such as does hardly deserve a place in this work, were we not under the necessity of relating all their religious sentiments.—Men, say they, came out of two caverns of a certain mountain, and out of one of them came those whom we may call the good, that is to say, the flower and choicest part of human kind; and from the other, the most vile and worthless part of them. The sun, greatly enraged at this, turned him into a stone, who keeps the opening of the mountain, to prevent the birth of mankind, and metamorphosed those new created beings into frogs, toads, &c.

This notion is as ridiculous as some of those of the ancients, who believed that men sprung from oaks. Nay, what was still more ridiculous among these people in Hispaniola, they believed that the sun and moon both came out of caves. These caves were in such high reputation, that the people went annually in procession to them: for who would not visit the place where the object of their worship was born. These caves were embellished with pictures in the Indian taste, but before they entered, they always paid their devotions to two devils, who stood centinels at the gates; or rather to the figures of two devils, for we must not believe they were spirits, as all devils naturally are.

Polygamy, or a plurality of wives, was allowed by the laws of the country, for men were permitted to marry as many women as they could support.—As this custom was in every respect inconsistent with natural and revealed religion, so it must have led to the commission of unhuman crimes. There are some passions that no human laws can restrain nor bring into proper subjection; for shut nature

out at the door and she will come in at the window. The Spaniards were sensible of this, and therefore they made a pretext of it to put many of those poor idolators to death, under the most execrating torments. This was not the way to convert these poor people to Christianity, as will appear from the following plain, artless anecdote.

An old Cacique, of the province of Nicaragua, discoursing with a Spaniard, who attended upon one of these first conquerors, spoke thus to him:—

“Tell me, Christian, what you understand by Christianity? The Christians feed upon our provisions, lie with our wives, are idle, gamblers, and blasphemers; are mischievous, continually craving gold and silver; are abusive, and irreligious at mass; quarrel and fight with one another; on the whole, I take them to be a set of wicked wretches.”

There is perhaps more good sense and real truth in the words of this heathen, than can be found in thousands of volumes, written in defence of Christianity; for how can a heathen believe any doctrine to be true, while he, at the same, beholds with the utmost detestation, the person who teaches it, acting inconsistent with what he recommends to others. The Spaniards had no other object in view, when they invaded those countries, than that of acquiring riches, and those riches have actually been, in some measure, the ruin of their dominions in Europe. The importation of gold and silver from South America into Spain, has thrown the people of that country into a languid state of lazy indolence.

Instead of employing the people in the useful arts of peace, by promoting arts and manufactures, they have actually sent their millions of gold to other European nations to obtain in return the necessaries of life. This has brought dishonour upon them, and we may venture to affirm, that if ever the Spaniards become equally brave as their ancestors once were, they must relinquish their conquests in South America, and be content with the enjoyment of those possessions they have in Europe, which are indeed very extensive.

It is in a manner needless to mention that these people believe the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. This sentiment being universal among the heathens, we shall therefore only add, that the manner in which they inter their dead, shews their firm belief of it, and they look upon it as the most comfortable notion that can be embraced.

As they believed that the sun was the Supreme Being, so they interred their dead at that moment of time when that glorious luminary first made its appearance above the horizon, and the face was always towards it. If this does not point out a faint

notion of the general resurrection, we know not what can. As the faces of the deceased were laid so as to front the rising sun, so it must have been in consequence of a fixed belief that the sun would one day raise their bodies. It is in a manner impossible to account for it on any other principle, for why all this care concerning the dead, if they were to perish for ever. The more we look into the practices of the heathen nations, the more we are in love with the gospel, which has removed the clouds of darkness from before our eyes, and laid open a path leading to everlasting happiness.

### *Religion of the Mexicans.*

We have already taken notice of the first population of America, so that it is needless to enlarge further on that subject. We have no doubt but the inhabitants of Mexico offered human sacrifices, for although the Spaniards have related many things against them, which perhaps may not be true, yet this seems to be indisputable. But let their practices be ever so barbarous (and barbarous undoubtedly they were) yet this will in no manner whatever vindicate the Spaniards for committing such horrid acts of cruelty as they confessedly did. The heathens harboured only false notions of religion, or rather idolatry, offered human sacrifices to their idols, and the Spaniards, guided by a false zeal, extirpated thousands of people because they were idolaters. The case before us is not what had these Indians done, but merely how they ought to have been treated by Christian adventurers. It was the duty of the Spaniards to have convinced them of their errors, but not to have let loose the fury of a coercive power upon men, who were rather objects of pity than of punishment. Indeed the Spaniards had no right to punish them; for although Joshua did so to the Canaanites of old, yet that has no application to the present argument. Joshua had a divine commission, and that was what the Spaniards could not pretend to; unless they give that name to the commission they had received from the pope. The truth is, the Spaniards only wanted their money, and therefore they did not pay any regard to the highest duties of moral obligation, but like some English adventurers in the present age, they murdered their thousands and ten thousands, that they might have an opportunity of aggrandizing themselves.

In the capital city of Mexico were eight temples, equally magnificent, and built pretty near alike; but there was one which excelled the rest in bigness and its prodigious extent, so that a city containing five hundred houses might have been built in the court of it. This edifice was a long time the centre of

Mexican idolatry, and therefore we shall give a particular description of it.

The worshippers first entered into a large quadrangle, surrounded with a great stone wall, where the figures of several serpents struck terror into the beholders, particularly at the front of the first door, which was filled with these figures, under which some very mysterious signification was concealed. Before their arrival at this gate, there stood a kind of a chapel, which was full as terrible. It was built of stone, raised thirty steps, having a terrace at the top, on which several trunks of great trees, all lopped of an equal height, were planted on a level at equal distances, on which poles were laid from tree to tree. On each of these poles hung the skulls of several unhappy wretches who had been sacrificed, whose number could not be related without terror.

The four sides of the quadrangle had each a gate, exactly facing one another, and looked to the four cardinal points. Four stone statues were placed over each gate, which seemed to point out the way, and to command those to return back who were for going thither with an irreligious heart. These were considered as porter gods, upon which account they were saluted at going in. The apartments of the sacrificing priests and masters were built in the inside of the wall of the quadrangle, together with some shops that went round the whole, which however took up but little room, its extent being so vast, that eight or ten thousand persons used to dance in it at ease, on their most solemn days.

In the centre of this quadrangle, a great stone edifice was erected, which in fairweather was seen to the tops of the highest buildings in the city. It always lessened in bigness upwards, till it formed a half pyramid, three sides of which were shelving, and the fourth supported by a staircase. It was a most sumptuous pile of building, according to the rules of architecture used in that country. It was four hundred feet high, and built so strong, that its top which was flat, was a square, forty feet on each side, and was finely paved with squares of jasper stones of all kinds of colours. The pillars which surrounded it in the form of rails, winded like the shell of a snail, and both sides of it were faced with black marble. On the two sides of the rail or balustrade where the staircase ended, two statues supported two ancient candlesticks. At some distance from this was a stone of green colour, five feet in height, sharp bottomed, and here the unhappy wretch who was to be sacrificed, was laid on his back, when they ripped up his bosom and took out his heart. Above this stone, and opposite to the staircase, was a large strong chapel, the roof of which was of curious wood, under which their idol was seated on a very high altar, with curtains around it.



We have hitherto touched on the sacrifices offered up by these people in a general cursory manner, and therefore it is necessary that we should now be a little more explicit, wishing sincerely that what we are going to relate had never happened, though the regard we have for truth obliges us to mention it. These bloody sacrifices among the Mexicans, were performed in the following manner.

The victims were led to the altars, which might have been justly compared to so many charnel houses, or burying grounds. There they were closely guarded by some Mexican soldiers, who waited till such time as the poor victims should be put to death. To heighten their agitated misery, they were presented with the sight of thousands of their fellow creatures, who had been sacrificed before them. A priest holding an image in his hand, approached towards them, crying out, at the same time, there is your god. This done, they withdrew, going off from the other side of the terrace, when the victims were immediately brought upon it, this being the place appointed for the sacrifice. Here it was that the six servants of the priests slaughtered the victims, two of these took the victims by the feet, two others held his arms, a fifth held his head, and the sixth ripped open his stomach, whence they tore out his heart and held it up still smoking to the sun, after which turning himself towards the idol, he threw the heart in his face.

The victim being thus dispatched they threw the body down from the terrace to the bottom, and we are assured, that they not only sacrificed all the captives they took in war, but actually feasted on them.

They never sacrificed less than forty or fifty of these poor wretches at a time, and those nations who bordered on them, or were subject to them, imitated this bloody mode of worship. On solemn occasions it was the duty, or rather the office of the high-priest of the temple, to rip up the victim's stomach, and this he did in such a dexterous manner, that it surprised all those who saw him, except his own pupils, who were very expert butchers.

It was a custom among them on certain festivals, to dress a man in the bloody skin just reeking from the body of one of their victims, and we are assured that some of their greatest princes and governors thought it no dishonour to have the skin wrapped about them, so as the person sacrificed was a gentleman, or a person of rank. However, when a poor person was wrapped in the skin, he ran up and down the streets like a madman, demanding charity from all he met with, and those who refused to comply with his request, he was sure to knock down. This bloody masquerade continued till such time as the skin began to corrupt, and then the vagrant re-

turned home to his own house, in order to indulge himself in all sorts of voluptuousness.

It was always their custom before they sat down to eat or drink, to offer the sun some part of the victuals of which they were to partake, and they had many other ceremonies, which although as ridiculous as any we have mentioned, yet were not more so than many of those practised by the learned Greeks, and by the political Romans.

Like all other barbarians who embraced false religions, their penances were extremely severe. The priests were considered as they are in some Christian communities, as mediators between God and men, so that here was an absolute power lodged in the priest, and when this solemn penance was to be performed, it was the custom of the people to meet at midnight in the temple of the idol, when one of them used to call the rest together for their devotion, with a kind of horn, of which there is now one in the British Museum, and while the horn was sounded, another was employed in moving the idol.

Then one of the priests let a little blood out of the ankle of the penitent, by pricking it with a thorn or a stone lancet. After this, he rubbed his temples and ears with this blood, then went out and washed himself in a certain fountain or running stream, which from all these circumstances put together, was called, "The water of blood."

These Mexican priests observed a very rigorous fast, extending sometimes to seven days together, and this was always previous to their solemn festivals. During these fasts, those who were married abstained from all commerce with their wives, and possibly there might have been some sort of nominal merit in this, had it been built on a rational foundation, but this was laying such a restraint on human nature, as was inconsistent with the order of God. To this may be added, that during these fasts, they were guilty of crimes too odious to be mentioned, so that we shall pass them over in silence.

All these Mexican priests were possessed of great revenues, and by their knavish tricks they made the people believe they were entitled to them. Happy, had this principle never diffused itself among Christians who profess to be the followers of a poor despised carpenter, and whose disciples even procured a subsistence by their labour, but priests and gospel ministers are two different sorts of people, and with respect to the former it may be justly said.

The priests of all religions are,

And will be still the same;

And all, though in a different way,

Are playing the same game.

But besides these priests, the people of Mexico had their vestals or nuns. All these were dressed in white, as an emblem of innocence; but alas! experience has shewn that no robes with which the human body is clothed, can alter the state of corrupt nature, or give innocence to the soul. Here nuns were forlorn, they are among the Roman Catholics, admitted into their convents so early in life, that they do not know how far the power of human nature will operate upon them. These were under the direction of a governess or abbess, whose office was to keep the temple clean, and the young nuns dressed the sacred meats that were presented to the idols. They were at midnight to administer to the gods, and to examine certain articles, which the rules of their order obliged them to observe. Above all, they were bound to preserve their chastity unsullied, the violation of which was punished with death.

This contrivance was not, indeed, to be perpetual, since as they were sent to the convent only to fulfil some vow, which their parents had made to their gods, they were allowed to marry after a certain term of years. It is even probable, that this abbess, or matron, might superintend a kind of nunnery, where young women were brought up in the same manner as they are at our boarding schools; for those young ones were taken from under their care as soon as their parents thought proper.

They had also a seminary for the education of boys, who were admitted into it when they were about seven or eight years of age. During the time these boys were living in the convents, they were confined down to a certain number of rules, much like the novices in the popish convents. These youths used to have the tops of their heads shaved, and the rest of the hair cut so short, that it scarce covered their ears, but it fell as low as their shoulders behind, except when they used to tie it up in a kind of tuft behind. They wore a linen vestment, and lived in the most exemplary manner. Under them were several sorts of novices, whose business it was to cleanse all the vessels belonging to the temple; but these, in consequence of their merit, often rose to the highest dignities.

These natives of Mexico had many festivals, but all of them were attended with the most horrid, and bloody sacrifices. Indeed, it seems to have been a maxim among these people, that the god whom they worshipped, or rather the idol, should be just such an one as themselves. Barbarous, cruel, and unfeeling, their own corruptions pointed this out, and so far were they from forming benevolent notions of the Divine Being, that they actually became so corrupt as to imagine that he would take pleasure in human sacrifices.

On all their festival days, the priests, like a parcel

of abandoned villains, employed some wretches to submit to be flogged, in order to make the deluded populace believe they were sincere penitents. In this, there is nothing at all strange, for the author of this actually saw at Antwerp, in Flanders, June 1736, several wretches, hired by the Roman Catholic priests to whip themselves, under the stale pretence that they were real penitents. Thus we find that popery and rogueship go hand in hand together, and we can plainly see that the former was borrowed from the latter.

There was one god or idol the Mexicans paid much regard to, whose name has not been transmitted to us, but he is represented as a great hunter. There is nothing at all surprising in this, because the savages of all nations were hunters; so that they ascribed qualities to those who made the most distinguished figure. Hunting was, indeed, partly a religious exercise in former times, for as the subsistence of individuals depended on the chase, consequently it was natural for the heathens to thank their idols for what success they had obtained. There is no such thing as acknowledging a Supreme Being, without ascribing to him qualities suitable to his nature, and in every respect consistent with his attributes in the moral government of this world.

In their marriage ceremonies, the priests have great influence; for they settle every thing even of a civil nature. The marriage contract is searched into, and the husband has a right to turn away his wife if she has no children. In such cases she is obliged to have her marriage portion returned.—There is something in this altogether consistent with natural equity, for the man who parts with the object of his desires, ought to give up all things connected with her.

When their children are born and purged from their natural impurities, they are brought to the temple of their idols, and a name given them by the priest. The priests then wash the children all over, and deliver them to their parents. They have several other ceremonies, but these are of such a similar nature with what we have already mentioned in our description of the different religions in the other parts of America, that we shall not take any further notice of them.

In the funeral ceremonies, they have nothing at all remarkable, any farther than those in Hispaniola; for indeed there is such a similarity, that one would naturally imagine all these people were of one and the same original. As they believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, so they pay great respect to their deceased relations. The women dress themselves in white, which seems to point out, that the deceased has been purged from all his impurities, and that all his sins have been forgiven. The body is carried out to a piece of ground, set

apart for that purpose, and it is there deposited in the midst of all his friends and relations. Mourning and lamentations are made for the deceased several days together, but these are rather artificial than real.

The face of the deceased is laid so as to be opposite to the sun, which shews that their notions were the same with those who inhabited Hispaniola.—They set up stones at each end of the grave, testifying their respect for the deceased, and it was common for them to strew the grave frequently with flowers. This ceremony was generally performed once in the month, during one year, but after that time, the mourning ceased. Upon the whole, thus much is certain, that these Mexicans were a barbarous people, who had no human feelings, otherwise they would never have seen their fellow creatures butchered in such a manner; but this may serve to shew that where divine relation is not known, men are the most miserable objects in the world. Left to struggle with the corruption of their own nature, they sink under it, and die martyrs to those passions, which if properly cultivated, would have promoted their everlasting happiness.

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*Religion of the savages who inhabit near the isthmus of Darian*

In giving an account of these savages, we are under the necessity of taking notice of one of the most important events that ever happened in Britain. In 1603, on the death of queen Elizabeth, James VI. king of Scotland ascended the throne of England, so that the two crowns were united; but to the great misfortune of both countries, a proper union did not take place, for each nation had its separate parliament, and they had opposite views and interests, so there were continual wranglings between them. The Scotch, naturally brave, but proud, haughty, and poor, followed their sovereign into England, and as the event of an union had been long wished for, so forged prophecies were invented, some of which were taken notice of by lord Hailes. Among these, the following knavish one may be mentioned.

When Hempe is come, and also gone.  
England and Scotland shall both be one.

This Hempe was considered as some great person, whom no one could give any account of, and yet the meaning was neither less nor more than the following:

H. Henry VIII. E. Edward VI. M. Mary I. P. Philip her husband, and E. Elizabeth, so that

the whole mystery is developed, and the knavish prophecy understood, as having been written after the events took place.

From that time forward, at different periods many proposals were made for bringing about an union, and although locality pointed out the propriety of such a scheme, yet national pride on both sides prevented its taking place. At last, in the reign of king William, the merchants of Scotland obtained a charter, to establish a settlement on the isthmus of Darian, and it is amazing to think what hopes the people in that part of the country formed to themselves of the advantages that would arise from this scheme. All ranks of people contributed towards promoting it, and a large fleet was fitted out. Here, however, national jealousy took place. The English merchants did not wish to see the commerce of Scotland extended so far, and therefore they used all the means they could think of to obstruct it. It is not our business to enter into national disputes, but thus much is certain, that almost all the Scottish adventurers were ruined, and the factory they had established was reduced to nothing. This created much murmuring in Scotland, and had it not been that we were then engaged in a war with France, which united all parties at home, the effects might have proved fatal. The people of Scotland, in revenge for the injuries they imagined the English had done them, refused to wear English manufactures, and in this unhappy condition both nations continued till the accession of queen Anne, 1702.

Each country had a particular object in view, the English parliament wanted the parliament of Scotland to ratify the act of settlement, which appeared the more necessary for two reasons, first, because it would prevent disputes for the future between them; and secondly, because it was not probable queen Anne would ever have any more children.—On the other hand, the people of Scotland objected, first, that were they to acknowledge the act of settlement, they ought to have proper security for the establishment of their religion; and secondly, that their losses at Darian should be made up to them out of the English treasury.

Here was a large field for the politicians to display their skill, and although ministers of state are not always virtuous men, yet divine goodness can, and often does, bring good out of their contentions. It was after much dispute, agreed upon by concessions on both sides, that an equivalent should be paid by England to recompense the Scots for their loss at Darian, and to secure their religion, the sovereign was to take an oath the moment he succeeded to the crown, and actually before he was proclaimed.

Upon these principles, the union of the two na-



tions was brought about, which, if properly improved, must be for the mutual advantage of both. We thought it the more necessary to take notice of these particulars, because many of the people of Scotland, even in this age, think their ancestors at Darian were grossly injured, whereas, when we come to consider the whole, it will be found, that if errors were committed, both parties were guilty.— And this will likewise serve to clear up some things we shall have occasion to mention, concerning the church of Scotland. In the mean time to go on with our narrative.

These people inhabit a large tract of land, which is situated between North and South America.— They are all idolators, but their temples are poor mean huts, and their idols are only coarse stones set up within them. Like many other savages in America, they believe the sun and moon are husband and wife, and they adore them as objects of divine worship.

However, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, superior to them. They believe there is an evil principle that torments the children of men, and for that reason they have temples erected for it, where they offer sacrifices of flowers, fruits, perfumes, and all other things that they think will procure its favour. Every extraordinary phenomenon in nature is considered by them as an apparition and the voice of God.

Their priests are all pretended magicians, and the greatest impostors in the world. They perform all their tricks in secret, and the ignorant people are easily persuaded to believe them. The priests make dreadful cries and howlings, with distortions of their faces, under which some pretended mystery is concealed; for as true religion has its mysteries, so every false one pretends to the same, and so it is in many other things.

Their manner of healing the sick is very extraordinary. They seat the patient on a stone, which being done, the medico-priest takes a little bow and some small arrows, and shoots them as quick as possible at his patient, who is stark naked. They are so dexterous at this exercise, that they never miss their mark, but then there is a stop put to the arrow which prevents it from going beyond a certain mark or depth. If the arrow happens to open a vein, and the wind gushes out with the blood, the physician and those who are present leap for joy, and discover by their gestures, that they believe the operation to have been successful.

All these hypocritical priests, who are at the same time pretended physicians, make a vow of chastity, and if ever they violate it, they are either stoned or burnt to death. The devotees are obliged, during their fastings, to abstain from all commerce with their wives, but they can find other ways to gratify

their passions. Before they go to war, they sacrifice hares and pleasants to the sun, and smear the bodies of their idols all over with the blood. They never go on any enterprize without asking advice from their idol, which is an image of the sun; for which purpose they undergo a penance of two months together, during which time they abstain from salt and commerce with women.

They advise with their priests in all affairs relating to peace or war, and consult their gods in groves and solitudes. They purposely make choice of the night for performing their magical ceremonies, and the darker it is the better. They conjure the devil by their cries, by a great noise, and their magical songs in the presence of several young people. The person whom they order to consult the oracle of the idol is seated, and the rest are standing. The magicians are silent when they expect the approach of the devil their master, and the moment he appears, the conjuror presents himself before him, and gives the signal for the homage that ought to be paid. The Spanish authors tell us a story diverting enough concerning these priests and devils.

They say, that one day some friars undertook to exercise the priest who was raising the devil, and that by the power of the signs of the cross and holy water, which was wonderfully assisted by a stole that was put about the neck of the conjuror, he answered very penitently to all the questions the friar put to the devil. Among other things, they asked him where the souls of the Indians would go after their deaths; the answer he made was, to hell.— Those whom they design for priests, are brought up in their sacred mysteries from their infancies.— Such children are obliged to retire for two years to the most remote parts of the woods, where they are not permitted to feed upon any thing that has blood in it, nor see any woman, but must forget their kindred, and are not allowed to stir out of their caverns.

The old priests visit and instruct them in the night, and when the probation time of these young candidates is expired, they receive a certificate, upon which they are looked upon as sacred priests, and doctors in physic and magic.

These savages burn all the prisoners of war, but pull out one of their teeth before they execute them. Something in this may appear extremely barbarous, and certainly it is so, but when we consider the state of heathen nations, it will not appear strange, especially as we read in many parts of the Old Testament, that all prisoners of war were put to death under the most excruciating tortures. The Greeks and Romans either butchered their prisoners, or sold them as slaves, and the ancient heathen Britons used to burn a thousand to death at a time.

They allow polygamy here, but it is under severe

ral restrictions for they are not permitted to part with their wives, unless they have been unfaithful to the conjugal vow. As soon as the young women are considered as fit for marriage, they are locked up from the society of men, and no person is permitted to visit them without the consent of their parents. They do not use much ceremony in their marriages, for as soon as the parents have settled the previous agreement, every thing is concluded. Every one of the relations brings a present according to the nature of their circumstances, and these presents enable the new married couple to begin house-keeping. The bridegroom's father makes a speech to the people, concerning the duties of the marriage state, and after that he dances like a madman. The dance being over, he kneels down, and presents his son to the bride, whose father being in the same posture, holds also his daughter by the hand; but the bride's father dances likewise in his turn, and makes the same antique gestures before he kneels down.

In their funeral ceremonies, they are like most of the other savages in America. They believe in the immortality of the soul, but they have almost as many carnal notions concerning it, as our British materialists. They believe, that when the soul is dislodged from the body, it enters upon a life of pleasure, and feasts in the most sumptuous manner. For this reason, they bury provisions along with their dead, to be of service to them in the other world.

From what is here related of these people, we are to lament that the settlement attempted by the Scotch did not succeed. The Scotch adventurers took along with them several ministers, among whom was Mr. Spalding, who had been settled at Dundee. Had the factory met with proper encouragement, there is reason to believe, that before this time there would not have been a heathen in the place. Protestants alone are the men who should be sent to convert heathens, and therefore every encouragement ought to have been given to these enterprisers. — However, as we are not to call in question the purposes of Divine Providence, so we shall rest satisfied with this single consideration, that if that salutary end was not completed, yet one equally beneficial took place, namely, the union of the two kingdoms. *God's ways are not as men's.*

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#### *Religion of the savages of New Andalusia.*

The only particulars we know of the religion of these people are, that they, like most of the other ancient Americans, adore the sun and moon; but above all, an evil spirit, which we may call the devil.

Some of them worship the dried skeletons of their ancestors; and they believe that the sun goes round the world, drawn in a chariot by tigers; for which reason they treat those ferocious animals with great respect, and give them the dead bodies of their relations to feed on. They have a tradition among them, that their country was once burnt up by the sun, because they did not shew proper respect to his servants the tigers. This fire, they say, was extremely violent, and consumed a vast number of the inhabitants; but really such ridiculous stories scarce deserve our notice.

They observed a certain ceremony which they called the giving away the spirit of courage. This gift is bestowed by the priests, who open the ceremony with songs and dances, in which every one foams at the mouth like a dog, and tumbles about like a madman. All such as desire to have the spirit communicated to them by the mediation of the priest, join hands, and continue dancing incessantly. When three or four priests enter the circle, they rush upon the demons, some with a gourd bottle tied to the end of a stick, and others with a long reed or cane, filled with lighted tobacco, with which they whip the dancers, crying out, at the same time, "Receive all ye the spirit of strength, by which you will be enabled to overcome your enemies."

From this form of invitation one would imagine there was something very solemn couched under the expression, but there is nothing of that nature in it; for, like most other savages, they acknowledge two beings, one good and the other bad. To the good being they never address themselves but in the way of praise or thanksgiving; but to the evil one they always pray, in order to avert his displeasure.

When any person among them is taken sick, they plunge him into a river, and afterwards whip him running till he is almost out of breath. This whipping-bout is round a great fire, and when it is over, they put him into his hammock. When they despair of a sick man's life, they take him out in his hammock to a wood, and hang him up in it between two trees, dancing round it for a whole day. As soon as night is come, they give him provisions for four days, and then leave him to his fate. If he happens to recover, so much the better; but in case he dies, there are very few who lament the loss.

It would be needless to repeat that polygamy is as much in vogue among these people, as in any other nations among the Americans, or even in Asia or Africa. The priests set the example; for they have always a great number of wives; nay, such slaves are they to the most sensual of all passions, that when they go on journeys, they order women to be ready for them at every stage where they are to put up. All this voluptuousness arises from that

indolence to which these people are so much subject; and this, in some measure, is occasioned by the climate, which being hot and sultry, throws a languor over their spirits, and renders them in a manner unfit for action.

When a young man fixes his affections on a girl, or, in other words, when he wants a woman under that character, he addresses himself to her relations; for he never sees her till after he is married. When all the terms are settled, the bride's relations meet in company at the house of the bride's father, where a grand entertainment is provided; and the relations of the bridegroom come there at the same time to partake of the feast. After two or three hours spent in the utmost state of merriment, the whole of the relations set out to conduct the bride home to her husband's house. Musicians march before, playing upon their rustic instruments. After them come the priests, repeating aloud a variety of unintelligible jargon of prayers to their idols; then come the relations, who are followed by the bridegroom, who walks on foot; and behind him comes the bride in a litter carried by four men, and so closed up that no person can see her. The procession is closed by the servants and attendants; and as soon as they approach the house of the bridegroom, the young women in the village come out to meet them.

As this is at midnight, the young women have lamps in their hands trimmed with oil, and this, from what we are going to relate, may serve to shew what a vast conformity there was between the ancient heathen nations, and likewise that some of these customs were retained by the Jews.

The parable of the ten virgins (see Mat. xxv.) is well known, and in the account of these people of whom we are now treating, we have a proof of the origin of idolatry. Nay, it may serve farther to point out, that all that was bad among the heathens, was reprobated by the Jews, but the innocent ceremonies were retained.

When they arrived at the place where the bridegroom resided, and where the nuptials were to be celebrated, the bride was conducted into an apartment along with the women, and the night was spent in all manner of diversions, according to the custom of the country. In the same manner the bridegroom was led into his apartment, accompanied by the men, and with them he spent his time in the same manner. When the morning approached, the company retired, and the husband was permitted to go to bed to his wife. This is, perhaps, a little different from European practices; but we have had occasion to mention something of a similar nature, in our account of the Turkish religion. Seven days fasting are observed afterwards, and that period of time being expired, the new married couple forsake

their relations, and attend to their respective duties as husband and wife.

In their funeral ceremonies they are extremely ridiculous, but not more so than has been related in our historical accounts of other heathens. When a person is taken sick, the priest is sent for, and he dances as if insane, two or three times round his bed. This is done in order to raise the spirit, and we may venture to affirm, that it has a strong connection with the practices of some of those people who are called Protestants. A few years ago a poor man died in London, and on his death-bed he declared that he was bewitched, by imagining a mouse jumped over his stomach, and this mouse he considered as the devil.

Some religions require art to wind up the human passions to a state of enthusiasm, and innocent weakness falls a sacrifice to interested priests, or rather to designing villains. The man who is really and virtuously religious, has no occasion to make an ostentatious display of it; but it is the interest of the hypocrite to do so. The first knows he has none to do with but God; the second pays no regard to God, but looks for the praise of men.

In their funeral ceremonies these people are equally ridiculous, and indeed some of them are more so than any we have yet mentioned, only they are not so barbarous as those in Asia and Africa. When a man dies, the body is washed clean and wrapped up in a goat's skin, and then put into a wooden coffin, where it remains seven days, from the time of the death till the interment. During that time the people meet together and get drunk in the most riotous manner, knocking each other down, just like what took place among the Greeks during their solemn dirges. When the seven days fasting is over, they proceed to the place of entertainment in the following manner. The priests walk before, singing their hymns, and are followed by all those who are called their students. Then come the relations of the deceased, walking in mournful procession. The corpse is carried behind the relations, and the procession is closed by the servants and other attendants. When they come to the grave, the priests mumble over some prayers, and then the body is laid in the grave. This, however, does not finish the ceremony, for all those who attend the funeral, throw flowers into the grave. The earth being laid upon the body, they all return home to the house of the deceased, and spend the whole night in such extravagancy, that sometimes before morning they get so drunk that they break each other's limbs, and many of those who come out sound in the morning, return home no better than cripples.

The regard these people have for their deceased relations, does not end with their interment; for



notwithstanding all the nocturnal revels that take place after the funeral, yet they meet again, and erect a monument to perpetuate their respect to the person who was beloved by them in life. This is a natural and just sentiment, and nothing in the common or rather the vicious practices of this world can set it aside. Those who treat the ashes of their deceased relations with indignity, will never pay much regard to the living. The image of God is stamped upon man, and he who brutally abuses an human body, abuses the image of God. But we shall now take leave of the subject relating to the heathen nations, by suggesting the following reflections.

Are the heathens left in a state of ignorance? are they without God in the world? Let us learn that our ancestors were once heathens, and that we should have been the same now, had not the Divine goodness extended to us the blessings of the everlasting gospel.

Is heathenism become a term of reproach? and are heathens looked upon with contempt? Let Christians consider, that nothing can more endure them to the Divine Being, or exonerate them from the consciousness of guilt, as that of extending the

blessings of redemption to their fellow-creatures.—Are unnatural crimes committed by the heathens?—Let Christians remember, that it is their duty to set them a fair example. Precepts are useful, but examples give a sanction to them. Is religion the grand monument of mercy? Then let us, who enjoy it, endeavour to disseminate the beneficial consequences to the most distant nations, Is there a possibility of doing good? Let it be shewn in the care we take to enlighten the heathen nations.

And now having said so much of these people, we shall take our leave by wishing earnestly that the sun of righteousness may arise with healing under his wings. That the desire of all nations may trample upon his enemies, that men may be blessed in him, that all nations may call him blessed. High is the command of the Almighty, enlarged are his orders with respect to his moral government of this world; vindictive is his justice, but his mercy is in a manner unbounded. These considerations should reconcile us to all the works of an Omnipotent Being. God conducts the affairs of this lower world unknown to us, but we behold with admiration when we consider the execution of every part of the beautiful design.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

THE consideration of events as flowing from causes apparently weak and insignificant, will at all times serve to prove, that there is a divine power by which this lower world is governed. The voluptuous and the ignorant suffer all these things to pass unnoticed, but the wise consider them, and draw such reflections from all the occurrences as make a lasting impression on their minds. History without reflection is nothing; but history properly improved, becomes the grand ornament of human life. The historian who makes a real use of that science, goes on from one degree to another, till he is lost in admiration. The wonders of providence appear to him as so many stupendous edifices, raised by hands unseen, and when he cannot comprehend the whole, he sits down in silence, acknowledging his ignorance, but at the same time desirous of knowledge.

The knowledge of history does not consist in the recital of facts, for that may be done by a fool, and a school-boy can tell what had happened before he

was born. This, however, is not history, but a bare recital of facts, in the order of time in which they happened. History is an account of such events as have taken place on the theatre of this lower world: but in our endeavours to transmit them to the public in a proper manner, we must at all times remember that we are to blend instruction with entertainment; that is, we are to point out the causes which produced the events, and the consequences that followed. We are to consider the particular states of those countries of which we have been writing, we are to take in all the concomitant circumstances, and with modesty deliver our own opinions. We are to consider the difference of times and circumstances, and we are to compare the past with the present. By attending to these rules, we may become real historians, but if they are slighted we shall be left in a state of Egyptian darkness.—This naturally leads us to say something concerning the Reformation, and it shall be delivered with impartiality.

We have already treated the gradual progress of corruptions in the Christian church, from the reign of Constantine the Great, down to the age of Martin Luther. But having been obliged to shift the subject, we shall here proceed to give the reader an account of the Reformation, and then describe the particular professions that have sprung from it.

Bishop Hall has a pretty observation in his account of Zechariah's vision in the temple, and it is, "When things are at the worst, God usually works a remarkable deliverance, or brings about an important change." Indeed, all violence leads to changes, for such is the state of human nature, such is the government of this world, that whatever is carried to a more than ordinary extreme, must soon have an end. Pagan darkness was such, when Christ came in the flesh, that the minds of men were totally clouded with it, and then the sun of righteousness broke forth in an illustrious manner to enlighten the nations.

But to pursue the idea, let us consider the state of the European nations previous to the times of Martin Luther, who, in the hands of divine providence, was the happy instrument, assisted by some of the German princes, of opposing the whole power of the house of Austria, and all the machinations of the court of Rome. It is true, as Dr. Newton, the late bishop of Bristol, has observed, there never was an age since the death of Christ, in which some witnesses could not be found for the truth of the gospel. The doctrines taught by the famous Wickliff spread far and wide; and thirty years after his death, we find John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, condemned by the council of Constance, for teaching his opinions. Paul Craw, a Bohemian, having come over to Scotland for his personal safety, found himself exposed to the same dangers at home; for he was burnt alive at St. Andrews. Learning was then beginning to revive, and the clergy began to be afraid of the downfall of their kingdom. They found the pillars beginning to shake, and they knew that their doctrines could not stand before the light of a rational enquiry. This filled them with so much resentment against all those who spoke their sentiments freely, that they were immediately put to death.

But it was not learning alone that brought about the Reformation; there were many political circumstances concurring in this great event, and some princes became the happy instruments of promoting true religion, although they themselves were men of no virtuous principles, but scandalous debauchees and arbitrary tyrants. The scandalous lives of the clergy were another means to bring about the Reformation, and while they were as it were asleep in the arms of carnal security; while they thought themselves beyond the power of being disturbed in their

mansions; and in a word, when they found they had domineered over the consciences of the people, and almost engrossed the civil power to themselves, they began to consider that the whole orders of priesthood were established on the most permanent basis, they found themselves roused a little from their stupidity, and they found that they had to do with very important adversaries, whom before they looked upon as contemptible.

Pope Leo X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhausted, by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. and being in his own temper naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of that severe economy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary his schemes for aggrandizing the family of the Medicis, his love of splendor, his taste for pleasure, and his munificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in a long train of expences; in order to provide a fund for which, every device that the fertile genius of priests could invent was tried.

Among others, he had recourse to the sale of indulgences; a practice common enough in the church of Rome, but never before this time carried to such an extravagant height. But here we must explain this mystery of iniquity to our readers.

According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary for their own justification, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, are deposited in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one with whom he is interested, from the pains of purgatory.

These indulgences were first invented in the eleventh century by pope Urban II. as a recompence for those who went in person on the wild enterprize of conquering the holy land. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and, in process of time, were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the pope. Julius II. had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter's at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretensions.

The promulgation of these indulgencies in Germany, together with a share arising from the profits in the sale of them, was assigned to Albert, elector

of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburgh, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed one Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and very remarkable for that sort of eloquence which serves to inflame the passions without leading the mind to truth, or guarding it against error. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though by magnifying excessively the benefits of these indulgences; and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time a lucrative and extensive traffic among the credulous multitude the extravagance of their assertions, and the irregularity in their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much money, in order to fill the treasury of a profuse pope. Men of piety regretted the delusions of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the indulgences which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them, either to abound in faith or practise holiness. Even the most unthinking were shocked at the more than scandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were bestowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happiness; and all began to wish that some check could be given to this scandalous commerce, no less injurious to society than destructive of true religion.

As the form of these indulgences, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are in general unknown in Protestant countries, and but little understood at present in several places where the Roman Catholic religion is established, we have here for the information of our readers, inserted the form of the absolution used by Tetzel.

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of life shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall

"remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

From perusing this, which is faithfully transcribed from Sechenndorf, a popish writer, it will appear, that the terms which Tetzel and his associates made use of were so extravagant, that unless they had been well authenticated, we might have doubted of the truth of them. If any man purchased one of these indulgences, his soul was to rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory were, as soon as the money was paid, set at liberty, and ascend into heaven. The efficacy of the indulgences was to be so great, that the most heinous sins were pretended to be forgiven, and the person was to be freed from all manner of punishment, and even from the guilt which incurs it.—This was, indeed, the carrying priestcraft to an unbounded height; but it led to the fall of its own greatness. Almost every man looked upon them with silent contempt, or with an honest indignation; they saw natural religion as it were trampled under foot, and the glorious fabric of the church made to appear worse than heathenism was of old. They beheld an order of designing men, who had long trampled on the rights of private judgment, now attempting to deprive others of their natural faculties and to make the very name of Christianity odious in the world, by attempting to raise money in consequence of practices which the most unenlightened heathens would have been ashamed of.

Such was the favourable juncture, and so disposed were the minds of his countrymen to listen to his discourses, when Martin Luther first began to call in question the efficacy of indulgences, and declaim against the vicious lives, and false doctrines of those who promulgated them. He was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, where he was born in 1483, and though of poor parents, had received a learned education, according to the state of knowledge in that age, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. As his mind was naturally susceptible of serious impressions, and tinged with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastic life, he retired into a convent of Augustine friars, and without suffering the entreaties of his parents to divert him from what he considered as his duty to God, he assumed the habit of that order.

There he acquired great reputation, not only for his piety, but for his love of knowledge and unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology, which were then in vogue, by very able masters, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the intricacies and distinctions with which they abounded; but his own



understanding, naturally sound and superior to any thing frivolous, soon became disgusted with these subtle and unconstructive sciences, and he sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the sacred scriptures. Having found a copy of the bible which had long laid neglected in the library of his monastery, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of it with so much eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress he made in this uncommon course of study, augmented so much both the fame of his sanctity and his learning, that Frederick, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittenberg on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen, first to teach philosophy, and then theology in the schools; and he was considered as the chief ornament of that society.

While Luther was in the height of his reputation, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg; and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues, which in other places had been imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than other provinces, so Tetzel met with great success there. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought the indulgences. The opinions of many of the most ancient and subtle schoolmen, who had established the doctrines of indulgences, were now falling into disrepute, and the scriptures, which Luther began to consider as the unerring standard of faith, afforded no countenance to a system that was destructive of natural reason, and calculated to render the most important things in the Christian system, no better than a farce.

His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator while he saw his countrymen deluded. From the pulpit in the great church at Wittenberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities of those who published indulgences. He went so far as to examine the nature of the doctrines they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation on any other means than those prescribed in the word of God.

The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburgh, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and re-

monstrated warmly against the false opinions, and wicked lives of the preachers of the indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to do any thing to hinder their progress.

His next attempt was to gain the approbation of men of learning, and for this purpose he published no less than ninety-five different propositions concerning the principles of theology. These he proposed not as points fully established of undoubted authority, but as subjects of doubt, inquiry, and disputation. He appointed a day on which the learned were invited to impugn them either in person, or in writing, and subjoined to the whole, solemn protestations of his respect for the apostolic see, of his submission to its authority, if the objections he had stated could be answered to his satisfaction. No opponent appeared at the time fixed, but the account of the propositions spread over Germany with the utmost rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness, and all admired the boldness of the man who had ventured to call in question the plentitude of papal power, and to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the powers of inquisitorial authority.

The friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no less obsequiousness than the other monastic fanatics, to the papal power, gave no check to the publications of these uncommon opinions.

Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired uncommon authority among his brethren. He professed, from motives unknown to us, the highest regard for the authority of the pope, and probably his professions were at that time, sincere, and as a secret enmity, excited by interest and emulation, subsists among all the monastic orders in the Romish church, the Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. Nor was his sovereign the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, dissatisfied with that obstruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of indulgences. He secretly favoured the attempt, and flattered himself that this dispute among the clergy might give some check to the exertions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though, without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Many zealous champions immediately rose to defend opinions on which the wealth, power, and grandeur of the church were founded, against the propositions advanced by Luther. Amongst these was Tetzel, a man whose character we have already described. He published an equal number of propositions with those of Luther, and they were de-

fended by all the sophistry of false logic by Eckius, a divine belonging to the cathedral church of Augsburg; and Prianius, a Dominican friar, wrote against Luther with all the virulence of a scholastic disputant. But the manner in which they conducted the cause, did little honour to their argument. Luther attempted to condemn the doctrine as well as the practice of granting indulgences, from arguments drawn from reason, or derived from scripture; but they produced nothing in support of them, except the sentiments of school-men, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of the popes. The decisions of judges, so partial and degenerated, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question even the authority of these venerable guides, when they found them standing in open opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the divine law.

Mean while the novelties which appeared in Luther's doctrine, and seemed so much to engage all the attention of the people, did not alarm the court of Rome. Pope Leo X. fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to the clerical controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference, the operations of an obscure friar, who in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastical disputation in a barbarous style. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himself dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be fatal to the papal see. Leo imputed the whole to monastic enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the controversy, but to allow the Augustinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

The solicitations, however, of Luther's adversaries, exasperated to an high degree, by the boldness and severity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the church, against an attack that appeared now too serious to be despised. For this reason he summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, before the auditor of his chamber, and Prianius was summoned to appear at the same time, to make good his allegations.

He wrote at the same time, to the elector of Saxony, begging he would not protect a man whose heretical and professed tenets were so shocking to pious ears, and enjoined the provincial of the Augustinians to check, by his authority, the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole church.

From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial

as Prianius, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The university of Wittenberg, anxious for the safety of a man who did so much honour to their society, wrote to the pope, and after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, entreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrine to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The elector of Saxony, his sovereign requested the same favour of the pope's legate at the diet at Augsburg; and as Luther himself, who, at that time, was so far from having any intention to disclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a most submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will; the pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

Luther, although he had good reason to decline a judge chosen among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan; and having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, immediately repaired to Augsburg. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment; but thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolical powers with which he was invested, to retract the errors he had uttered with regard to indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abstain for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions.

Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them, by the approbation they had met with among persons conspicuous both for their learning and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken.

He had flattered himself, that in a conference concerning the points in dispute, with a prelate of such distinguished abilities, he would be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his enemies had branded him. But the high tone of authority the cardinal assumed, extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview.—His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared, with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do

what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God.

At the same time, he continued to express no less reverence for the papal authority than he had formerly done, and signified his earnest desire to have the whole decided by the opinion of different universities; promising, at the same time, never to write or preach against indulgences, so as his opponents would be silent in preaching in favour of them. It will, perhaps, appear rather strange to those who consider the age in which Luther first made his public appearance, his strenuous defence of the truths of the gospel, and his strong opposition to papal encroachment, that he should submit his cause to be tried by doctors in universities, who were no better than idol drones, accustomed to live in cloisters, and at all times obedient to the Roman Catholic power. To this it is answered, that although the dawn of learning was then beginning to diffuse its refreshing and cheering beams over a benighted world, lost in darkness and ignorance, yet it was not come to such a state of perfection as to dispel prejudices. It was the wretched notion of the people in the dark ages, that there was an infallibility lodged somewhere among men, for the preservation of the Christian religion. It was not sufficient for them to trust in the divine promise, but they were to look for infallibility among themselves. Some placed it in popes, some in general councils, and others in universities, without considering that God never delegated a power of that nature to any man, nor to any body of men whatever. It was the fault of the times, not the fault of any particular man.

But to go on with the narrative. Although, according to the extent of human understanding in that age, Luther's proposals were every way reasonable, yet Cajetan rejected them, and insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, unless he instantly complied with what he had enjoined. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, joined to many other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect that even the imperial safe conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country. However, before his departure, according to a form long used at all diets held for the German empire, and general councils, he prepared a solemn appeal from the conduct of this pope to his successor, whom he believed would be better informed, and more attentive to his cause.

Cajetan, who was a real bigot, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and the publication of his appeal, wrote to the elector of Saxony, complaining of both,

and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church, and the authority of the pope, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories.

It was not from theological motives that Frederick, the Saxon elector, had hitherto protected Luther; he seems to have been a stranger to these controversies, and little interested in them. His protection flowed from political motives, and was afforded with secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books; and although all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence. But upon this demand made by the cardinal, it became necessary for the elector to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at much expence, and had bestowed great attention in founding a new university, and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be from that seat of learning, he refused to comply with the cardinal's request. He interested himself in Luther's safety, and began to declare himself a favourer of his opinions.

The inflexible rigour with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and has since been censured as imprudent by several popish writers, but it was impossible for the legate, according to the nature of his commission, to act otherwise. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that without waiting the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation they had already condemned him as an heretic.—Pope Leo X. had in several of his letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man of a reprobate mind. Nothing less, therefore, than a simple recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is never to abandon the smallest point it has established, and which is even professed by its pretensions to infallibility: for if a church cannot do any thing wrong, then to annul one of its own decrees would be to acknowledge its fallibility by giving up one of the whole.

In the mean time, Luther's situation was such as would have filled any other person with the utmost apprehensions. He saw no reason to expect that a prince so cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power which had often crushed some of the bravest German princes. He knew what veneration was at that time paid to ecclesiastical decrees, what terror ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might influence a prince who was rather his protector from policy, than his disciple from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no pros-



spect of any part of the habitable world where he could procure an asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with greater strength of argument than before.

So far Luther showed himself to be a real hero indeed, and one who knew that truth ought always to be supported, should the most reputed characters for sanctity join in opposing it. But as every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had been so precipitately declared a heretic, convinced Luther that Leo X. would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the Catholic church, and superior in power to the pope, who, being a fallible man, might err as St. Peter had before. This appeal made by Luther, gives us a melancholy notion of the sentiments embraced by the people in that age. Were general councils infallible? The answer is, no more than the popes themselves. Had all general councils concurred in the same opinion, then this sentiment respecting their infallibility might have been embraced; but as it is well known that one general council has excommunicated another of the same rank, where was the infallibility to be found? Nay, it is well known that the council of Trent, which met some time after the death of Luther, not only condemned all those doctrine embraced by the Protestants, but actually gave sanction to new ones, which before that time had been dubious and disputable.

It soon appeared, that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intention of the Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope, in which were inserted the virtues and benefits of indulgences, in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use, even in the earliest ages, and without applying such palliations, or granting such concessions as the juncture might seem to call for, he required all Christians to assent to what he had delivered, as the doctrine of the Catholic church, and declared that those who held any other opinions, should be punished with the severest ecclesiastical censures. This bull had but little effect among Luther's followers, who conceived it in its true light, namely, as an engine to raise money to support papal extravagancies.

At this time, a circumstance took place which was very favourable to Luther, and that was the death of the emperor Maximilian, whose interests and

principles both corresponded to enable him to support the grandeur of the Romish church. In consequence of this event, the elector of Saxony, by virtue of his offices, had his powers greatly enlarged, and under his protection, Luther not only lived in peace, but his opinions were taught almost every where throughout the empire.

During this inter-regnum, before an emperor was chosen, the court of Rome began to consider, that the growing heresy of Luther would be the ruin of their church. Leo X. the then pope, was a man of pleasure, loved expense and gaiety, but he knew nothing of religion. He was a profligate and a debauchee in the truest sense of the words; and if we believe Voltaire, he died of the venereal disease.—Leo did not know at this juncture how to act. He had given offence to the Germans, and to several other Christian nations, by the publication of his indulgences in the most scandalous manner; a poor private monk had boldly stood forth in defiance of religious liberty, and a vast number of people whose eyes seemed now to be opened, had declared, that unless the publication of indulgences was revoked, they would declare for Luther. Encouraged by the support he met with from his brave countrymen, Luther began to proceed farther, and even called in question the divine authority of the papal see. A public disputation was held on this subject at Leipzig, and the result was, that a breach with the court of Rome was found necessary.

Nor did this spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the church of Rome stop here, for it broke out in several other parts of Germany at the same time. An attack, no less severe, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being intrusted with the sale of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them, and being animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince imposed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was at first matter of great joy to Luther, though on the other hand, the decrees of the university of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous afforded great cause of triumph for his adversaries.

But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired fresh vigour from every species of opposition, and push-

ing on his enquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth or power of the church of Rome had been founded. Leo, the pope, came at last to be convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, and several prelates exclaimed against the pope's lenity without considering that he could not do any thing against Luther without the concurrence of the German princes, and to some of these the court of Rome had rendered itself obnoxious. The pope was roused as it were from his slumber, and he began to place some confidence in the new emperor Charles, believing, at the same time, that the elector of Saxony would not be so deaf to his own interest as to protect an incorrigible heretic, who for three years together had disturbed the peace of the church in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons, the decrees of the general councils, the letters or precepts sent by the popes, and the opinions of the doctors in the most celebrated universities.

The college of cardinals were often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the most able canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with the most unexceptionable formality. At last, on the fifteenth day of June, (we must be formal) one thousand five hundred and twenty, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, were therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears. All persons were forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication, and such as had any of them in their custody, were commanded to commit them to the flames. Nay, he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, recant all his heresies, was to be excommunicated, and delivered unto satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes were required, under penalty of the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished in the manner his crimes deserved.

The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions, in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted, as if his party and opinions had been crushed at once by such a decisive blow. His followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily diminished, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, those who attempted to publish it were treated with contempt, and the bull itself was torn in pieces and trodden under-foot.

Luther had looked for this sentence some time, but it did not in the least intimidate him; superior to ecclesiastical menaces, his mind triumphed, and he rose in grandeur, in consequence of his enemies attempting to depress him. Consistent with the

foolery of the age, he again renewed his appeal to a general council, and published some remarks on the pope's bull. It is certain, that in these remarks there is a great deal of scholastic jargon, taken mostly from the writings of St. Augustine; but still, as we have already observed, this was the fault of the age more than that of the author's, learning was then in leading-strings, and the abominable jargon of school divinity had in a manner hardly left common sense in the world.

Luther in this case shewed himself to be a man of spirit, and without shewing that mean, scrupulous pride so peculiar to the baseness of hypocrites, he maintained a dignity of sentiment that will ever do honour to his memory. He had the whole papal power to engage with, and he was no stranger to the ignorance and prejudices of his own countrymen.

As the pope had ordered Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, so this intrepid hero assembled the members of the university of Wittenberg together, and in solemn procession they burnt the pope's bull, and this example was followed by the inhabitants of several of the cities of Germany. The manner in which he justified this action, was more provoking than the action itself. He collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with respect to the plenitude of power and unlimited authority of the popes, and the subordination of all inferior to him in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To these he added some remarks, which struck deep at the power of the church of Rome, because they tended to subvert civil government.

Such was the progress Luther had made, and such was the state of his party when Charles V. came to take possession, by election, of the German empire. No secular prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions, no change in the established religion had been introduced, and no incroachments were made on the revenues or foundations of the clergy. Neither party had yet proceeded to action; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on in the way of argumentation. A deep impression, however, was made on the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient doctrines and institutions was shaken, and the materials were already scattered which produced the combustion that soon spread itself all over Germany. Students crowded from every province of the empire to Wittenberg, and there some of the greatest men who have done honour to the Protestant religion, received the first rudiments of their education. The field for religious controversies was now opened, a sort of restraint was laid upon the papal power, men began to see, and what was still more to their honour, they began to speak their sentiments with freedom, which their ancestors had

not been permitted to do for a thousand years before.

During the course of these transactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to all the rest of Europe. When Luther began to declare against indulgences, two different methods of treating him lay before the pope, by adopting one of which, the attempt it is probable, might have been crushed, and by the other it might have been rendered innocent.

If Luther's first departure from the doctrines of the church had instantly drawn upon him the weight of its censures, the dread of these might have restrained the elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from listening to his discourses, or even might have over-awed Luther himself and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have only been known to the world by his honest but ill-timed effort to convert the corruptions of the Romish church; or on the other hand, if the pope had early testified some displeasure with the vices and excesses of those who had been employed to publish indulgences, if he had forbidden the mentioning of controverted points in private discourse, if he had enjoined the disputants on both sides to be silent, if he had been careful not to risk the credit of the church by defining what had hitherto been left undetermined. Luther would probably have stopped short at his first discoveries. He would not have been forward to put himself upon his own defence, and the whole controversy might probably have died away insensibly; or being confined entirely to the schools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity of the Romish church as that which the Franciscans maintain with the Dominicans concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning the operation of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between these opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exasperated but not restrained. By a mistaken exercise of lenity, time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress made towards reconciling him to the church, and even the sentence of excommunication which at another juncture might have been decisive was delayed so long that it became at last scarce an object of terror.

Such a series of errors in the measures of a court seldom chargeable with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of human prudence,

and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artificial policy. At the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzel, he was far from intending that Reformation, which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any special revelation; he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual.

The doctrines of popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the parts of that artificial fabric were so linked together, that the pulling down of one loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgences, he was obliged to enquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, discovered to him by degrees the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of auricular confession; and the imaginary existence of purgatory. The detection of so many errors, led him of course to consider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the severe injunction of celibacy and the intolerable rigour of monastic vows appeared to him the great sources of their corruption. From thence it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the papal power, which authorized and supported such a system of errors.

As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the decision of schoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted insensibly from one doctrine to another.

Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing the inattention, and even difference, with which Leo viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would have drawn upon him at once the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect for the pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decisions, there seemed to be no



reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt, and he was suffered to proceed step by step, in undermining the constitution of the church, till the remedy applied at last came too late to produce any effect.

But whatever advantages Luther's cause derived either from the mistakes of his adversaries, or from his own good conduct, the sudden progress and firm establishment of his doctrines, must not be ascribed to these alone. The same corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance, and the same opinions which he now propagated, had been published in different places, and were supported by the same arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth already mentioned, and Huss in the fifteenth, had inveighed against the errors of popery with great boldness, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in those illiterate ages in which they flourished. But all these premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of dispelling the darkness which then covered the church, were soon extinguished: and though the doctrines of these pious men produced some effects, and left some traces in the country where they were taught, they were neither extensive nor considerable. Many powerful causes contributed to facilitate Luther's progress, which either did not exist, or did not operate with full force in their days; and at the critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumstances of every kind concurred in rendering each step he took successful.

The long and scandalous schism which divided the church, during the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time, fawning on the princes whom they wanted to gain, squeezing the countries which acknowledged their authority, excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them, discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far as to chuse, among these infallible guides, whom they would please to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil, spread still wider this disrespect for the Romish see, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing popes, taught the world that there was in the church a jurisdiction superior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be supreme.

The wound given on that occasion to the papal authority was scarce healed up, when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastics, raised new scandal in Christendom. The profligate morals of the former in private life; the fraud, the injustice and cruelty of his public administration, placed him on a level with those tyrants, whose deeds are the greatest reproach to human nature. The latter, though a stranger to these odious passions which prompted his predecessor to commit so many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a restless and ungovernable ambition, which scorned all considerations of gratitude, of decency, or of justice, when they obstructed the execution of his schemes. It was scarce possible to be firmly persuaded, that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whose chief precepts are purity and humility, was deposited in the breasts of the impious Alexander, or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of those who exalted the authority of a council above that of the pope spread wonderfully under their pontificates: and as the emperor and French king, who were actually engaged in hostilities with these active pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their subjects to expose their vices with all the violence of invective, and all the petulance of ridicule, and men's ears becoming accustomed as it were to these, were not shocked to hear Luther treat the papal power in the most ludicrous terms.

Nor did satire operate against the pope only. Many of the dignified secular clergy, being the younger sons of nobles families, who had assumed the ecclesiastical function for no other reason but that they found in the church people accustomed to idleness, neglected the duties of their office, and indulged themselves without reserve or fear, in all those vices which generally spring from an immoderate degree of wealth.

Though the preachers were prevented by their poverty from imitating the expensive luxury of their superiors, yet gross ignorance and low debauchery rendered them as contemptible as the others were odious. The severe and unnatural case of celibacy, to which both were equally subject, occasioned such irregularities, that in several parts of Europe, the priests were permitted to keep concubines. Nor was this to be found only in the warmer climates, where the passions are supposed to be more violent than in the northern regions. It even extended to the north of Scotland, where some of the old bishops had three or four natural children; and lord Hales has mentioned an instance and produced the record of one Hepburn, bishop of Murray, having five natural children legitimated by patent in one day.

The degeneracy of men among the ecclesiastics

might perhaps, have been tolerated with more indulgence if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them at the same time to oppress all the other orders of men. It is the genius of superstition, fond of every thing pompous or grand, to set no bounds to its liberality towards persons whom it esteemed sacred, and to think its expressions of regard defective, unless it hath raised them to the height of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extensive revenues and jurisdiction possessed by the church in every country in Europe, and which were become intolerable to the laity, from whose undecorated bounty they were at first derived.

The burden however, had fallen very heavy on Germany, for although the people of that extensive empire are naturally brave, and not much addicted to levity, tenacious of their ancient customs and strenuous supporters of their liberties, yet they had fallen into the prevailing error, and were ruled by the court of Rome, not as children under paternal jurisdiction, but as wretched slaves, who were to be fleeced of all their wealth, in order to maintain a great number of indolent priests in luxury, idleness, sensuality, and all sorts of debauchery.

While the clergy asserted their own pretensions with so much zeal, they daily encroached on those of the laity. All causes relative to matrimony, to wills, usury, legitimacy, and even to their own revenues, were to be decided in their own courts.—Nay, they were not satisfied with this amazing power, they actually attempted to bring before themselves the cognizance of all civil causes, and to become judges between men in disputes concerning civil property.

They had engrossed to themselves almost the whole system of human learning; for the laity were more intent on martial achievements, than on cultivating their rational faculties, which was one of the means by which they were kept in a state of ignorance.

The penalties inflicted by the ecclesiastical courts, added great dignity to the judges, and filled the minds of the people with terror. The censure of excommunication was originally designed to preserve the purity of the church, that obstinate offenders, whose impious tenets, or profane lives, were a reproach to Christianity, might be cut off from the society of the faithful. This the corrupt churchmen took care to improve to their own advantage, and inflicted their censures on the most frivolous pretensions. Whoever incurred their displeasure were excluded from all the privileges of Christians, and deprived of their rights as men and citizens, and the dread of this rendered even the most fierce and turbulent spirits obsequious to the authority of the church.

Grievous however, as these encroachments of the

clergy might have been, yet they could have been borne with much longer by the Germans, had the revenues been bestowed upon their own countrymen, but quite the reverse took place. The popes had, for several ages, pretended a title to fill up all vacant bishoprics, and for that purpose they seized on the rights of the secular princes in Germany by sending some of their Italian creatures to take possession of the most opulent church livings. Here these Italians received vast sums of money without doing any duty to entitle them to such a reward, and they exercised such an unlimited authority as none but slaves could endure. The pope's favourite mistresses sold the benefices to those who bid the most money for them, for the holy head of the church loved women as much as the grand seignior.

These scandalous practices were not carried on in secret, they were done publicly, and the avarice of the church of Rome triumphing over its former prejudices, pious men beheld with silent regret these simoniacal practices, so unworthy the character of those who pretended to be the ministers of a Christian church, while politicians complained of the exportation of so much money to support idle priests, whose scandalous lives had totally made them odious to all ranks of people by degrading their character even below the meanest of the human creation.

Such were the dissolute manners, the exorbitant wealth, power and privileges of the clergy before the Reformation; such the oppressive rigour of that dominion which the popes had established over the Christian world; and such the sentiments that prevailed concerning them in Germany, and in the rest of Europe about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nor has this sketch been taken from the parties concerned in that age, who might possibly have been led into prejudices in consequence of their violent opposition to each other; it is formed upon more authentic evidence, upon the memorials and remonstrances of the imperial diets coolly enumerating the grievances under which the empire groaned, begging earnestly for redress. Dissatisfaction must have risen to a great height, when these grave and solemn assemblies exposed the crimes with so much acrimony, and if they demanded the abolition of these enormities with so much vehemence, we may be assured, they uttered their sentiments and decrees in more bold and virulent expressions.

To men thus prepared for shaking off the arbitrary papal yoke, Luther addressed himself with almost certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight and borne it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first proposal for their deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany.

Even the impetuosity and fierceness of Luther's spirit, his confidence in asserting his own opinions, and the contempt with which he treated all who differed from him, which in ages of more moderation have been reckoned defects in the character of that reformer, did not appear excessive to his contemporaries, whose minds were strongly agitated by those interesting controversies which he carried on, and who themselves had endured the rigour of papal tyranny, and seen the corruptions of that church against which he exclaimed.

But besides all the means already mentioned, which contributed toward facilitating Luther's undertakings in bringing about the Reformation, there were some others not hitherto mentioned. Among these one of the chief was the art of printing, which took its rise about half a century before his time. By this fortunate discovery, the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge, was wonderfully increased, and Luther's books, which must otherwise have made their progress very slowly and with uncertainty, in distant countries, spread at once over all Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had access to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people, who upon their appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and reject many doctrines which they had been enjoined to believe under the severest penalty.

The eyes of the people began to open gradually, they saw the impositions that had been put upon them by designing priests, and they were glad to patronize a man who bid fair to restore them to their natural liberty.

But Luther was not alone in opposition to the measures of the court of Rome. The great Erasmus, who was his contemporary, without being a Protestant in possession, let loose the whole force of his satire on the errors and superstitious of popery. His acute judgment and vast erudition enabled him to discover many errors, both in the doctrine and worship of the church of Rome. Some of these he confuted with great solidity of reason and force of eloquence; others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned against them the inextinguishable torrents of popular and satirical wit, of which he had a great command. There was scarce any opinion or practice in the Romish church which Luther sought to reform, but had been previously unadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him either matter for censure or railery.

Various circumstances however, concurred in hindering Erasmus from pursuing the same course as that which Luther embarked in. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that force of mind which alone can prompt a man to assume the character of a reformer; his excessive deference for

persons in high stations; his dread of losing the pensions and other emoluments which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuses gradually, and by gentle methods; all concurred to induce him to repress that zeal which he had once manifested against the errors of the church, and to assume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents.

The diet of the German empire was summoned to meet at Worms, an imperial city, to consider of Luther's opinions, and thither this great and illustrious reformer was summoned to make his personal appearance. In vain did his friends persuade him that he was in danger, he went in conscious innocence, and smiled at the menaces of his enemies. The reception he met with at Worms, was such as might have filled his mind with pride, had he acted from any other motives than such as were purely evangelical.

Greater crowds assembled to see him than had been there when the emperor made his public entry, and in this there was nothing at all remarkable; for here was a poor monk who had boldly stood up against the whole thunders of the vatican, had braved the imperial power so far as it related to matters of religion, and had ridiculed the superstitions of the church and court of Rome with all the acrimony of the severest satire.

It is true, the emperor had interest sufficient in the diet to get a severe decree passed against him, but his sovereign the elector of Saxony, who had been his friend at the beginning, stood by him to the last. His opinions were gladly embraced by many great persons in Germany, they spread far and wide among the populace; learned ecclesiastics joined him, and princes, to their everlasting honour, stood up in the defence of what they sincerely believed to be the doctrines of divine revelation.

In this manner, and from circumstances that no human wisdom could have foreseen, the papal power received a fatal blow in Germany, and the eyes of other European nations were so far opened, that the love of knowledge spread itself into many other countries. Princes indeed, from the worst of motives, did all that lay in their power to check its progress; but neither civil tyranny, nor ecclesiastical anathemas could answer the end. It is true the Germans set the example; and all those who lived in the more southerly climate had neither zeal nor courage to copy after them, yet the rising plant was nourished by the hand of divine providence; it bore down before it every sort of opposition, and even the smaller states of Switzerland opposed the papal power, and took the sacred scriptures for their guide in all matters of a religious nature. Sweden and Denmark soon followed their example; England



and Scotland from motives that will be mentioned afterwards, did the same.

Whatever progress Luther made in the work of Reformation, seemed only to point out the way to something more complete, and the divines in other nations improved on the plan he had laid down. But without entering into a discussion of these things, we shall lay down the plan of that most arduous part of the work that lies before us. First we are to treat of such religions as are established under the name of Protestantism in different nations, and then of those who are commonly called Dissenters. In the first, we shall find some few variations in discipline, though little in doctrines; but in the second a great number in both. And here we shall adhere so strictly to the truth, that none will desire to condemn us without first acknowledging their own ignorance or guilt.

The Papists have reproached us with being divided into a great number of sects and parties, and by this they have laid hold of the ignorance of those whom they intended to make proselytes, without acquainting them, at the same time, that Protestants never persecuted each other with so much severity as the Dominicans have the Franciscans in the Romish church. We are willing to acknowledge that we

do not all agree in every trifling circumstance; but in those points upon which salvation depends, there has not till lately been any matter of dispute; and even where such matter of dispute took place, it was carried on by men who did not so much enquire after the truth as they sought an opportunity to gratify their pride, and establish their impotence.

We are ready to grant, that consistent with our accounts of the primitive church, there may be some variations among us; but none of these wherever an ecclesiastical establishment of religion has taken place, can effect the salvation of mankind. As for those who have dissented from civil establishments, we shall treat of their sentiments with candour, and leave the reader to judge purely for himself.

As Lutheranism takes place in respect of antiquity before all the other civil establishments of the Protestant religion in Europe, and it has been more generally embraced with respect to locality, so it is necessary that we should begin with it, confining ourselves to its doctrines, discipline, worship, and government, as a Christian church, and point out how far the several establishments of Protestantism may differ, whether in kingdoms at large, or in more contracted provinces.

## rites and ceremonies of the Lutherans.

THE account we have given of the Reformation in general, will lead every intelligent person to make a proper enquiry into particulars; and here we shall first take notice of the times when, and the places where, the Protestant religion according to the plan laid down by Luther, was established, for at the Reformation, the prophet's words were verified:

“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers.”

Saxony, and the county of Mansfield, revived Lutheranism 1521, and the same year the elector of Saxony, who had all along favoured Luther, desired him to appoint preachers to reform the people in every part of his dominions. The same year it was received at Kreichsaw, Goslar, Rostock, Riga, in Livonia, Rentling, and at Hall, in Swabia. In 1522, it was established at Augsburg, Hamburgh, Treptow, Pomerania and Prussia. In 1523, it was established in the Duchy of Leucenburg, Nurm-

burg, and Breslaw. In 1525, throughout the whole Landgravate of Hesse. In 1528, at Gottingen, Limgon, and Einbech. In 1530 at Munster, and Paderborn, in Westphalia. In 1532, at Ulm, and Ethlingen. In 1533, at Grubenhagan, and Hanover. In 1534, in the Duchy of Wittenberg. In 1535, at Clothus, in the Lower Lusatia. In 1536, in the county of Lippe. In 1538, in the Electorate of Brandenburg, in Bremen, Hall, in Saxony, Leipsic, in Misnia and Quedlenburg. In 1539, at Embden, in East Friesland, Hailbron, Halberstade, and Magdeburgh. In 1540, in the Palatinate of the Duchy of Nemburg, Regensburg, and Wismar. In 1542, at Buxton de Hildersheim, and at Osnaburgh. In 1543, in the lower Palatinate. In 1546 at Mecklinburgh. In 1552, in the Marquisate of Durlach, and Hockburg. In 1556, in the County of Bentheim. In 1564, at Haguenaw, and in the lower Marquisate of Baden. In 1568, in the whole Duchy of Magdeburg.

Here was a rapidity of progress which no human

wisdom could have foreseen; for besides all the places already mentioned, Lutheranism was established in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. It was not like Mahometanism, propagated by the sword, nor like popery supported by the gibbet and the stake. It consisted of a rational address to the understandings of men, and divine providence prepared them to receive it.

The system of faith, embraced by the Lutherans, was drawn up by Melancthon, a dear friend of Luther's, 1530, and presented to the emperor Charles V. It was designed to support all the points of the Reformation, and oppose the leading principles, and corrupt practices of popery. This is called the Augsburg confession, because Melancthon presented it to the emperor in that city, and it was divided into two parts, the first of which contained the following articles:

The 1st acknowledged, and agreed to the decisions of the first four general councils, concerning the Trinity.—The 2d admitted of original sin, defined it differently from the church of Rome, making it to consist only in concupiscence.—The 3d contained the substance of the apostles' creed.—The 4th maintained, against the Pelagians, that a man cannot be justified by the mere strength and capacity of nature; and, against Roman Catholics, that justification is the effect of faith, exclusive of good works.—The 5th agreed with the church of Rome, that the word God, and the sacraments, are the means of conveying the holy spirit, but differed from that communion, by asserting, that this divine operation is never present without faith.—The 6th affirmed, that our faith ought to produce good works, purely in obedience to God, and not in order to our own justification.—The 7th made the church to consist of none but the righteous.—The 8th acknowledged the validity of the sacraments, though administered by hypocrites or wicked persons.—The 9th asserted against the Anabaptists, the necessity of infant baptism.—The 10th acknowledged the body and blood of Christ under the consecrated elements; adding that this mysterious presence in the holy sacrament continued with the elements only during the time of receiving, and that the Eucharist ought to be given in both kinds.—The 11th granted the necessity of absolution to penitents, but denied their being obliged to make a particular confession of their sins.—The 12th condemned the Anabaptists, who affirm, that whoever is once justified cannot fall from grace; as also the Novations, who refused absolution to sins committed after baptism; asserting withal against the church of Rome, that a repenting sinner is not made capable of forgiveness by any acts of penance whatever.—The 13th required actual faith, from those who participate of the sacraments.—The 14th forbade those

who were not lawfully called, to teach in the church, or administer the sacraments.—The 15th appointed the observation of the festivals, and prescribed the ceremonies of the church.—The 16th acknowledged the obligation of civil laws, and approved the magistracy, propriety of estates and marriage.—The 17th acknowledged the resurrection, heaven and hell, and condemned the two following errors of the Anabaptists, and fifth monarchy men; viz. That the punishment of the devils and the damned will have an end, and that the saints will reign with Christ a thousand years upon earth.—The 18th declared, that our wills are not sufficiently free, in actions relating to the promoting of our salvation.—The 19th maintained, that notwithstanding God created man, and still continues to preserve him, he neither is, nor can be, the author of sin.—The 20th affirmed, that good works are not altogether unprofitable:—And the 21st forbade the invocation of saints.

The second part of the Augsburg confession is altogether in opposition to the church of Rome, containing the seven principal abuses on which the Lutherans founded the necessity of separating from the communion of that church.

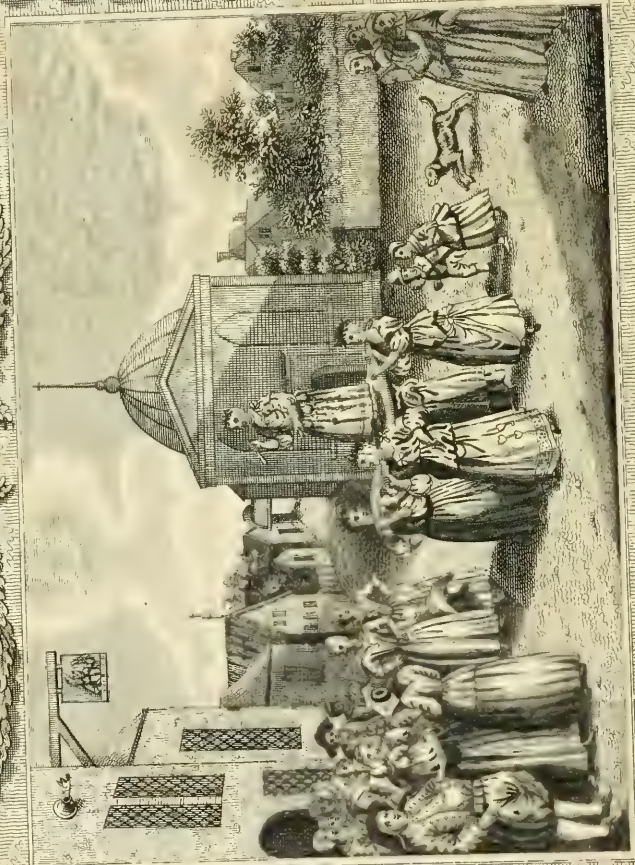
The 1st head enjoined communion in both kinds, and forbade the procession of the holy sacrament.—The 2d condemned the celibacy of priests.—By the 3d private masses were abolished, and some part at least of the congregation were obliged to communicate with the priest.—The 4th declared against the necessity of making a particular confession of sins to the priest.—The 5th rejected tradition.—The 6th disallowed monastic vows:—And the 7th asserted, that the power of the church consisted only in preaching the gospel, and administering the sacrament.

This confession of faith was signed by the elector of Saxony, and his eldest son, by the marquis of Brandenburg, by the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Hanaualt, and the republics of Nuremberg and Rutlingena. It was argued before the emperor Charles V. but rejected; the Roman Catholics having a majority of votes in the council. This was followed by a conference between seven deputies of each party; in which, Luther being absent, Melancthon, by his mollifying explanations, brought both sides to an agreement in relation to fifteen of the first twenty-one articles. But the conference broke up without adjusting all the differences between them.

In considering these articles, it appears, that in most of the capital doctrines of religion upon which salvation depends, there were but few differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists. Consubstantiation was one, absolution another, and an official priority in the clergy a third. The truth is







Custom formerly observed by the Sufferers of North-Holland at Middelburg.

Engraved for T. Chiswick: London.

most of the reformers throughout every part of Europe, were of the same sentiments with St. Austin, who so strongly supported the doctrine of absolute predestination, and efficacious grace against the Pelagians.

But be these things as they will, it is certain that although Luther, in his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, wrote in defence of free grace, yet his followers did not remain long in that opinion; for we find that before the middle of the last century, their preachers began to assert the doctrine of free-will, which is now an universal topic in their pulpits, although no such thing is inserted in their confession of faith, already printed. But in this they are not much different from some other Protestant churches, perhaps being of opinion with bishop Burnet, that men may subscribe to a particular system he does not literally believe, and put what construction upon it he pleases. This opinion of bishop Burnet is not much unlike the conduct of a friar, who having a desire to a fowl in Lent, flourished his knife in his hand, and said, "*Upon be God,*" and then eat it with the utmost avidity.—Mr. Blackburne the author of the Confessional, thinks that when men have no other way of procuring a subsistence than by that of subscribing to a certain formulary which they do not approve, that they may temporize and comply.

This has some connection with the conduct of the emperor of Germany, who granted a safe conduct to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, when they went to the council of Constance, and afterwards conducted them to the stake, declaring no faith should be kept with heretics. Without sincerity there can be no religion; and if systems cannot be written in such language as is understood, then there is an end of all uniformity of sermons; and such evasion being used by so many Protestants, has done more hurt to their cause than all the machinations of Romish priests. In all Protestant countries men may dissent from the established religion, if they are not satisfied with the terms of conformity, and it is more honourable to live even in a state of poverty, than for a man to wound his conscience, by declaring his assent to what he does not believe to be truth.

But to return to the subject. The next thing to be considered is the worship of the Lutherans, for worship must always be considered as one of the essentials of religion.

The worship in the Lutheran churches has a near affinity to what we have already mentioned in our account of the primitive Christians, only that the Lutherans wear gowns and surplices, which were not in use till a considerable time after Constantine the Great. If we were able to form any notion of the worship practised in the church during the fifth

century, it was much the same, if not entirely so as what the Lutherans use at present. Moshim, a Lutheran divine, and late president of the university of Gottengen, is of this opinion in his ecclesiastical history, and that learned gentleman freely acknowledges, that they have in their churches still too many ceremonies, as well as too many festivals.

All their churches are built in length from east to west, which is of great antiquity and still observed by Protestants in general, except by the Scotch, who build their places of worship in a promiscuous manner. When the Lutherans first go into their churches, they stand looking towards the altar, which is always at the east, and in that attitude offer up their devotions in private. The women sit in the middle of the church, and the men round about in the galleries. The public service begins with the organ playing and then all the people rise up and sing an hymn or psalm, to which they are directed by the preacher or reader. After this, the minister in his gown goes into the pulpit and prays, the people all looking towards the east, and some bowing to the altar. At the conclusion of the first prayer, which is a form though not read, the minister falls down upon his knees and remains in silence for some time. He then rises up, and all the people turn their faces towards him. He then reads out of their liturgy, the gospel for the day, and delivers a sermon from it, without notes; for throughout the whole world, no churches, whether Greeks, Roman Catholics, or Protestants, ever read sermons to the people, except the English. Sermon being over, the minister repeats a short prayer, the people having their faces towards the east, and then the organ begins to play, when they sing another hymn. The minister then pronounces the blessing.

This is the forenoon service, for they seldom have any preaching in the afternoon, the whole consisting of prayers and singing. In the afternoon, as soon as the minister enters within the rails of the altar, dressed in his surplice, he gives out the psalm to be sung, repeating the first line, when the organ strikes up, and all the people join in singing. The minister stands with his back to the people, much in the same manner as the Romish priests when they celebrate mass; but at the beginning of every new hymn, turns to them and repeats the first verse.—They are extremely fond of music, and, indeed, great part of their worship consists of it; but they do not make the sign of the cross, nor do they use any holy water like the Roman Catholics. These however, are only the outlines of their religious worship, for they have many other practices which might be attended to. This much, however, is necessary to observe, that they are the least re-

moved from the church of Rome of all the Protestants.

It was Luther's intention to change the whole form of divine service as practised in the Romish church; but he met with powerful opposition from several of the German princes, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the people of Europe were in that age, little better than barbarians. In the celebration of the eucharist, he looked upon wine as sufficient without any mixture of water, and masses for the dead were abolished. He exhorted all true Christians before they approached the communion, to prepare themselves by fasting and prayer, and although he declared, that auricular confession was not absolutely necessary, or to be insisted on, yet he held it to be a salutary practice, and by no means to be rejected and condemned.—He found no fault with the canonical hours, but ordained, that the people worship in the church twice upon every Sunday; that there should be prayers and sermon in the morning, and singing in the afternoon; that the gospel should be expounded in the morning and the epistle at vespers, and that the saints' days should be kept up. Lent is still kept by the Lutherans, and during that time, all those who are come to partake of the eucharist at Easter, confess their sins to the minister of the parish.

It is certain that confession took place in the Christian church a little time after Constantine the Great; but it was never magnified into such a degree of esteem as it is now held by the Roman Catholics till many hundred years afterwards. Upon it much of the power of the clergy depends, and Luther retained it in his ritual, although it has no foundation in the sacred scripture.

The Lutherans consecrate their churches in the following manner:—The pastor, and the greatest part of his congregation, meet near the parsonage house, or at some convenient place adjoining to the church intended to be consecrated, and afterwards march in procession two and two, once at least, and sometimes thrice round it, singing hymns all the way.—As soon as this act of devotion is over, they enter the church, where the service is again opened with singing. After which, some portions of sacred scripture are read, and a sermon preached on the solemnity of the meeting. If the revenues of the church will admit of it, the superintendent is invited to be present, to assist at the ceremony and give his benediction to the church, and consecrate it with some form of his composing, which favour is acknowledged by a gratuity, and a genteel entertainment.

There can be no manner of doubt but that as the Lutheran religion is established by law in many

countries, and tolerated in some others, so there must be considerable differences in the ceremonies, although none of a very essential nature. We have the following account of the consecration of a church in the neighbourhood of Dresden, performed so lately as 1730.

The procession set out from the place where the Lutheran service had been first performed, and the students and scholars sung all the way. After them went the superintendent, who is much the same with them as our bishops, carrying a large bible, and the pastor of the parish with a chalice in one hand and a patin in the other, followed by two deacons.

One of the deacons carried the small chest in which the book of their discipline was deposited, and the other carried a copy of the book itself. A numerous train of Lutherans of all ranks brought up the rear, and in this order they marched to the church, where there were several anthems sung, accompanied with instrumental music.

After this, the superintendent preached a sermon on the solemnity of the occasion, and there was a grand entertainment provided.

The superintendent repeated a few prayers over the ground upon which the church stood, and no doubt but from that time it became sacred. It is certain, that the holiness of times and places have been frequently insisted on; it is equally certain, that it has no foundation in the New Testament.—St. Stephen the first martyr, who suffered death for Christ, said before the Jewish Sanhedrim, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." But let us attend to what is said by the late Mr. Hervey, an author esteemed and admired by Protestants of every denomination.

Speaking of gratitude, he says, "Here I recollected, and was charmed with Solomon's fine address to the Almighty, at the dedication of his famous temple; with immense charge and equal skill, he had erected the most rich and finished structure that the sun ever saw, yet upon a review of his work and a reflection on the transcendent perfections of the godhead, how he exalts the one and abases the other. The building was too glorious for the mightiest monarch to inhabit, too sacred for unhallowed feet even to enter, yet infinitely too mean for the Deity to reside in. It was, and the royal worshipper acknowledged it to be, a most marvellous condescension in uncreated excellency to put his name there."

The whole passage breathes such a delicacy, and is animated with such a sublimity of sentiment, that I cannot persuade myself to pass on without repeating it. But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold! the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot



contain thee, how much less this house that I have builded. 1. Kings, viii. 27. Medit. Vol. I p. 5.

Undoubtedly, these sentiments of Mr. Hervey are extremely fine, and in all respects consistent with the gospel dispensation, nay, with the purity of religion in general; for what sanctity can there be in any place where the heart is polluted, the conscience defiled, and the soul not reunited to God. Whenever ceremonies are strenuously adhered to, the life of religion is generally lost, and all sinks down into formality. We have a remarkable instance of this in a controversy that took place in the London newspapers, 1766. It was occasioned by the following circumstance.

Dr. Joseph Butler, the celebrated author of the Analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion, delivered a charge to the clergy of Durham, in which he made use of the following expressions:—"There may be a form of religion where no religion exists, but there can be no religion without a form."

There was nothing in these words that any sensible man could look upon as superstitious; for as we are a composition of flesh and blood, we must either have some forms in our religious worship, or we must become quietists. However, Mr. Blackburne, the author of the Confessional, laid hold of these expressions; and not contented with representing bishop Butler as a superstitious person he actually accused him of having died a Roman Catholic. But this leads us to treat of the discipline of the Lutherans.

The validity of the English ordinations, although episcopal, has been called in question; but it was ably defended by father Le Conrayer, who was himself a Roman Catholic. But if such objections have been made to the church of England, we need not be surprised to find some treating the Lutherans as not canonically ordained; for although they have bishops or superintendents, yet they have no episcopal ordination. It is a rule in all Protestant churches except in England, never to ordain a man to be a minister till he is presented to a living; for say they, a shepherd is of no manner of use without a flock. For this reason, the Lutherans like the Calvinists, grant licences to young men to preach; but they are not to take upon them any charge of souls.

The young gentlemen among the Lutherans, who have finished their studies at the university, and are declared qualified for the clerical office, are generally sent as assistants to such ministers as are far advanced in years; and these are called expectants. Their business is to perform all the divine offices, except that of administering the sacrament, and hearing the confession of penitents, that being confined to such as are ordained.

These young men frequently succeed the aged ones when they die; and here we may observe, that it is much to the honour of the German princes who are Protestants, that although they have the right of presentation to livings, yet they generally give it to the people, leaving them at liberty to chuse their own ministers.

The day for the ordination being fixed, the candidate repairs to the church where he is to be ordained, in the presence of several ministers, ecclesiastical judges, and the congregation of the people. A sermon is preached, after which, the candidate makes a confession of his faith verbally; for they are not permitted to use notes. In the prayer after sermon, the candidate is mentioned by name, in words to the following import:—"A. B. attending here to be admitted and ordained a minister of the gospel, by the imposition of hands, according to the apostolical institution; let us pray for him, that God Almighty would vouchsafe to inspire him with the holy spirit, and bestow upon him an abundant portion of heavenly gifts."

As soon as the minister withdraws from the pulpit, they sing the *Veni Spiritus Sancti*; that is, the hymn beginning with the words, *Come Holy Ghost*, but not in Latin, as is the practice with the Roman Catholics, but in the vulgar language of the country where they reside. Then the superintendent with about five or six clergymen, repair to the altar, followed by the candidate, who as soon as they are entered, falls down on his knees before them.—Here the superintendent, addressing himself to his colleagues before mentioned, and having repeated the candidate's request, desires them to join with him in prayer on his behalf. After that, he reads the certificate of his free election by the people, and then they join in prayer the second time. The prayer being over, the superintendent speaks to the ministers, his colleagues, in the following words:—

"Dearly beloved brethren in our Lord Jesus, I exhort you to lay your hands on this candidate, who presents himself here before us, in order to be ordained a minister of the church of God, according to the ancient apostolical institution, and to concur with me in vesting him with that sacred office."—After this, they all lay their hands on the head of the candidate, when the superintendent says, "Be thou, and so remain to be, devoted to the service of God."

This being over, the superintendent addresses himself to the person thus ordained, in terms to the following purpose:—"Being assembled here through the aid and assistance of the Holy Ghost, we have made our humble supplications to God for you, and hope that he will vouchsafe to hear our prayers.—Wherefore I ordain, confirm, and establish you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, pastor and spiri-

dual instructor of the saints belonging to the church of C. D. to govern it in the fear of God, and have a watchful eye over it as a faithful shepherd over his flock."

The superintendent having pronounced the exhortation, withdraws from the altar, and the stated minister approaches it, dressed in his sacerdotal vestments, to read the common service, and to consecrate the bread and wine, which he administers to the new pastor, who receives it upon his knees.—Some few hymns, and the usual benediction conclude the ceremony. After service is over, all the pastors retire to the vestry, where they congratulate in Latin the party ordained. The superintendent afterwards reminds him of the great importance of the pastoral charge, and presses home the numerous obligations he has laid himself under, the most material of which are the following.

As a pastor, he is to look upon himself as the shepherd and father of his flock; he must make the sacred scriptures the foundation of all his discourses, and not broach new doctrines, whatever may be his private sentiments with respect to established notions, yet he is to be careful not to make them public as doubts, lest he should mislead those who are weak. He must not look with contempt on his congregation, nor must he leave it without assigning such a reason as shall satisfy the superintendent that he is sincere. He must concern himself with no political or state affairs, nor interfere in any private dispute, unless it be to reconcile the parties, by acting the part of a mediator, which was the practice of the primitive Christians. He must not follow any trade, nor mechanical employment, or be concerned in commerce. It is true, that if he has gardens, vineyards, or any small piece of ground, he may cultivate them to the best advantage, so as it does not in any manner interfere with his duty.—He is to live in peace with his brethren, the clergy, and entertain a charitable opinion of their actions. Last of all, he is obliged to reside with his people, but he is, by no means, to have more churches than one.

The minister thus ordained, is invested, or put into the actual possession of his congregation, and all its temporalities. The superintendent confers the investiture upon him in the presence of the whole church of which he is constituted and appointed pastor. In Saxony, all the clergy are exempted from the payment of taxes, and so it is in some other parts.

Their superintendents so often mentioned, are, in Sweden and Denmark, called bishops; and it is true they are invested with episcopal power, but they do not pretend to a jure divino, or divine right, in a direct line of succession from the apostles. In Denmark the king appoints the bishops, and the bishop

of Copenhagen ordains the others. This ordination is performed in the church of St. Mary in Copenhagen, in presence of the bishop and several pastors. The superintendent of Zealand, who is also bishop of Copenhagen, is ordained by the bishop who resides nearest him. The bishops are chosen from amongst the rest of the clergy, and, in general, are men of fair characters.

They go twice every year to the general assembly of the clergy, which consists of the superintendents of the provinces, and the ministers of parishes, who are sent by the people for that purpose. The civil governor of the province presides at all these meetings, but he does not interfere in their debates, unless they happen to censure the government, and then he dissolves them. These bishops, or superintendents, have power invested in them to inspect into the lives of the clergy, and to examine what progress the students make in the schools. All the schools in Denmark are established by royal authority, and supported by royal munificence out of the crown lands, and this may be one of the reasons why we seldom meet with a man from that country who is not well acquainted with religion.

The church of Sweden is governed by an archbishop and ten bishops, and over every ten parishes there is an inspector, or overseer, who gives an account of the rest of the clergy to the bishop four times in the year. In Germany, and some parts of Switzerland, where the Lutheran religion is professed, there cannot be such an exact regularity with respect to clerical dominion, many of the states being so small, that they cannot support a superintendent; but still the worship and government are, as much as can be, the same; for except in some things relating to doctrines the Lutherans are much the same as they were when their great founder established them.

All their disputes are regulated and adjusted in the assemblies of the clergy; for as these Lutheran ministers are prohibited from meddling with state affairs, so the government seldom interferes with their disputes. When any new regulation takes place the civil power generally gives it a sanction; but without that sanction it cannot be reduced to practice, so as to become binding either on the clergy or laity.

The school-masters, or instructors of youth in the Lutheran churches, are young men who have passed examination at the university, and such as they call expectants, they being afterwards ordained to the ministry if chosen by the people. Such, indeed, should be the qualifications of all those who teach youth; and perhaps it is owing to the want of these qualifications, that there are so many who undertake to teach things they are utterly unacquainted with themselves.

The Lutherans have public prayers and sermons, oftener than any other Protestants in Europe. This is perhaps, one of the worst practices in their church; for as God ordered but one day in seven to be kept holy among his ancient people the Jews, so the Primitive Christians never assembled but on the first day of every week. Every thing is beautiful in the order of Providence; and whenever men depart from labour, to attend divine worship, except at such times as the sacred scriptures have appointed, they act inconsistent with the order of God, and in general do much injury to their families. Nay, it frequently happens, that those who are more than ordinarily anxious after the exterior part of religion, have seldom any sincerity, but rather bring a dishonour upon it. This first opened the mouths of deists, for it is very remarkable, that our most celebrated deists were such as contracted prejudices against the Christian religion, in consequence of the clergy preaching and praying two or three times a day like angels, when they lived the lives of devils. Of this we might produce many examples: but we shall have occasion to take notice of some, when we come to another part of this work.

It is certain, that there are still in the Lutheran church several superstitious customs, inconsistent with the purity of Primitive Christianity; for they generally delay their funerals till Sunday, in order to have a prayer and a funeral sermon, which their ministers always preach on the death of any of their hearers whether old or young, rich or poor. These sermons are, for the most part, full of flattery, than which nothing in the world can be more useless or insignificant; for whatever rest we may wish our departed friends, yet we are left till the judgment day in a state of ignorance concerning them.

We have already observed that the Lutherans have altars in their churches, for the celebration of the holy communion. They likewise make use of lighted tapers in their churches, with a crucifix on the altar, and sometimes they have incense; but some of these things are not general, being confined to particular parts.

Some of their divines urge, that these things add a lustre and dignity to divine worship, by fixing the attention of the people; others complain, that the priests lay too great a stress on these ceremonies, by considering them as essential to religion. It is certain that many of them pay too much regard to these unnecessary, or rather absurd trifles. Nay, we need not hesitate to call them dangerous? for whenever people, during divine worship, are led to seek any or the least assistance from carnal objects, religion itself becomes to them a carnal thing, and the purity of spiritual Christianity is defaced.

Their minds, says a pious author, are led away from beholding the great God of their salvation;

and we are well persuaded, that the introduction of such ceremonies into the primitive church soon after the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, made way for all the ridiculous, and heathenish rites of the papists.

The Lutherans preserve a vast number of popish ceremonies, and in the observance of some they are very particular. Thus, their bells ring to public prayers and sermon, but never to vespers or matins; for strange as it may appear, the Lutherans retain the canonical hours; and, in some places, part of their service is said in Latin.

They all use organs in their churches, not only to strike the ear the more agreeably, but also to lead the people into a sort of concert with them. But besides organs, they have in all their cathedral churches a vast number of other musical instruments, especially on their solemn festivals; but these often give offence to the more sober part of the people.

It is necessary to observe in this place that nunneries or convents for women are still kept up in several places where Lutheranism prevails. These nuns however, are not bound down by the entanglements of vows; for they may leave the convent whenever they please. In every religious house there is an abbess, and the nuns lie two and two in a bed, in very decent apartments. Each of them has a small closet, where they work, read, or pray; and they have a chapel, wherein divine service is performed on Sundays and Fridays.

Their priest wears a kind of stole, made of fine crimson velvet, and a crucifix embroidered with silver when he reads prayers at the altar, but when he goes into the pulpit he has nothing on but his surplice. These nuns dress like other women, and may marry when they please.

Happy for Britain, had the revenues of the convents at the Reformation been applied to the same valuable purposes; but, alas! there is no such thing to be found. Nor do we read of any thing of this nature, except it be those small convents that were established in Holland, when the French Calvinists first fled thither for refuge after the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

They were called religious dormitories, and consisted chiefly of ladies of prudence and discretion, under the direction of ancient matrons, refugees like themselves, but of fortunes sufficient to command respect in their retirement, and vested with the authority of abbesses, as far as the Protestant religion would admit of. They spent their time in prayer, reading the sacred scriptures, and other books of devotion in public; but in these societies there were no sermons preached, nor sacraments administered. It is generally believed, that at the Reformation, it was the design of Luther to abolish



festivals and many other ceremonies, which still prevail in the religion that bears his name: but he found the stream of popular prejudice too strong for him to suppress it.

In some Lutheran countries, the people go to church on the night of the nativity of our blessed Saviour, with lighted candles or wax tapers in their hands. There they spend the whole night in singing, and saying their prayers by the light of the torches. Sometimes they burn such a large quantity of incense, that the smoke thereof ascends in the form of a whirlwind, and their devotees may be said with propriety, to have their minds wrapped up in it. In Germany it is customary during such festivals, to make entertainments for their friends and relations, and to send presents one to another, especially to the young people, whom they amuse with very idle and romantic stories, telling them, that our Saviour descends from heaven on the night of his nativity, and brings with him all sorts of playthings.

They have another whim or conceit equally ridiculous, and that is, of wrapping an infant in swaddling clothes, and laying it in a cradle, in order to represent the infancy of our blessed Lord. They likewise stroll about in all sorts of masquerade dresses, which is frequently attended with very fatal consequences; because, mistaking one another, quarrels ensue, and in the scuffle the innocent often suffer where no affront was intended.

They have a sort of vagabonds, who, during the Christmas holidays, sing hymns about the streets, and these are considered by the vulgar, as persons who have real religion at heart. In times of war, these wretches are pressed into the army; but no sooner are they gone, than the women supply their places. In Saxony, they used formerly to erect may-poles in all their churches on Ascension Day; but this practice was abolished in 1715, because it induced the people to cut down the trees in the neighbouring forests and to prevent riots, which frequently happened on these occasions.

They all celebrate the jubilee of their Reformation from popery, and on such occasions several poems are written in honour of Luther. Many of the German princes have, in vain, attempted to put an end to their vast number of holy days; but the popular prejudices, as in all other cases, so in this prevented them from succeeding according to their wishes.

We have already treated slightly on the Lutheran form of worship, we shall now proceed to consider it more minutely and particularly.

In 1523, Luther drew up a sort of liturgy, which in many things, differed not much from the mass of the Roman church. In that formulary he called the communion of bread and wine, a ceremony in-

stituted by Christ which all Christians should deem sacred; but treated with contempt the canon of the mass. And yet in this liturgy there were so many things like popery, that it was not an easy matter to separate the ideas. He allowed the Nicene Creed, which has given offence to many Protestants, to be read in the church; nor does it appear that he made any objection to the creed of St. Athanasius. He ordered that no water should be mixed with the wine in the sacrament; this was certainly right, because water was never used but in the warmer climates, where the strength of the wine led to intoxication. As for private confession before the communion, he said it was useful but not necessary.

He ordered that hymns should be sung after divine service was ended, some of which were to be in Latin, and others in the vulgar tongue; but that the rest of the service should be read in a language known to the congregation. In all this we may see, that at that time, Luther had but dark notions of the purity of Christianity. He was no stranger to the corruptions that had crept into popery; but either in consequence of his own prejudices, or of those of the people, he would not, or could not entirely heal them. However, some churches where the Lutheran religion is professed, have one ritual, and some another. Some are more clogged with ceremonies than others, and some more rational.

This will appear the more consistent with truth, when we consider, that in Sweden the liturgy differs from that in Germany, or in Denmark. At Nuremberg in Germany, there is but little difference in the outward form of divine worship between the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans; only that the latter renounce the pope's supremacy. This was one of the healing measures proposed by Melancthon, but that reformer was a time serving man. He loved indolence more than reformation, and being destitute of activity, he had no courage to support Luther, whose views were great, and whose spirit was undaunted.

Melancthon has been much cried up by Protestants in general, as a divine of great moderation, and as one who did not desire to carry things to extremity in the first instance. However, we are not to judge of the motives from which he acted, but of his conduct, as it appears on public record. There are many sentiments in his works that seem to breathe a spirit of peace; but if men are once convinced that the purity of the Christian religion has been contaminated, and errors established in it as truth, then it is necessary that every true believer should testify against them. To be timid in such matters, is to give up all attachment to the truth, it is to betray the cause we have embarked in, and to wound our consciences; but we shall afterwards

give our readers a more enlarged account of these things, when we treat of the Reformation in other nations in Europe.

Much has been said concerning the notions which the Lutherans entertain with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist; but as all these are confused and contradictory, we shall here endeavour to lay the whole truth before the reader, as taken from one of their most eminent writers, viz. Melancthon. He says, "Our very children are not ignorant, that at the holy communion, we receive beyond all contradiction the body and blood of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and although that mystery is so far above our common or human capacities that we can never comprehend it, yet we firmly believe and rely on the veracity of those words of our Saviour, 'Take, eat, this is my body, &c.'—He who with a few words was able to satisfy the hunger of several thousands of people, and could walk on the sea,—could, at the celebration of his own supper, perform and bring to pass what was implied in these words he had expressed." It is very probable, that the most bigotted Roman Catholic would subscribe to this opinion, and yet they are inveterate enemies to the Lutherans.

Those who are of the Lutheran opinion in Germany, are obliged to come to the minister of the parish, either on Wednesday or Friday previous to the communion, and this is done on purpose that they may open their minds without reserve. This is called confession, but it is by no means conducted on such superstitious principles as among the Roman Catholics. It is true, that common practice and long usage give a sanction to many things, which although no way important in themselves, nor any way essential to religion, yet are considered as sacred by those who have not had it in their power to make a proper enquiry. We have a striking instance of this in Patkull, a gentleman of universal knowledge who had been brought up a Lutheran, but was, without changing his religion, many years ambassador from the Czar, Peter the Great, to the elector of Saxony, then king of Poland.—That great man had been, contrary to the law of nations, seized on by a party of Swedish dragoons, and chained to a stake in the camp of Charles XII. near Pirna, upwards of six months. In vain did he plead his privilege as an ambassador; in vain did he assert, that he had never done any thing against the honour of his native country, Livonia, which at that time belonged to Sweden. The misfeeling Charles ordered him to be broke alive upon the wheel, one of the most horrid and barbarous deaths that malice could invent. The day before he was to suffer, the chaplain of a Swedish regiment came to him by order of the king, and after a few formal expressions, said, "I am come to you with such a

message as the prophet brought to good king Hezekiah of old, Set thine house in order for thou shalt die and not live."

The poor distracted prisoner begged to know in what manner he was to be put to death, but this was a question the clergyman could not answer; for as we have already observed, the Lutheran ministers are not to meddle with politics. Patkull told him, that he could not die in peace without confessing his sins, and the clergyman desired him to prepare himself for it against the next morning.—He did so, and when he had confessed his sins, he told the minister that he was ready to die. If a gentleman, who had obtained a liberal education, who was acquainted with all the sciences, and who had made a distinguishing figure as a minister of state, thought this formulary necessary in order to promote his eternal happiness, how then can we blame those poor creatures, whose minds were never enlightened with human knowledge. Patkull suffered death after five hours torture, and the learned Keyssler, the German traveller, takes notice, that from that period Charles's affairs first went into confusion and at last ended in ruin; but this we only mention by way of digression.

On the Sunday, when the communion is to be administered, the minister immediately after sermon prays to Almighty God for all in particular who are to partake of that holy ordinance. There is no form of prayer, however, for that purpose; but the minister is at liberty to make use of such words as he thinks proper for the occasion. After prayer, they sing a hymn, and while it is singing, those who are to communicate, advance towards the altar, and fall down on their knees, at least as many as can approach it at once, for the rest stand behind in a praying posture. As soon as the hymn is over, the minister says, let us pray, and repeats at the same time, the Lord's prayer, and after that he reads the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper.—In some places the whole congregation sing with an audible voice, both the prayer and the words of the institution. After that they receive the communion, much in the same manner as in the church of England, namely, kneeling before the rails of the altar.

In some parts of Saxony, the minister rings a little bell two or three times after a very solemn manner, which custom is both needless and impertinent, especially among people who are Protestants, and who pay no regard to the adoration of the host.—Indeed, they look upon every thing of that nature as idolatry; and yet we may find, that men may in words despise idolatry, while they are actually idolaters in practice. In most of the Lutheran churches, the pastor, before he administers the sacrament, puts on his surplice, and over that a vestment with

several crosses fastened to it, which, however, ought not to be compared with the stole worn by the Roman Catholic priests, there being no resemblance between them.

In some places, the pastor, after he has read the gospel at the altar, throws the vestment before-mentioned over his head and lays it on the table.—After the creed is sung, he goes into the pulpit and preaches in his surplice, and then he returns to the altar, where he again puts on his vestments. However, many of them never put it on till the communion begins, and that is amongst them reckoned the most decent practice.

Some of their devotees, as among the Roman Catholics, consider the bestowing of habits on the priests as a very meritorious action; and in several of their churches they have eight or ten different sets: So profuse is superstition in bestowing what can be of no service to mankind, and so vain is human pride in placing some sort of confidence in what consists, merely, of empty shew. Mechanical religion is the worst that ever could take place in the world, and notwithstanding the bold assertions of Mr. Hulse, we may venture to affirm, that those who give encouragement to it, are no friends to Christianity.

We have already observed, that in many places they keep wax candles burning on their altars during the time of celebrating the communion. But can any thing in the world be more idle than to burn candles at noon day. But the whole force of this part of our argument is taken away by allegories; for they tell us, as Christ instituted the holy supper at night, so we should always receive it with candles burning.

They might just as well assert, that as the primitive Christians were obliged to meet in the night, on account of the violence of persecution, so all our meetings, even in a land of liberty, should be nocturnal assemblies. This is undoubtedly one of the most idle arguments that ever was advanced; but when men embrace only one half of the truth, it is not strange to see them again returning to error.

However, when the communicant has received the sacred elements, he falls down on his knees to return thanks to God for the spiritual nourishment, and in some places the communicants congratulate each other on that joyful occasion. As for the number of times for the communicants to partake of this sacred institution, they are not fixed but voluntary; some partake of it every Sunday, but these are only what are called devotees.

No minister can receive the communion from his own hands, that being absolutely forbidden by Luther's doctrine.

On the evening of the day before the communion

is administered, there is always a preparation sermon, and this custom has obtained in several other reformed churches; on that occasion, all those who are to communicate are obliged to be present, and those who neglect it without shewing a reasonable cause, are liable to the censures of the church.—Although in general they receive the communion kneeling, yet in some places they take it standing; but for this there is no fixed rule, which often creates a great deal of confusion in their public assemblies.

The Lutherans make use of red or white wine, just as opportunity serves, in the celebration of their communion. They never administer the sacrament to infants, but it is common enough for them to carry it to such as are sick, or on a death bed, at the same time observing a great many ceremonies. And here it is necessary to observe, that such communion carried to the sick and dying persons, bears a near affinity to the viaticum of the Roman church, except in the act of adoration. Nay, this communion of theirs may be called by the same name as the Romans; for the Lutheran priest says to the communicants, that it is a suitable provision for them in their journey to the other world. The term which the Lutherans make use of for viaticum, is expressive of the very same idea, and brings to our remembrance the ancient customary fee, paid to Charon by the heathens; for it was from the heathens the papists borrowed it, and the Lutherans have, in a great measure, retained it.

Whether the term viaticum was looked upon as too superstitious by the Lutherans, as being popish, we cannot determine; but this much is certain, that they have left it out of their ritual, and now they call it the communion of the sick.

As for the ceremonial part, it has been reduced to the following ceremonies.

1st, to the confession of the communicant, which is preceded by a prayer, and followed with an absolution pronounced by the confessor in the name of the ever blessed Trinity.

Secondly, the communion administered to the sick person, preceded also by a prayer, and accompanied with singing a psalm of praise and hope, most commonly the 23d, or 103d, according to the version made use of by the Lutherans, and several other Protestants, and a collect or prayer suitable to the solemn occasion.

Thirdly, the benediction which is delivered in the most solemn manner, recommending the departing soul to the arms of the Lord Jesus, to enjoy everlasting happiness in heaven.

In those parts where the Lutherans are the most superstitious, the priest when he comes into the chamber of the sick person, takes a table, which he places in the form of an altar, by covering it with



tapestry, a fine crimson cloth, and setting two lighted candles upon it. Between the candles he places a crucifix, and such other things as are objects of superstition among them. It should be administered in presence of some of the relations of the sick person, but when there are no relations, then the neighbours are to be invited in. Every person present is permitted to partake with the sick man or woman; and for that purpose they must have notice sent them before, that they may be duly prepared. The Lutherans do not only carry their communion to the sick, but also to such as are aged and infirm, so as to be incapable of attending public worship. To these persons the minister, who gives the communion to them, makes a serious exhortation, which may, with propriety, be called a domestic sermon, after a family communion.

We shall now proceed to consider their manner of confession, which is looked upon as highly necessary wherever the Lutheran religion is established. And here it is proper to add, that it contributes much towards aggrandizing the power of the clergy. If on the one hand, it relieves the agonizing pains of the soul, and gives a sincere comfort and consolation to a wounded conscience, it creates on the other hand, an awe, veneration and respect for their pastors, who, by such acts of confession, become the spiritual directors and physicians of their people.

They administer their cures in the name of the Lord, but in the same name denounce curses on those who will not take what they prescribe. However, let the veneration, respect and authority of the Lutheran preachers or confessors be ever so great, yet it falls vastly short of what the Romish priests procure for themselves. The following was delivered to the author by an eminent Lutheran minister lately deceased.

"Before the communion, the person who is to receive, confesses his sins to the minister, who, agreeably to the sacred scriptures, pronounces the full remission of sins to all such as truly repent.—This confession is not particular like that of the Roman Catholics; for the minister does not pry into secret affairs.

It is sufficient for the penitent or intended communicant, to declare in general that he has sinned, and what man would deny that? This is a thing implied in religion; for what purpose would it be necessary for men to attend to sacred duties, to ask pardon of God, to beg for his assistance, and praise him for his many mercies, if they were not sinners; that is, if they had not transgressed against the divine law. However, the practice of confession among the Lutherans is not always the same, it varies in different places according as prejudices

may happen to aggrandize it, or the freedom of enquiry sink it almost beneath the lowest sort of contempt.

In some places the whole body of people go together to their pastor, in order to confess their sins, and one of them reads a general confession, after which the confessor asks if their sentiments are all one and the same. After the answer is given in the affirmative, the minister makes a formal exhortation, longer or shorter, as he thinks proper; and that, together with the absolution, concludes the ceremony. This is the general custom in most populous towns, where it would be, in a manner, impossible to attend to every private individual.—In some places, the minister proposes the three following questions to those who are to confess their sins:—

First, he asks them whether they repent sincerely of those sins of which their consciences accuse them? Secondly, if they sincerely believe and profess that the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ are really and actually present in the elements of bread and wine? And, thirdly, if they promise to persevere in the Lutheran faith to their lives' end? This last question implies a principle inconsistent with toleration, and consequently with Christianity, and it is well known, that the Lutherans are generally very stiff in that particular; not with regard to the Roman Catholics only, likewise to the Calvinists who have often made them the most generous professions of brotherly love.

At Nuremberg, and in some other places, imposition of hands is practised when absolution is given, and this is of considerable antiquity: for it seems to have taken its rise about the middle of the fifth century, when the Christian religion was beginning to give up its reality for an empty vain shadow. The form and manner of doing it is this:—

The minister, whom we may call the confessor, lays his hands three times on the head of the penitent, repeating, in a solemn manner at each exhortation, the name of one of the three persons in the blessed Trinity. After which he says to the penitent, "Go in peace, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you."—Making at the same time, the sign of the cross.

As to their modes of confession, they either stand, sit, or kneel, just as they please, so that we find they are far from being so superstitious as the papists. And yet almost all the Lutheran ministers take money from their people when they come to confess their sins. Having been accused of this as a simoniacal practice, they have endeavoured to extenuate the enormity of the crime, by telling their accusers, that it is a part of their revenue. A popish priest, who takes goods as well as money, could have said

no more. Whenever money is taken for a spiritual gift, the gift itself ceases to be spiritual, and many who call themselves ministers, make it appear to the world that the desire of gratifying their passions, tramples over all regard they can have for religion. As they have a vast number of fasts and festivals, so their superintendants exercise a high authority on those occasions; for they are sure to order the clergy to preach on whatever topics they think proper, and to prescribe rules for their conduct during every part of the solemnity. During their fasts, the shops are shut up, all manner of exercise ceases but devotion; though on their festivals, and even on Sundays, they will play at cards in the afternoon.

We shall, in the next place, proceed to their form of excommunication. In Denmark and Sweden, it is accompanied with very severe penance. In the Danish ritual, we are informed, that the person excommunicated, when he first appears in the church, is turned out with disgrace by the clerk of the parish, in the presence of the whole congregation. However, if the excommunication be of long continuance, he is not excluded from the privilege of attending public worship and joining in the congregation during sermons, and other acts of public devotion; but he is obliged to sit in a place appointed, and some distance from them; and when the minister comes down from the pulpit, the clerk before-mentioned conducts the excommunicated person out of the church. This has a near resemblance to some of the practices of the Primitive Christians when their church was on the decline.

As to the Swedes, their form of excommunication is equally rigid and severe. We are assured by a traveller, who visited that country, that he saw at Lincoping, a young woman who had been guilty of some rash misdemeanor, and who, by consequence thereof, had rendered herself obnoxious to the church, exposed to public view upon her knees, from break of day till noon, in the church porch, upon an eminence, like a criminal's bar, erected for that particular purpose.

It is probable however, that might have been a civil punishment and not an ecclesiastical censure. Such young women as are not ashamed of exposing themselves by drinking to excess, or the commission of any other odious and abominable vice, are punished in the same manner at the Hague.—There is not therefore, a possibility of forming a proper notion of this sort of Swedish punishment, because we know not whether it is of a civil or religious nature.

It is true, their discipline is severe, but no ecclesiastical censures are to be inflicted through the co-operation of the civil power. This is much to their honour, and we are sorry to say that there is one Pro-

testant church in the world where this practice prevails. In a word, the Lutherans admit of the lesser excommunication; but as to any civil pains and penalties being inflicted on the delinquents, they are never thought of. Probably, the civil power, in arbitrary countries, may sometimes deviate from what is here laid down; but still there is nothing in the ecclesiastical constitution of their churches that can give any authority for such a practice. Excommunication is the casting a person out from among the faithful, but except in the church of Rome, and in one single Protestant church, the punishment ceases with the declaration of the minister, which, according to the spirit of Christianity, should always be of a spiritual nature.

Luther has given us a formulary baptism in the vulgar tongue, in order that every person present might understand it, and in this we find many of the ceremonies used by the Roman Catholics left out, particularly that of breathing upon the infant, which however was, from a mistaken notion, practised in ancient times. Exorcism, or commanding the devil to go out of the child, is still observed, and the sign of the cross is retained.

As the Lutherans retain a large share of popish superstition, so they make it a rule to baptize their children as soon as possible after they are born. In case the child should be too weak to be carried to the church, they baptize him at home, and on such occasions one or more godfathers must attend.—When they imagine the infant to be in danger, then the midwife baptizes him, just as they do among the Roman Catholics.

If a child is found exposed in the streets, and a note is left along with it, intimating that it had been baptized, no regard is paid to that intimation, so that it is carried to the church and baptized in public. They never baptize idiots when they arrive at years of maturity till they have regained the use of their reason. All legitimate children are baptized before divine service begins, but bastards after it is over.

There are baptismal fonts in some of the Lutheran churches, but not in all of them. In several of the Saxon churches, the figure of an angel with a bason in his hand, descends from the ceiling by a private pulley, or some other secret machine, and presents the bason to the minister, who is to baptize the child. In some other places, a table is brought out of the vestry, and placed before the altar with the bason upon it, but this custom prevails more at Augsburg than any where else.

After the preliminary questions which are always common at baptism, the minister makes a discourse by way of exhortation, and then he exorcises the devil in the following words, "Get thee hence thou unclean spirit, and make room for the Holy Ghost!"

The minister at the same time makes the sign of the cross upon the infant, saying unto him, "Receive the sign of the cross, and be a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." He then baptizes the child by dipping him three times in the water, in the name of the blessed Trinity, and the whole ceremony concludes with an exhortation and a blessing. And here we must not omit to take notice that the Lutheran ministers exact fees from those who have their children baptized; but we shall have occasion to mention this practice as taking place in some other reformed countries in Europe, and indeed, in many of them.

The next thing to be taken notice of, is their form of confirmation, which has no affinity to that of the Romish church; for they make no use of oil, and any common pastor of a congregation may perform the ceremony. The young person who comes to be confirmed, must give a satisfactory answer to all questions proposed to him by the minister, which practice is very much like that of the primitive church. When they have answered all the questions proposed to them, the minister delivers a suitable exhortation, and the congregation sing an hymn, and then the ceremony concludes with a prayer and the benediction.

The Lutheran discipline with respect to matrimony, is regular and uniform. In order to the consummation of marriage where there is no lawful impediment, the parties present themselves at church before their pastor, who asks them whether they are mutually agreed to enter into that state; and thereupon they join their right hands, and make an exchange of their respective rings. Then the pastor says, "A. & B. being desirous to enter into the holy state of matrimony, before all this congregation here present, I do hereby declare them husband and wife, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, *Amen.*" After that he repeats, without a book, several texts of scripture, that enforce the duties of husbands and wives; and the whole ceremony concludes with a prayer for their prosperity in time, and their happiness in eternity. It is proper to observe, that the Lutherans never marry any of their people on fast days, and few but the lower sort of people go to the church to have the ceremony performed; for those in genteel life, are generally married at their own houses in the evening; the ceremony however, is the same, consisting of prayers and exhortations.

In some parts of Germany where the people are married publicly, the streets are strewn with flowers, and there is a great deal of other unnecessary parade, not worthy of being mentioned. In the morning of the wedding day, which is very frequently on a Sunday, the bridegroom goes out of his own

house to visit his mistress, but before he goes out, the door and windows of his house are adorned with flowers, to give intimation to the people that he is to be married.

At his first setting out a young girl throws some of the flowers into his face, after which he gets into a chaise, or cart, according as his circumstances will permit, the horses being grandly adorned.—When he meets his mistress at her own apartments, he quits his carriage, and both she and he go in another to the church, the streets being strewn with flowers; and as soon as they arrive at the church, the nuptial knot is tied, by which they are bound together for life.

We come at last to their funeral ceremonies, or at least to that last stage which puts an end to human existence.

The dying Lutheran has no extreme unction administered to him, no outward application of relics, he receives no comfort or consolation from a crucifix being put into his hand. He is buoyed up with no hopes from the virtues arising from a monk's habit, and he expects no happiness after death, in consequence of a number of masses having been said for him. His whole dependence is on the merits of Christ Jesus, and he receives spiritual consolation in consequence of the admonitions and exhortations he receives from his pastor. But notwithstanding they are very superstitious; nor is it an easy matter to divest the mind of superstition, without running it into deism.

On the day appointed for the interment of the corpse, the relations and friends of the deceased meet together at the house where he died, and the minister of the congregation resorts thither at the same time, attended by a train of young scholars, who, no doubt, come to learn the nature of the ceremony; for mechanical religion is not easily attained to. These youths sing two or three hymns before the door where the deceased lays, after which they march in the front of the procession, having either a cross or a large crucifix carried before them. An inferior clerk, or some young scholar appointed for that purpose, marches close by the side of the corpse with a small cross, which is afterwards fixed in that part of the church, or church-yard where the body was interred. The relations and friends of the deceased follow the corpse, the men first, and the women after them. During the procession, their bells are, for the most part, tolled out of respect and complaisance to the deceased, and several hymns sung as they march along. It is customary likewise to open the coffin at the grave, and take farewell of the deceased, singing at the same time, several hymns suitable to the occasion.

When they nail up the coffin for the last time, the minister reads a prayer, and pronounces a bene-



diction or blessing. If a funeral sermon is to be preached, then the corpse is carried into the church and the discourse generally consists of a great deal of flattery, because the minister is paid for it. As in all other things, so in their funeral ceremonies, the Lutherans differ much from each other; but this indeed, is not much to be wondered at, when we consider how much we differ in the small island of Britain.

In some parts of this island, a woman must not attend a funeral; in many other parts, her presence is considered as necessary. What then shall we say to those differences which take place among the Lutherans? The answer is plain and easy, they depend upon locality and ancient custom, without any connection with religion.

It is necessary to observe in this place, that although Lutheranism is professed in many countries on the continent of Europe, yet sometimes it happens that the prince is of one persuasion and his people of another. Thus, the elector of Saxony is a papist, yet all his subjects are Lutherans. The king of Prussia and his court are Calvinists, and yet almost all his subjects are Lutherans. That illustrious monarch has drawn up the following confession of his faith, which will ever do him great honour. It was written at a time when he was in very precarious circumstances; but the whole may serve to shew the clearness of his head, and the goodness of his heart.

It was presented to the diet of the German empire at Ratisbon, 1744, and the substance of it is as follows:—

1. I do not believe in the ordinances of the pope, nor even in the writings of Luther, Beza, or Calvin; but I believe in the adorable Trinity, and I make his holy word the foundation of my faith, nor shall I ever believe any thing that clashes with it, even though an angel from heaven should reveal it.

2. I believe also that I shall be saved, together with all true Christians, by the blood of Christ, his suffering, and dying for us.

3. As I profess there is no salvation in any other name, I would not be stiled a Lutheran, a Calvinist, nor a Papist—but a Christian.

4. With regard to eternal election or predestination, this is my private opinion, that the merciful God hath called all men to salvation; and it is not for want of being called if they are not saved, but through their own wickedness and obstinacy in opposing divine grace, and by reason of their corrupt hearts, and their sins, that they are condemned through the just judgment of God.

5. As to good works, it is my opinion, that there must necessarily be good works where there is a true faith; for faith and good works can no more be

separated, than light from fire: nevertheless it is an error to believe, that man can merit heaven by good works, or that he can be saved but by true faith. How then can the merit of good works save us.

6. With regard to baptism and the Lord's supper, it is my opinion, that I have been washed from sin in baptism; not by the water, but by the blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and have been by it received into the eternal covenant of grace with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: so I am nourished in the holy supper at the table of the grace of Jesus Christ; and, in virtue of this sacrament, am rendered partaker of all the benefits which my Saviour hath purchased by his wounds and death, and am become an inheritor of life everlasting; whence I believe, that those who believe in God, and seeketh his salvation in the blood of Jesus Christ, and leadeth a true Christian life, may die the death of the righteous, and shall be saved.

7. I leave to every one liberty of faith and conscience; protesting, before the face of God, that I am determined to live and die in this plain confession of faith: nevertheless, I leave to all good people to judge, whether I am cold, hot, or luke-warm.—I am far from believing, that the service of Catholic priests promote the salvation of souls; have learned by the experience which I have had, that all their actions are not to the honour of God, and the salvation of men, but solely to their own honour, and to be respected among men.

8. It is with reason that I scruple to be called a papist, a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, because, according to the custom and opinion of the world, it is not sufficient to take the name of a Christian, but we must be engaged to some particular church, and make profession of its faith; and as the pure reformed religion best agrees with my religion, I think it not improper to call myself a reformed; although I see no cause to say, there is the least difference between my confession of faith and the pure Lutheran religion: I would not, however, be called a Calvinist; but am, and shall always be, a reformed Christian:—that is to say, one that is disengaged from all error in the doctrine of faith, and who believes all that I have before mentioned; but a Calvinist is one who makes the doctrine of Calvin the rule of faith.

9. As Calvin was a man he might be mistaken, since no man is perfect: but I regard Calvin, Luther, and others, as chosen instruments of God, drawn by virtue of the Holy Ghost from the darkness of popery, and that they shewed the true way to life; but as they were fallible, I do not call them rabbies. I profess not to believe any doctrine that is not agreeable to the word of God, believing that

It is my duty, as St. Paul advises, to try all things, and hold fast that which is good.

It has been commonly reported that the king of Prussia was a deist; this has been believed by many, and yet let us only consider these different articles as they are here before us. Every Christian who is a Protestant, would subscribe to them if presented to him. It will be asked, that as there remains not the least doubt of their having been dictated by this illustrious hero, from what motives did they flow? To this we would answer, that in all cases where there does not remain the shadow of a doubt, we are to consider the conduct of our fellow creatures in the fairest point of view. We have no evidence that the Prussian hero ever denied the truth of divine revelation; for as to the many scandalous writings that have been imputed to him, there is little doubt but that they were written by some profane wits, who never either saw his majesty or knew his sentiments.

The famous book, entitled *Eikon Basilican*, ran through eight editions of two thousand each, in the compass of two years, merely because it was reputed and asserted to be the work of Charles I. and yet we have undeniable proofs that it was not written by that prince. Some years ago, a bookseller, a man of ingenuity, drew up a small piece, which has had an amazing run, because it was whispered that it had been written by a noble lord lately deceased. Thus we may frequently find Frenchmen of learning and ingenuity, writing and publishing things under the names of princes, and ministers of state, which although lively and entertaining, contain but little of the truth.

It has been just the same with the king of Prussia. Voltaire, and D'Argens, brought a great number of refugees to his court, and these men being of too abandoned characters to expect encouragement from a virtuous monarch, retired to Holland and published some gay trifles under his name; or at least, they insinuated that they had been written by him. The states general ordered them to be burnt by the common hangman; and surely, had the king been author of them, he would not have suffered this act of indignity to go unpunished; for it is well known that he has, by being in possession of East Frisia-land, a power at any time, to invade their territories.

In this manner the first characters may be traced, and men may be represented as the authors of sentiments which they hold in abhorrence. It is acknowledged by all, that the Prussian monarch wrote memoirs of the house of Brandenburg; and what man will say that there is any thing derogatory to the truth and honour of the Christian religion? He maintains a Lutheran minister in every one of

his regiments, who is not suffered to remain at home but must go to camp with the troops. This does not look like a prince upon whom religion sits so very light, as has been represented by some persons of the present age.

But who were those persons who first represented his Prussian majesty as a deist? We answer, the same profligates who published systems of debauchery, and then gave it out that they were written by him. Men who had enjoyed some favours from him, but because they could not get into the plenitude of power, to gratify their ambition and support their unbounded extravagancies, stabbed his character in the most tender part, by foisting their spurious predictions upon him.

We have dwelt the longer on this circumstance, for the honour of our own country, because, notwithstanding we have many deists amongst us, yet not one of them was ever guilty of such mean beggarly actions. They were Frenchmen who wrote the books alluded to, and as insincerity and false politeness are the characteristics of that nation, they are extremely welcome to all the honour that arises from a conduct so mean and base. We do not desire to import French vices, we may perhaps have enough, and too many of our own; but the dignity of our country, the honour of our nature, the sincerity of our dispositions, and above all, the regard we as well as our ancestors have for the truth, leads us to treat with contempt, every thing inconsistent with the duty we owe to those, who, for their illustrious actions, will shine bright in the annals of Europe. But to go on with our subject.

Thus we have given an account in the most impartial manner, of the first Protestant church in Europe with respect to time, and shall conclude with a few remarks.

First, although the Lutheran church has yet too many popish ceremonies in it, yet, when we consider every thing, it is surprising they have not more. Luther had the power of the house of Austria to oppose, as well as the cunning and malice of the court of Rome. Most of the German princes, who supported him, had nothing more in view than to get themselves delivered from the galling yoke of popish slavery, and to keep that money themselves, which had been annually sent to the Romish treasury. Such men as these did not seek for simplicity in worship, rites and ceremonies were more agreeable to them, because they captivated the senses. Nor was it less difficult to engage the prejudices of the common people, who were grossly ignorant, and long accustomed to popish ceremonies. It was wise in Luther to begin with removing a few of the nuisances, reserving the others for some more favourable period, when the minds of

the people would be better prepared to comply with innovations, and more ready to part with their favourite ceremonies.

Secondly, although the Lutherans retain a great many absurd ceremonies, yet in many things they are better reformed than some other Protestant churches. Thus they have no plurality of livings, and the clergy are obliged to reside with their people, so that they are all personally known to them. They are so zealous in the discharge of their duty, that the people almost adore them. Wherever they

are met, either in the streets or in the fields, all hats are off to them; and from the regularity and simplicity of their lives, their ministry has a vast effect on their morals. It is the pious lives of ministers that must make religious exercises have a due and proper effect.

Lastly, as to the time when this religion is to be further reformed, it is not for us to enquire; we are satisfied that the means of salvation are to be found in it, and where these are properly improved, the end must be left to divine wisdom.

## RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, &c.

**HENRY VIII.** ascended the throne of England 1509, and married the widow of his brother Arthur, a circumstance that produced the most serious effects. Henry had been taught the jargon of school divinity, with a view as is thought of making him archbishop of Canterbury; but his brother's death changed that design. When Luther opposed the pope, a book was published in Henry's name against the opinions of that illustrious reformer, and although it was generally believed that Dr. Jno. Fisher, bishop of Rochester was the author, yet the king, in consequence thereof had the title of defender of the faith conferred on him.

It has been proved by lord Hebert, and several other writers of credit, that Henry had resolved to sue for divorce from his queen sometime before he saw Anne Boleyn. He had a large ingredient of superstition in his character, and he imputed the death of his two sons to the divine vengeance for having married his brother's widow: and he was extremely desirous of male issue, to prevent all disputes about the succession. He was startled at a doubt suggested of the legitimacy of the birth of his daughter Mary; and being a prince of violent passions, longed to be united to a lady of more endearing qualities than his present queen, who had not many personal attractions. His scruples, which are ascribed to the writings of Thomas Aquinas, were encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, who hated Catherine on account of her disapproving of his licentious manner of living, and was equally incensed against her nephew the emperor, for having twice baffled him in the design he had formed of obtaining the papal chair.

As the king passionately desired to obtain Cath-

rine's consent to a separation, he sent several bishops to her, together with as many noblemen, to persuade her to drop her appeal, but all in vain; and when they endeavoured to persuade her to submit her cause to the decision of four ecclesiastics, she said, she would pray to God to send the king happiness, that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by her right, until the court of Rome should declare the contrary.

By this time Henry, having thrown off all obedience to the pope, and got himself declared head of the church. The bishops and dignified abbots had granted the king a large sum of money, which induced them to attempt to make the inferior clergy pay a part of it. Stokesly, bishop of London, sent for some of the priests of that metropolis to meet him in the chapter-house, to propose an assessment, hoping, if he could obtain the consent of a few at first, the rest would follow their example.—But all the London priests being apprized of this intention, went thither in a tumultuous manner, accompanied by a great number of their people, who all declared they would not pay any thing. They had already burst open the door, and a sharp conflict ensued between them and the bishop's servants; but his lordship dismissed the rioters with his blessing, assuring them, that they should never be called in question for disturbance.

But notwithstanding this promise, he complained to the chancellor, by whose order, fifteen priests and five laymen were committed to prison. The king alarmed at this tumult, resolved to convince his people, that though he had shaken off the papal yoke, his intentions were not to violate the rights of the established church, and therefore ordered the



Laws against heretics to be rigorously executed, an order which was attended with the death of two priests and a lawyer, who were all three burnt in Smithfield.

The lawyer was James Bamham, a gentleman of the middle temple, who having on a former occasion been taken up, was put in prison in Sir Thomas More's house, and whipped at a tree in his garden, called, "the tree of truth." This was done because he would not discover where he had concealed his books, nor accuse his fellow students in the temple. He was sent to the tower, and there so racked that he became lame. He abjured and had his liberty, but was so disconsolate, that he professed his repentance in a congregation, held in a private house in Bow-lane. On the succeeding Sunday, he went to St. Austin's church with the New Testament in English in his hand, and the obedience of a Christian man in his bosom. Here he was taken up, and after three hearings condemned and executed. Such executions were common enough in this reign, and yet even at that time Henry was supporting the Lutherans in Germany against the pope and emperor,—a conduct becoming a profound politician.

In January 1533, Henry assembled the parliament to consider the internal state of the kingdom, when the commons, having been previously instructed by the court, presented an address, beseeching his majesty to consent to the reformation of sundry abuses which had crept into the immunities enjoyed by the clergy. The king answered, that before he could assent to a proposal of such importance, he would hear what the clergy had to say in their own defence. This step was taken to shew them, that as they were odious to the parliament, how much they stood in need of his royal protection.

This year the king was privately married to Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, and the English nation were much pleased with the match, because the queen favoured the Reformation. But the great object the king had in view, was to procure the divorce with Catharine; for whatever steps had been hitherto taken for that purpose, the affair lay undecided. Dr. Crammer was a person in whom the king had great confidence, and being in Germany, when Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury died, he was sent for to discharge the duties of that important office.

April the 5th, the convocation met, and declared the pope had no right to grant dispensations contrary to law, and therefore the marriage with Catharine was void. Accordingly Crammer repaired to Dunstable, where Catharine had been summoned to make her appearance near Houghton-Park, the place of her residence; she rejected the citation,

upon which Crammer pronounced sentence declaring her marriage null, as being contrary to the law of God, and by another sentence he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on the first of June, to the no small joy of the people.

This part of Henry's conduct so incensed the pope against him and Crammer, that he threatened, if all these proceedings were not immediately annulled, he would proceed to the sentence of excommunication. At this time the duke of Orleans, next heir to the crown of France, was to be married to the princess Mary of Medicis, and the ceremony was to be graced with the pope's presence, who was to meet the parties at Marseilles. Francis I. king of France, wrote to Henry, desiring him to send an ambassador, to treat with the pope, and although Henry saw that he had proceeded too far to retreat, yet he sent the duke of Norfolk as ambassador, to accompany Francis, to meet the pontiff at Marseilles.

Along with the duke went Stephen Gardener, bishop of Winchester, Sir John Wallop, and Sir Francis Bryan, accompanied by Edmund Bonner, a clergyman of great impudence and resolution. After the ceremonies of the nuptials were over, Francis desired the pope to satisfy the king of England, but his holiness, in order to save the honour of the holy see, insisted on judging the cause in a consistory of cardinals. Bonner, who was ignorant of this resolution, demanded an audience of the pontiff, and told him that Henry had appealed to a future general council, for any papal sentence that either was or should be given against him. The pope said he would take the advice of the cardinals, and in a few days after told him, that the appeal could not be received. But Bonner, without being intimidated by this answer, proceeded to ratify archbishop Crammer's appeal from the revocation of the sentence he had pronounced. The pope was so exasperated at Bonner's presumption, that he threatened to have him thrown into a chaldron of melted lead. Francis was equally offended at Bonner's insolence and indiscretion and he promised to assist the pope in taking vengeance on him for such an outrage; but nevertheless he suffered him to make his escape. This was the same Bonner who became such a cruel persecutor in the reign of queen Mary.

January 15, 1534, the parliament met, and repealed the statute against heretics passed in the reign of Henry IV. The king and parliament did not, however, intend to exempt those accused of heresy from the flames; for by the new law the delinquents were still liable to suffer the same punishment as before. But in order to hinder the clergy from being sole judges in such cases, it was enacted

that heretics should be tried according to the laws of the kingdom, without any regard to the canon law, by another act it was decreed, that no synod, or convocation of the clergy, should be held without the royal licence, that the king should appoint thirty-two persons from the parliament and clergy to examine the canons and constitutions of the church; that those who were necessary should be retained, and all the rest abolished.

This parliament confirmed the statute of *amates*, prohibiting the pope from receiving for the future any money out of England; they also enacted, that for the future, the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but that in cases of vacancy, the king should send his licence to the dean and chapter, to elect a new bishop; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, then the power of electing should devolve on the king. In the external government of the church, these things had some appearance of a progress towards a reformation; but although the king had abolished the papal power, yet he did not intend to part with the ceremonies.

In the mean time, the pope was not without his emissaries in England, many of whom did all they could to raise tumults throughout the nation.

Elizabeth Barton, commonly known by the name of the Maid of Kent, had been taught by doctor Bocking, a canon of Christ-church, in Canterbury, and Richard Master, the priest of the parish of Addington, where she resided. This woman was subject to fits, and often uttered very incoherent expressions, which the two impostors resolved to improve on. They told her she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and taught her what to say when she fell down in pretended, instead of real fits. Vast crowds of people followed her, and to them she told that the king would be destroyed by some signal judgment, for having renounced the pope's authority. Some men of learning and eminence were so weak as to follow this impostor, who had been trained into these practices by artful designing priests. Bishops, abbots, and monks, held private meetings with her, pretending to believe all her blasphemies, and the affair at last became very serious.

One Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, told him he had been deceived by many lying prophets; but a true Micaiah warned him, that the dogs should lick his blood as they had licked the blood of Ahab. Henry bore this insult with great temper; but, to undeceive the people, appointed Dr. Corren, to preach before him on the next Sunday, when that priest justified the king's proceedings, and branded Peto with the epithets of dog, rebel, slanderer, and traitor. He was interrupted by one Elston, a friar, who called him a lying prophet,

who established the succession of the crown upon adultery, and spoke with such virulence, that the king was obliged to interpose, and command him to be silent. At last these impostors became so insolent, that the king ordered the maid, with her accomplices, to be brought before the star-chamber.—There they confessed the whole mystery of iniquity, and soon after were brought to a scaffold in St. Paul's church-yard, at which place the articles of their confession were read in their hearing. They were sent to the Tower, and as soon as the parliament met, they were all attainted of high treason. On April 20, following, Barton, with five priests her accomplices, were executed at Tyburn, and there she confessed that she had been deceived by those artful impostors.

As soon as the parliament was prorogued, commissions were sent all over the kingdom to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. These oaths were taken by the majority of the clergy, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, absolutely refused them; for which they were both committed to the Tower, and afterwards executed for high treason. More, though a man of wit and learning, yet was a violent persecutor; for while he was chancellor, a great many persons, both clergy and laity, had suffered for the gospel.

As the monks had insulted the king with personal abuse, and seduced his subjects from their allegiance, so he was determined to proceed against them with rigour. For this purpose a commission was appointed to visit all the monasteries, and Cromwell was made visitor general, who appointed substitutes to act in his stead. There they discovered such scenes of vice, debauchery, and impudence, as were disgraceful to religion and shocking to human nature. The visitors, who were no friends to the monastic life, did not fail to exaggerate many things, by representing the monks as all equally vicious, whereas some of them were very inoffensive persons. They told them, that in order to avoid punishment, they must give up their houses to the king, who would make a suitable provision for them during life.—Many of them complied with this, but refused to take the oath of supremacy.

Soon after this the parliament met, and passed an act, dissolving all convents whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year. This was a fatal blow for popery, for there were many of these in the kingdom. By this statute, three hundred and seventy-six religious houses were dissolved, and the sum of thirty-two thousand pounds a year was added to the royal revenues, besides a capital of above one hundred thousand pounds in the plate, ornaments and effects of the convents and churches. A motion was made in the convocation, during this parliament, to have the bible translated into English in a more

correct manner than Tindal's, but this was violently opposed by the Papists. However, a petition was drawn up to the king, and he gave orders for that purpose; it was printed at Paris about three years afterwards, but who the translators were is not certainly known. It is taken from the vulgate Latin, as appears from the grand copy still preserved in the king's library in the British Museum, where all the capitals are embellished.

In the beginning of this year the unfortunate queen Catharine died in the castle of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, and was buried in the abbey, now the cathedral of Peterborough. She sunk into a decline after the king had withdrawn his affections from her, but she would never resign her title of queen, though frequently importuned to it by Henry. When she found her end drawing near, she dictated a most affectionate and passionate letter to the king; she did not upbraid him with the treatment she had met with, but prayed for him, begging that God would bless him. She recommended her daughter Mary to his tender care, and likewise her servants, all which Henry complied with. For whatever scruples he might have had concerning the validity of his marriage, yet he never accused that princess of any thing indecent or unbecoming her character. She was certainly, in many respects a devout princess, according to the notions of those times, but she was bigotted and fretful, which, in some measure, alienated the king's affections from her. Henry seemed to be affected with her death, but his queen (Anne Boleyn) was so indecent in her behaviour as to speak of it with marks of greatest pleasure in company.

His majesty was now beginning to be cloyed with the possession of Anne Boleyn, the charms of lady Jane Seymour having captivated his unsettled mind. Anne was no stranger to this, and therefore in order to provoke his jealousy, she practised some very indiscreet levities, which were construed into crimes. She was committed to the tower as having been guilty of adultery with two of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, Weston and Brerton, and likewise with one Smeton, a musician. The evidence against her did hardly amount to a presumption, but she was found guilty of high treason, in having violated the king's bed, and received sentence to be burnt alive, which was afterwards changed into beheading. She was executed within the walls of the tower, and her body thrown into an empty chest where it lay several days.

Thus fell Anne Boleyn, whose fate has been matter of much dispute. She is said to have been a lady of unaffected piety, and was certainly of a very charitable disposition, and an encourager of genius and learned men. She was naturally volatile, and in some cases, indiscreet. By her educa-

tion in France, she had contracted a kind of vivacity, that did not suit the manners of the English court, and much less the impetuosity of the king's temper, to which she undoubtedly fell a sacrifice. All those accused of having been concerned with her were executed at the same time. Her brother and two more were beheaded, but Smeton was hanged. Nothing so much justified Anne Boleyn as the conduct of the king, who, on the very day after her execution, married the lady Jane Seymour. So little regard did he pay to common decorum, or the opinion of his subjects, over whom he had established and exercised the most arbitrary sway.

But that the king might convince his subjects, that he had no intention to part with the popish religion, though he had abolished the papal power, he issued strict orders, that several things should be attended to in public worship as they had been in former times. That the mass was to be still said in latin; image worship was to be retained, prayers for the dead were to be observed; the seven sacraments were to be solemnized in the same manner as before; prayers to saints were to be strictly observed; the doctrine of purgatory and works of supererogation were still retained, and indeed, every thing else in the Romish church, except obedience to the pope.

All those who either opposed, wrote, or spoke against these articles, were to suffer death as heretics, and the statute was executed with the greatest severity throughout the kingdom. Many, both clergy and laity, were burned alive at the stake, or racked on gibbets.

The people of England who had long groaned under the power of the clergy and papal extortions, were well pleased with the abolishing of the pope's supremacy; but they were not so well satisfied with the suppression of religious houses, thinking it unjust, that they should be all destroyed for the vices of a few, and that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God, should be consigned to profane uses. The gentry used to provide for their children and decayed friends in those houses, and to be entertained themselves at the tables of the abbots. Travellers were lodged there, and the poor relieved by the alms daily distributed at monasteries.

The act of Parliament which suppressed them, enjoined that the farmers should keep up the same hospitality as before, and the king sold the lands to the nobles, at an easier rate for that purpose. But this hospitality was neglected, and in a short time it was taken no notice of. Books had been written to expose the characters of the monks, but this did not hinder their being punished, when shoals of them wandering from place to place, in a distressed and begging condition, told their own tale, and com-



plained of the cruelty, and impiety of their treatment. To prevent their being restored the new proprietors thought proper to destroy their nests:—churches and convents were pulled down; the bells lead, and other materials were sold, and this havoc being visible in all parts of the country, shocked abundance of persons, besides the simple and devout who lamented, that their relations were likely to remain the longer in purgatory, through the want of masses being said for their deliverance. To abate something of the general clamour, the king restored fifteen convents of men, and sixteen nunneries, who had been the least exceptionable in their conduct, which subsisted till the general dissolution of abbeys, but this did not prevent insurrections.

The first that broke out was in Lincolnshire, where one Dr. Mackrel, Prior at Borlings in that county, called himself CAPTAIN COBLER, gathered twenty thousand men together, swearing them to be true to God and the king, and drew up their grievances in a few articles, which were transmitted to court. These articles acknowledged the king's supremacy, desiring he would take the advice of his nobility and redress their grievances. Adding, that they were afraid more of their religious houses would be suppressed, their churches pulled down, and their plate sold.

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was sent against them with a declaration from the king, telling them he would grant none of their requests, and at the same time commanding them to deliver up their leaders. The answer enraging them, they seemed disposed for a march to London, but some gentlemen of the county whom they had forced to join them, moderated their resentment, and sent the duke word, that nothing would contribute more effectually to disperse them, than a general pardon.

A new proclamation was accordingly published, requiring them to return home, if they expected mercy; for whilst they continued in arms, no pardon would be granted. This induced most of them to return home; but captain Cobler, with the rest of the ring-leaders, was taken and executed.

What disposed the king to give these insurgents hopes of mercy was the advice of a much greater body of rebels being got together to the number of forty thousand men in Yorkshire. This rising was upon the same principle, and for the same reason as the others; but it was the more formidable, in consequence of being in the neighbourhood of Scotland.

One Robert Askew, a private gentleman, but of a turbulent disposition, put himself at the head of the rebels, whose march was called, "The Pilgrimage of Grace." Some priests marched before them, with crosses in their hands, and on their banners they had a crucifix with five wounds and a

chalice, and every one wore on his sleeve as a badge of the party, an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle.

As is generally the case with rebels, they pretended that they were come to drive evil counsellors away from the king, or in other words, they were to dictate to him in what manner he was to govern the nation.

Lee, archbishop of York, and Thomas lord Darcy, surrendered Pontefract castle to the rebels, who soon afterwards seized on the city of York, and the town of Hull: but Scarborough and Skipton held out against all their efforts.

However, the example of the archbishop and lord Darcy encouraged the inhabitants of Durham, Richmond, Lancashire, and Westmoreland to join the rebels. Geo. Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, marched against them with so much zeal and diligence, that he did not wait for the king's orders, not doubting but his service would merit a pardon for this presumption. The king made him commander in chief of all his forces in the north, and proposed joining him in person, but was diverted from it by Shrewsbury and Norfolk, whom he had sent to the army. These noblemen sent notice to the king, that it would be dangerous to bring the rebels to a general engagement; but the best way would be to gain them by amusing treaties, their numbers being so very great that they could not keep long together for want of provisions.

The earl sent a herald to them with a proclamation, requiring them to lay down their arms and submit to the king's mercy; but Askew, who assumed all the dignity of a prince rather than a general, would not suffer the proclamation to be read when he heard what were the contents. The king's troops did not exceed five thousand men, and with these the noblemen took post at Doncaster, where they fortified the bridge, and lined the river, to hinder the rebels from marching southward. Askew, with an army at least six times as numerous, had resolved to force a passage; but heavy rain falling on the two days he had appointed for that purpose, the fords became impassable, and Norfolk made use of that opportunity to engage him in a treaty. This afforded an opportunity for some agents he had employed among the rebels to insinuate, that their leaders were making terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be hanged or ruined. The poorer sort whom Askew would not suffer to plunder the country for subsistence, were already reduced to great necessities, and hearkening the more readily to these suggestions, disbanded in great numbers, and returned home to their families. Norfolk seeing the success of his measures, proposed their sending deputies to court with their demands, offering at the

same time, to accompany them, in order to intercede in their behalf. This he knew would take up some time, and most of them would disperse before his return. Sir Robert Elerkin, and Robert Bowes, two gentlemen who had been taken at Hull, and forced to go along with the rebels, were sent to Windsor; but they did not receive the king's answer till most of the insurgents had disbanded. At last the king pardoned the whole rebel army, except six, who were not mentioned. As the rebels had no hopes of seeing their grievances redressed, and as every one imagined that he might possibly be one of the six excepted, so they rejected the terms with disdain.

It was therefore found necessary to enter into a new treaty, and three hundred of the rebels were sent for to Doncaster to treat with the king's commissioners. The demands made by these men, were the most exorbitant that could have been thought of. They were, that he should restore all the religious houses, their former revenues, acknowledge the pope's supremacy, and in a word, disannul all the acts that had been made against even the grossest abuses in popery. They added further, that the king must remove all his ministers, and chuse in their room such as would be favourable to the Roman Catholic religion. However, the king being advised thereto by the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury, told them in general terms, that he would call a parliament to consider their requests, and in the mean time to make them easy, he granted a general pardon, upon which they all dispersed. From what has been said concerning these two rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, we find that the opposition made to the Reformation arose, not so much from motives of what is commonly called superstition, but rather from temporal interest.

The poor had long enjoyed many temporal privileges, in consequence of the existence of religious houses, and the farmers seldom paid any money, the abbots being contented with a share of what the earth, the flocks, and the rivers produced. But now these lands were seized on by the rapacious nobility, who obtained grants of them from the crown; and as by the statute of alienations, they had a right to dispose of these, so they fell into different hands; and it frequently happened, that every new landlord raised the rents, which tenants were obliged to pay in money. There is, therefore, no wonder that a change so sudden and so unexpected should carry on discontents and raise tumults among the people, and we have been the more explicit concerning these things, because, without a proper knowledge of them, no man can understand the history of the Reformation in England. But to return to the subject.

Whether the people were not satisfied that the pardon would be inviolably adhered to, or whether the clergy were dissatisfied at not obtaining all their demands, a fresh rebellion broke out in the north, though not so dangerous as the former. Two gentlemen of Cumberland, Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, raised an army of eighteen thousand men, with which they attacked Carlisle; but being repulsed by the citizens, were in their return routed by the duke of Norfolk, who put all the officers to death by martial law, with about seventy private persons, so that of all their leaders, only Musgrave made his escape. Sir Francis Biggot, and one Hcllam, attempting to surprise Hull, were taken and executed. The pretence of this second rising in the north was, the king had promised to call a parliament to meet at York, to settle all the disputes, but he not having complied, they once more took the field. The reason assigned by the king was, that they had broke through the faith of treaties, and consequently they were not to be trusted, so that he would not call a parliament to redress their grievances, till such time as they would be quiet.

The duke of Norfolk, displaying the loyal standard, executed martial law wherever he saw it requisite; Askew was put to death at Hull, and some abbots and priors were executed at York. Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower-hill, and lord Hussey at Lincoln. The former, on his trial, accused the duke of Norfolk of having encouraged the rebels to persist in their demands; but this nobleman's great services set him above all suspicion. The duke denied the charge, and offered to clear himself by single combat; but the king declared himself satisfied with his conduct. The executions were not all over till June, and in July the king published a general pardon for all the rebels in the north, which was received with great joy, and putting an end to the people's fears, re-established the peace of the country.

October 12, this year, was born Edward VI. to the inexpressible joy of the whole nation, and much more so to the king himself, who ardently wished to have an heir male of his own body. The prince was the son of his beloved queen, lady Jane Seymour, who died within twelve days after she was delivered. Some of our ignorant historians have been bold enough to assert, that Henry gave orders to the midwife who delivered his queen, to dispatch her. But that this is a falsehood, will appear to any person who looks into the loyal letters in the British Museum, where there is one written by this queen herself, a few days before she died, declaring that the king had always treated her with tenderness.

In 1538, the king, finding that such of the abbeyes as were still left were nurseries of rebellion, and

plots against his crown and dignity were daily hatching in them, set on foot a second visitation, and the commissioners were to make a minute inquiry into every particular relating to their estates, their duties, their manner of living, and their vices. They were to inquire what number of images they had, by what names they were called? How many pilgrims frequented their shrines annually, and what money they paid? They were further to make a faithful report of all the miracles said to have been wrought at the shrines of these images, and they were to be laid before the king in his council, that he might take a proper account of them, so that the subjects should not be imposed on, as they had been in times past.

This produced a detection of an almost infinite number of impurities, besides holy cheats and pretended relics, made use of to encourage superstition, rather than devotion, in the people, and to draw them to pilgrimages, where they might be fleeced of their money. The horrid crimes of Sodom and Gomorrah are said to have been committed at Battle-Abbey, Christ's church in Canterbury, and in several other convents. The visitors found innumerable instances of whoredom, adultery, and unnatural crimes, which ought not to be mentioned; and it was discovered, that the monks had taught the nuns how to procure abortions. In all this there seems to have been nothing exaggerated, for the confining such vast numbers of persons by the most solemn oaths to a state of celibacy, must have naturally led to the commission of unnatural crimes; for God having appointed the regular manner in which human passions are to be gratified, those who lay unnecessary restraints upon them, set aside the order of the divine Being, and open a large field for the commission of the most unnatural crimes.

With respect to monkish idolatry and deceit, Reading seems to have been the repository of the nation. There was found the figure of an angel with one wing, which the monks affirmed to have brought over from Palestine, the spear that pierced our Saviour's side, together with such a number of pretended relics, as took four sheets of paper to contain their names. At St. Edmundsbury, some coals were shewed, said to be the remains of those with which St. Lawrence was roasted; the parings of St. Edmund's toe nails; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas-a-Becket; a piece of the real cross on which Christ suffered, and a vast quantity of other relics. Indeed, it would take up a whole volume to describe the whole, for they were endless; they were sent up to London, and such as were of no manner of use, were carried to Smithfield, where they were made a bonfire of; and one Pount, a friar, was burnt along with them for denying the king's supremacy. There was something extremely natural in sending their friar into another world along with his

gods; for as he pretended that they had often elevated his affections while he prayed before their shrines, so the last kind offices they could do him was, to send him from the fiery furnace into eternity.

One would naturally conclude, that the monks, after the detection of such impostures carried on by them, would have submitted to any thing rather than a public trial, and to surrender their houses to avoid the indignation of the king and Cromwell's anger, who, as visitor general, was no friend to them; nay, indeed, some of their vices had been of such a glaring nature, that as no excuses could be pleaded to extenuate them, so many of them signed confessions which were sent up to the king.

There were among the abbots and priors of the nited convents, some who had been preferred since the breach with the court of Rome; and these readily agreed to resign, either from hopes of being advanced to bishoprics, or because they wished for a reformation. The pensions granted to some others induced them likewise to resign; but that which occasioned the destruction of most of the abbeyes was, the conduct of their superiors; who, expecting a change of religion, and the ruin of their societies, had taken fines, and granted leases of lands for twice ninety-nine years, at little or no rent; alienated a great part of the estates of their convents, and had been guilty of all kinds of depredations for which they stood responsible. The abbot of Glastonbury broke open a house where the plate belonging to his convent was lodged, and sent it to the rebels, for which he was hanged and quartered; the judges having construed this part of his conduct into an act of high treason. The abbots of Reading and Colchester shared the same fate; and, indeed, there were so many inferior monks and friars hanged, that there is no wonder the papists should point out Henry as a bloody tyrant; for as no papist will ever shew mercy to a Protestant, so, to use the words of Mr. Sterne, "every person who is possessed of false religion, hates those who possess the true."

One would have thought that this severity of the king towards the monks, would have induced him to embrace some things proposed by the reformers; but quite the reverse took place, for he was determined to persecute all those who acknowledged the papal supremacy, and all those who disputed the validity of the popish ceremonies. Of this we have a striking instance in the case of Lambert, who had been formerly minister in the English factory at Antwerp in Flanders, but was dismissed on account of his denying some of the popish tenets. Returning to London he kept a school some years, and one Sunday going to hear Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real presence in the sacrament, he sent him a letter containing his reasons for differing from his sentiments. This letter was shewn to Cranmer, who



was still of his old opinion concerning transubstantiation, and he sent for Lambert to converse with him. Crammer said all he could to dissuade the man from his opinions, but this was in vain, for Lambert, in order to display his logical powers, appealed to the king. This was like Gull Blas's going out of the frying-pan into the fire.

Lambert's appeal gave great pleasure to the king, because it gave him an opportunity of displaying his knowledge in theology; for such was the temper of this prince, that if he had thought there was a more learned man in his kingdom than himself, he would have ordered him to be hanged up *in terrorem*.—What a happy thing to have such a learned king!

For this poor insignificant purpose, the nobility, great officers of state, and the judges, were assembled in Westminster-hall, where the king himself sat as president. There the culprit was brought, and the trial was opened by a speech delivered by Dr. Day, who declared to the assembly that the end of their meeting was to hear the king convict the prisoner of heresy.

Here was judgment before evidence, and sentence before conviction, so that we may say in the words of a noble lord, "In vain are judges learned, in vain do they study to be upright, if the channels through which justice should flow are to be stopped." This mock trial, which lasted seven hours, ended just as might have been expected; for poor Lambert was brow-beaten, and told that if he would not recant his errors, he would be burnt. Lambert refused to comply, and the consequence was, that he was burnt in Smithfield with circumstances of the most horrid cruelty. His last words were, "None but Christ, none but Christ."

Soon after this, in consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, the king received an annual revenue of near two hundred thousand pounds, besides an immense quantity of plate; for that of St. Edmundsbury alone amounted to five thousand marks of gold and silver. All this, however, did not make him rich; for his own prodigality, joined to the rapacious desires of his courtiers, induced him to squander away these revenues which might have been useful in promoting the education of youth, and supporting the aged and infirm.

It was much about this time, that Crammer procured an order from the king to have a proclamation published, granting every person who chose it, to have a bible in his own house. The year before this, English bibles had been fixed in the most conspicuous places in the churches for the people to read in; but now they were permitted to have them in their families. Hitherto we have been able to trace out some of the steps by which the Reformation was brought about in England; for Henry, though a merciless arbitrary tyrant, yet as an instru-

ment in the hand of divine Providence, brought about that Reformation which he never intended to complete. His worst of passions promoted the glorious design, and God, the universal Lord of nature, providence, and grace, made him an eminent instrument in his hands, to open the way for the establishment of that religion which now takes place in this nation; and thus we may learn, that while men are gratifying their own sensual desires, God is making them perform his works. We must not pass over this part of the reign of that illustrious tyrant Henry VIII. without taking notice of the fate of Cromwell, earl of Essex, especially as most of our writers have represented that nobleman a friend to the Protestant religion.

We are told, that he was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, but this certainly is as great a falsehood, as that of cardinal Wolsey's being the son of a butcher at Ipswich. Cromwell was a man of learning, and as such he made the tour of Europe, after which he was taken into the family of cardinal Wolsey, who recommended him to the king. His advancement to grandeur was rapid, and it is certain that he rose to be Henry's prime minister of state. Like other courtiers, he was compliant with court measures, and justice or injustice were all one to him, so as he pleased his sovereign. Having acquired a superficial knowledge of religion, and seeing the wicked lives of its professors, he considered the whole as a cheat, and consequently trampled upon every moral obligation in compliance with the will of his sovereign. He was neither a Papist nor a Protestant, but he was willing to be either, just as circumstances happened. He pronounced sentence of death upon poor Lambert the school-master, and it was common to see him conduct papists to the flames for denying the king's supremacy.

He thought no crime too great so as he could please his royal master, and although he was indefatigable in business, yet his ambition seems to have been unbounded. It is generally supposed that he fell under the royal displeasure in bringing about the match between the king and Anne of Cleves; but be that as it will, thus much is certain, that when he was arrested, he shewed such pusillanimity of temper as was by no means consistent with the character of a minister of state. It was proposed at first to try him at common law, but his enemies believing they would not by that method have it in their power to convict him, had recourse to a much shorter expedient, and that was to bring in a bill of attainder. This easily passed through both houses, and Cromwell was in consequence thereof ordered for execution, which was inflicted with some circumstances of barbarity.

The seizing the lands belonging to the great abbey's, and the disputes among the courtiers concern-

ing the partition of them, every one pretending to a share, occasioned insurrections almost every where, particularly in the north, where superstition seems to have taken deepest root. Many of the nobility entered into conspiracies, and some of them having corresponded with cardinal Pole, whom the king had proscribed, were executed. Pole was grandson to the duke of Clarence, and second cousin to the king, and although a priest, the pope had promised to secularize him, if the people would place him on the throne. This almost deluged the nation with blood, and executions were so frequent, that the people seemed to pay little regard to them.

There was one grand object Henry had in view at that time, namely, to prevail on his nephew, James V. king of Scotland, to join with him in shaking off the papal yoke. For this purpose he sent Sir Ralph Sadler to Edinburgh, with instructions to press James to dismiss cardinal Beaton from his councils, and to seize on the abbey lands. The Scottish clergy prevailed on James to reject the proposals made by his uncle, but at the same time promised to meet Henry at York. This alarmed the Scottish clergy so much, that they raised a considerable sum of money and presented it to James, who was a very extravagant prince, and then he broke his promise of meeting his uncle at York.

Henry, enraged at being trifled with in this manner by James, returned to London filled with deep resentment, but he met with another misfortune upon his return, which had almost discomposed his rational faculties. We have already observed, that Anne Boleyn was put to death on some slight suspicions, but now the king had a consort who had been guilty of repeated acts of lewdness, all which she confessed. This was Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, who was executed within the walls of the Tower. She was not tried at common law, but attainted along with that abandoned woman, the countess of Rochford, who had given evidence against Anne Boleyn. Henry having raised an army, sent it to chastise the Scots, and both meeting at Solway, a few miles beyond Carlisle, the latter were defeated, and the flower of their nobility taken prisoners by the English. This had such an effect on James, that he died in a state of madness, leaving behind him an infant daughter named Mary.

Henry ordered the Scottish prisoners to be treated with every mark of respect, and having nothing so much at heart as uniting the two kingdoms, he proposed a match between his son Edward and the young queen of Scotland. This was much relished by the prisoners, and the king generously suffered them to return to their country loaded with presents, that they might communicate the proposal to their next parliament.

Cardinal David Beaton had forged a will in the

name of the late king James V. appointing himself regent of Scotland, so that every alliance with England was found to be impracticable while that prelate was at the head of affairs! but of this more afterwards.

Soon after this, Henry resolved to marry a sixth wife, but as not one of all the maiden ladies in the kingdom would trust their lives to his suspicions, so he gave his hand to lady Latimer, commonly called Catharine Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, whose name she had assumed on the death of her husband.

This lady was an intimate friend of Cranmer's, and under these two worthy persons the Reformation went on gradually, notwithstanding the violence of the king's passions. Henry, though a sworn enemy to the papal power, yet was no less so to all those who opposed the Romish ceremonies. Nothing was more common than to see a bigotted Papist, for denying the king's supremacy, and a Protestant, for refusing to comply with the ceremonies, chained to the stake together and burnt; and notwithstanding the minds of the people began to be wonderfully enlightened. By reading the bible, they found that there was a vast difference between what was written in the New Testament and popery. Primers and catechisms were distributed by Cranmer among the lower orders of the people, and the Reformation might have been completed had the king given his consent to it.

In this state was religion in England, when Henry VIII. died, on Friday January 28, 1548, according to the present style. A little before he expired, he sent for his dear friend Cranmer, who had retired to Croydon, that he might have no share in the attainer of the duke of Norfolk, who was his mortal enemy.

The character of Henry VIII. has been variously represented, just as the wantonness of men's passions led them to misrepresent the truth. In vain among contending parties do we look for the picture of the man.

Till he advanced in years, and became rather corpulent, he was extremely handsome, tall and well shaped, with a graceful countenance, set off by means of the dress used in that age.

Having in his youth learned all the jargon of the schools, so as to be able to dispute with his clergy, he became vain to excess, and embraced every opportunity of shewing his parts. His long attachment to Wolsey, is a proof that he was not always fickle in his disposition; and his proposal of marrying his son to the queen of Scotland, will serve to shew, that he was not ignorant of the interests of the people. The provocations he received from the pope and his adherents were great, but he took an ample revenge. His seizing on the revenues of the con-

vents, enabled him to reward his favourites, and support his extravagances. It was generally understood that he spent all the money belonging to the convents. The reverse is the truth; he founded and endowed that noble structure Trinity College, in Cambridge, with many other structures for the education of youth.

The most striking part of his character is, that of living eighteen years with Catharine, who bore him several children, and then parting with her.—This was certainly from notions of superstition instead of those commonly assigned.

Whatever hand divine Providence took in punishing this king, it is not for us to determine; but thus much is certain, that after his divorce he was never happy with any other queen, at least not long. Anne Boleyn, for irritating his jealousy by the levity of her conduct, was beheaded. Jane Seymour died twelve days after the birth of her first child. Anne of Cleves was divorced the day after the king married her. Catharine Howard was a common prostitute, for which she suffered death.—And Catharine Parr had nearly lost her life, for disputing with the king about religion. Upon the whole, Henry was one of those men whose character seem to be marked with great vices, while, at the same time, they have many shining qualities.—He was a happy instrument, in the hand of Providence, of laying the foundation of the Protestant religion, although he never desired to see it accomplished. He died in the firm belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, and with seeming contrition for his past life.

He was succeeded by his son Edward, a pious youth, then in the tenth year of his age. The first thing relating to religion after the accession of this prince, was a general visitation of the churches, and the Reformation was begun in real earnest. All shrines and images that had been left standing were taken down, the lessons and epistles were read in English, and every thing was conducted with regularity.

The grand design that Cranmer had, in view was to abolish the whole of the Popish rites and ceremonies: and in this he was greatly assisted by the duke of Somerset, uncle to the young king. Never did Reformation proceed more gently and gradually than in this reign; the conduct of Somerset, the protector, and of archbishop Cranmer, ought to be imitated by all those who wish to conduct things with moderation, and prevent any sort of violence from taking place. The reading the lessons, epistles, and gospels in English, was of the utmost service to the people, by enlightening their minds in the knowledge of the truth, and exposing Popish errors. But our celebrated reformers did not stop here.

The next thing, was to have the whole service of the church read in English; and for that purpose a commission was granted to several learned men to revise the popish liturgy, and make another more agreeable to the genius of the gospel.

The next thing the reformers proceeded to establish was that a register should be kept in every parish, of births, marriages, and funerals; and no priest was to preach any where, but in his own parish, without a special licence. In churches where they had not a large English Bible, one was to be purchased in the space of three months; and before the expiration of one year, Erasmus's paraphrase of the four gospels, and the acts of the apostles lately translated into English, were to be placed in every church for people to read in. Every clergyman under the degree of bachelor in divinity, was obliged to procure a copy of the same paraphrase for his own use, and the bishops were to enquire from time to time, what proficiency the clergy had made in the study of the sacred scriptures.

As the priests knew little of preaching and much less of the nature of theology, so it was found necessary to publish a book of homilies or sermons, to be read every Sunday and holy day in the churches. This was the more necessary, because the people were running into mad extremes; some considered the priests as being in possession of a secret, by which they could bestow salvation on whom they pleased; whereas, on the other hand, some imagined, that in consequence of the death of Christ they were to be saved, let them live in whatever manner they would. To rectify these abuses, it was inculcated in the homilies, that salvation could only be obtained through the imputation of Christ's merits; but then, that no sinner was to expect justification before God, unless he lived in such a manner as became the rules laid down in the gospel. Many books were written at this time against image worship, and archbishop Cranmer published a catechism containing the genuine principles of the Christian faith and duty.

The next thing taken into consideration was, the admitting the laity to the cup in the eucharist.—This had been long denied them, but now an ordinance was published, wherein every priest was ordered to give the sacrament in both kinds to the communicants, and a new communion service was framed. The celibacy of the clergy came next under review, and it was declared, that as not only many of the primitive fathers were married men, but that even some of the apostles had wives, so it was both unjust and unlawful to exclude the clergy from that privilege. It was therefore granted to every clergyman, and many of them availed themselves with an act so consistent with common justice, and natural reason.



But while those who wished well to the interests of religion, were carrying on the work of reformation, some of the nobility and gentry, who had obtained grants of the crown lands, exercised great cruelties over their tenants. The rents were raised above double their ancient value; instead of corn, money was to be paid, and the people were really distressed. England, at that time, exhibited a shocking picture to every generous mind. Farmers who had lived in affluence, had their rents doubled four times; the iron hand of oppression was heavy upon them, and whatever their affections might have been to the Protestant religion, yet the love of ease and the enjoyment of affluence, naturally led them to wish for the return of those happy days they had enjoyed under popery.

These murmurings became at last of a very serious nature; for there were insurrections in almost every part of the country, particularly in Yorkshire, where they had been before raised, and even as far as Cornwall. All these insurgents demanded, that the old religion should be restored; but to have complied with the demands of mobs, would have been a strong instance of the weakness of government, and a proof that they were ready at all times, when it suited their own conveniences, to give up those rights and privileges which had been bestowed on them by their sovereign.

The Cornish men rose in a vast body, and were so audacious as to attack the city of Exeter. Lord Russell was sent against them, and arrived just time enough to relieve the city. The chief part of the rebels were sent to London and executed: many of the lower sort were put to death by martial law, and the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged up on the top of the steeple of his own church, dressed in his canonical habits, with his beads hanging round his girdle.

Much about the same time, a formidable insurrection broke out, in Norfolk, headed by one Robert Ket, a tanner, but extremely rich, for he was lord of three manors. The pretence made use of by this rebel was, that the people had been oppressed by the inclosing of commons: and therefore he and his company went about the country destroying all those inclosures which had been set up to exclude the tenants from common right. They took possession of the city of Norwich; but Dudley, earl of Warwick, having been sent against them, he stormed the place. One hundred and thirty were killed, and sixty being taken were immediately hanged. The rebels, enraged to see so many of their friends hanged up, became in a manner desperate, and attacked the earl, but the royalists killed two thousand of them, and put the rest to flight.—Ket and his brother were taken the next day hid in a barn, the former of whom was hanged over the

walls of Norwich castle, and the latter on the top of Wymundham steeple. Nine others suffered in the same manner, being all hanged up on a tree, which the rebels called the Oak of Reformation.

Some of the vagabond priests of the county of Norfolk had forged a story, containing what they called a prophecy, in the following words:—

The country kuffs, hob, duck and hick,  
With clubs and clouted shoon;  
Shall fill up Daffordale with blood  
Of slaughtered bodies soon.

The countenance given to these insurgents by the popish party, induced government to have a watchful eye upon such persons as were suspected. For this reason, Bonner, bishop of London, was taken into custody, and committed to the Marshalsea, where he remained several terms, for such was his disposition, that when he was brought before the council, he reviled them with the most opprobrious language.

During this reign, several foreigners, men of reputation and learning, arrived in England. They had been invited over by archbishop Crammer, who was respected and beloved by all the Protestants in Europe. Amongst these was Peter Martyr, a person well skilled in the knowledge of the fathers, of a sweet natural temper, a healing disposition, and one who desired, as far as lay in his power, to restore every thing relating to the church to its original state of genuine purity. He was accompanied by several others, the most celebrated of whom was Martin Bancer, a man of learning, but rather of austere manners. These gentlemen proposed a visitation of the universities, for some of the colleges had been so much injured, that there was not a sufficiency left to support them. These foreigners were undoubtedly men of understanding in their own country, but it was rather an impudent step to bring them over to England, at a time when the people's minds were unsettled as to religious principles. This will appear the more consistent with truth, when we consider in what manner they conducted themselves.

Having adopted the notions embraced by Luther concerning the real presence in the sacrament, they were continually disputing in favour of it, and this created them a great many enemies in England.—The English in their own country were convinced of the falsity of that doctrine, and as the great Crammer had published his catechism, concerning the devotion of the sacrament, much regard was paid to it, and some of the foreigners were treated with great contempt.

As we are treating of those steps which lead to the Reformation of the church of England, so we

are obliged at the same time, to take notice of every obstacle that happened in its progress, not only from those who were professed papists, but also such as assumed the name of Protestants. This will appear the more necessary, when it is considered, that some of the sects which sprung up at that time, have since obtained a name in several European nations, and will make a most distinguishing figure in the latter part of this work. Indeed, in treating of these matters we are obliged to trace things from the original fountain, for without that, no proper knowledge can be attained.

Much about the same time that the foreign learned gentlemen above mentioned arrived in England, some gentlemen, or rather enthusiasts, came over to this country, who, instead of shewing a grateful sense of the favours they had been treated with, found fault with all the ordinances of the church of England; and they condemned the Reformation as not purged from the errors of popery.—In the infancy of a Reformation, nothing could have a more fatal tendency, or more likely to prevent its succeeding than such a nonconformity and division amongst its professors, for at this time great divisions happened among the reformed in Germany.

The chief of these foreigners was John Law, a Polish baron, who came over with several of his countrymen, and a great number of German refugees, to whom he acted as a pastor. He had been some time settled at Embden, in East Friesland; but the fears of persecution had driven him from thence, and then he took shelter in England. He applied himself in behalf of his people, to the duke of Somerset, who then acted as protector to the young king. Accordingly, a charter was granted them to settle in Austin Friars, within the city of London. A charter was likewise granted under the great seal constituting these foreigners a body politic, under the direction of John Law, their superintendent, and four other ministers, with a power to increase their number and chuse their successors, if the king approved of it. At the same time several other foreigners settled in England, but they had all such wild romantic notions concerning religion, that they attempted as far as lay in their power, to bring every thing into a state of confusion.

At the same time a vast number of Anabaptists took shelter in England, who had been driven out of Germany by the violence of persecution. These people, however innocent their sentiments might have been with respect to religious principles, and however inoffensive they were to the powers in being, yet such was the intolerent principles of the times, that they were considered as objects of punishment. A commission was granted to prosecute these people, whom the law at that time called heretics; and

many of them being seized recanted their errors; except Jane Boucher, and George Van Paris, both of whom were natives of Holland, and these were burnt alive at a stake.

The liturgy of the church of England having been established in parliament, it was considered as necessary, that a confession of faith, or articles of religion should be drawn up. This was consistent with the practice of the reformed churches in general; for as the papists had reproached them with holding opinions contrary to the Christian system, so it was necessary that they should use these methods, in order to prove their innocence to the world. During the whole of this period, reformation went on in such a rapid manner, that nothing but infinite wisdom, for wise purposes could have stopped it; but wherever God acts, let men be silent.

It was at this time that the famous, or rather infamous council of Trent first met, and notwithstanding all their zeal, yet they could not obliterate the light of truth, nor overpower the religion of Protestants. The priests in that council had no intention to give any countenance to the Protestant religion; they were persons interested in the fate of popery; and they knew that they must stand or fall by it. For this reason, instead of abolishing any of the ancient rites and ceremonies, they not only imposed new ones, but even obliged the people to subscribe to new articles, which were mere matter of speculation before. The acts of the council of Trent ruined the popish interest, while if properly regulated, they might have established it on the most permanent foundation.

The grand object before this general council was the settlement of some disturbances that had taken place in the Christian world. The provocation on the part of the court of Rome had been so great, that it could not be veiled over; and the concessions made by the Protestants were treated with contempt. Had the bishops, or other deputies in this council, considered the duty they owed to the church, they would have abridged the papal power, ordered the mass to have been said in English, granted the clergy liberty to marry, and church communion in both kinds. To this it may be added, that had they granted a privilege to their people to enter into a free enquiry into matters of faith and duty, they might have established their credit, and the Roman Catholic religion, under a few modifications, might have now been the established religion of these countries which we now inhabit.

In 1553, king Edward, the greatest prodigy that perhaps ever lived, considering his tender age, found himself in a decline, and although several of the faculty told him that he might survive the malignancy of his disorder, yet he set his mind upon

heaven, without neglecting the obligations he was under to his people. That which struck deepest into his mind, was the regard he had for the Protestant religion. It was in his power to alter the will of his father; and therefore upon mature consideration he thought that as his sister Mary was a bigotted papist, and so far as he knew, the education of Elizabeth had been little attended to, he made a will in favour of lady Jane Gray, grand-daughter of Mary queen of France, youngest sister of Henry VIII. This was one of the most striking instances of bad policy that ever could have taken place.—Lady Jane Gray had been but lately married to lord Dudley, and she did not court any such dignity. The decorated crowns and regal dignities were beneath her notice. Her mind was enlarged with human knowledge, she was endowed with the most unaffected piety, her heart was a stranger to contentions, but an ambitious father-in-law prevailed upon her to assume the regal dignity, which brought her and her husband to the block. The popish party were still strong in England, the leaven of old prejudices was not totally worn out, different passions led to different ends, and the bigotted Mary was seated on the throne of England. Had this princess been endowed with the least spirit of common humanity, she would have looked on the lady Jane Gray as an object of compassion; but consistent with the temper of that family from which her mother descended, being a most merciless tyrant, she suffered her and her husband to be both put to death under some degrees of torture that are a disgrace to human nature. The cause of Edward's death was a decline, which was improperly treated by some persons who were ignorant of the nature of his disorder. He was certainly a very pious prince, and from the latter part of his conduct it seems that a year before his death, he had given over all hopes of life. He was an enemy to persecution on account of religion, and in learning, he exceeded many who were double his age. He seemed to have no pleasure in any thing besides that of doing good. Men of great learning came from all parts of Europe to visit this more than illustrious prince, and Cardan, a learned physician, in returning from Scotland, where he had been to cure Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, of the venereal disease waited upon Edward, and found him so amazingly learned in the languages, that he declared he had never met with such another before. Upon the whole, he was one of those illustrious characters that is but too seldom found on the throne, and at his death he left the church of England almost as much reformed as it is at present. When his death was made known, and particularly during his funeral, there was an universal dejection displaying itself, as it were over the whole kingdom, and the people

seemed to have been well persuaded what part Mary would act.

No sooner had Mary got possession of the throne than she resolved to re-establish the old religion, for mass was said in her own chapel. Being of a revengeful disposition, she sought every opportunity of sacrificing those to her malice who had given the least encouragement to the Reformation. She had taken the oath of supremacy in her father's life-time, but her priests easily granted her absolution.

Having called a parliament, she found the members so obsequious to her will, that popery was easily established. Orders were sent to all the counties, and indeed to every civil officer in the kingdom, to take into custody all those who did not go to mass, so that in a short time all the prisons were full.—The horrid cruelties inflicted on these poor sufferers are well known to all those who have read the history of England; but if the reign of this princess was violent, God so ordered that it was short. It was the last struggle the Protestant church of England had with popery, so far as to resist unto death. It was like that darkness which generally takes place before the day breaks, to make way for the rising sun. Stakes were erected and faggots lighted in most towns in England; people were not tried in the civil courts, but before the bishop's chancellor, and he having declared them heretics, sent a certificate thereof into chancery, upon which a writ was made out, directed to the sheriff commanding that they should be burned alive. This princess continued her cruelty to the last, and died forsaken by Philip of Spain her husband, despised by her neighbours, and abhorred by her subjects.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, on the death of her sister Mary, is the grand epocha of the Reformation of England. This princess had been brought up with great care under Ascham, whose works are now well known. She was not only acquainted with the French and Italian, but even with the Latin and Greek. The solitary manner in which she lived during the reign of her sister, gave her an opportunity of improving her mind, and the continual fear she laboured under of being put to death as an heretic, led her to consider those points upon which salvation depends.—She was at her accession to the throne, twenty-five years of age, but had nothing in her countenance that was engaging. A fatal blow was given to the papal power by her father, when he took off the pope's supremacy; the minds of the people were beginning to be gradually, and, as it were, imperceptibly enlightened, and her brother Edward had almost established the Protestant religion. The grand work however, was left for her, and she proceeded upon such principles of moderation as will



ever do honour to her memory. Having assembled her council together, she proposed calling a new parliament, in which Sir Nicholas Bacon, as lord keeper, sat president. In this parliament it was agreed upon, though not without much opposition from the popish party, that a convocation should be assembled, to consider the articles of religion, and the state of the liturgy that had been set forth in the reign of Edward VI. The clergy were commanded not to preach on disputed points, till such time as the opinion of the convocation should be taken, and the consequence was, that a committee of clergymen were appointed so revise the liturgy, and make what alterations they thought proper, leaving the whole to the inspection of parliament. The next thing was to call home all the Protestant ministers who had taken refuge abroad during the reign of queen Mary, and some of these being men of learning, they were advanced to the highest places under government. But this leads us to take notice of the state of religion at that time in England.

Learning was beginning to rear her head, but she had many difficulties to struggle with. Inveterate prejudices were not easily eradicated, and religion, the grand ornament of human life, was so little attended to, that they did not care much what they embraced. Those who had been long accustomed to idolatry, were loath to refrain from image worship, and others, who thought reformation necessary, had but very confused notions concerning it. Thus it was no easy matter to steer between the two extremes. But the intrepidity of the queen surmounted all difficulties, and rose superior to opposition. A system of articles were drawn up, thirty-nine in number, which in many things differed materially from those drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. These we shall consider in the order they lie before us, because we shall attend to what was originally intended in our account of Protestant churches, namely—to give an account of the faith, worship, discipline and government, of every Protestant community established by law in Europe.

There has been much objection made concerning the validity of the articles of the church of England, but it is our business to consider them with moderation; we are not to enter into disputes, but we will freely acknowledge our own sentiments, even concerning the most disputed points; and when we do so, we hope it will not be considered as arrogant. In every thing of that nature it is becoming the dignity of the historian to speak without partiality or prejudice, and to acquire honour without seeming to look for it. We shall, therefore, proceed to examine these articles one by one, and make such reflections on them, as appear consistent with common sense, and with the Christian religion.

The first article in the church of England is, that

which should constitute the foundation of all religion whatever; namely, the being of a God, and the existence of the ever blessed Trinity.

The second article relates to the divinity, as well as the human nature of Christ, and this is upon the most orthodox principles.

The third article relates to Christ's descent into hell, and the modesty which the authors have expressed cannot be too much commended. In the reign of Edward VI. the article was very different from what it is at present, and savoured strong of popish superstition; but here the word hell is simply mentioned, without defining what is meant by it, leaving every one at liberty to judge for himself. Hell no where means a state of punishment in the writings of the ancient fathers, but merely the state of departed souls; and so it is in Luke xvi. where we find both Lazarus and the rich man; nay, Abraham himself was in hell. That is, they were confined in that place where all the souls, both of the righteous and the wicked, were to remain till the resurrection: but not in the same condition, because the wicked are in continual terror, and the righteous in joyful cheerful hope. But as different notions have been formed concerning our Saviour's descent into hell by the reformers abroad, so our worthy divines, who compiled the articles, made the words general, without imposing such a fixed sense upon them, as should set aside the right of private judgment.

The fourth article contains a declaration, that Christ rose from the dead, with the same body that was crucified on mount Calvary, and buried by Joseph of Arimathea. This is a grand article in the Christian religion; for had Christ not risen with the same body with which he suffered, then his followers could have no hopes of ever rising from the grave. As his descent into hell was to make them look with pleasure on the state of the dead, so his resurrection was to remove all fears from their hearts; for because Christ lives, so we shall live also. Nay, we may add further, that if we only in this life have hopes, we are of all men most miserable. For what is life? What are all the enjoyments of this world, which are of such a transitory perishing nature, were we not to have a firm persuasion that we are to exist hereafter?

The fifth article asserts the divinity of the Holy Ghost, which is another fundamental article of the Christian religion; for it is by the spirit of God we are sealed to the day of redemption, that is, till the resurrection-day, when the work of our salvation will be completed.

The sixth article is another of great importance, for it asserts, that in all things the sacred scriptures are sufficient to make men wise unto salvation. It is certain, however, that to assert that we take the

scripture for the rule of our faith, is a very ambiguous expression; for it may be construed into any sense whatever. In this article the books of the Apocrapha, that are not to be found in the Hebrew, and were never acknowledged as canonical by the Jews, are totally excluded. They were, however, permitted to be read in the churches, for the example of life and instruction of manners, but this has been complained of by some other Protestant churches, because, in some of these books, there are several stories of too loose a nature to be read to Christian congregations. As it is our intention to adhere to the strictest impartiality, in giving an account of our Protestant brethren, so we shall take notice of such of the articles as exceptions have been made to, by whom made, and for what reason, leaving the reader to judge for himself.

The seventh article is a noble description of the true sense in which the Old Testament should be read; for it distinguishes between the ceremonial and moral law, pointing out what is binding on Christians, and what has been abolished by the sacrifice of our Redeemer.

The eighth article asserts the validity of the three creeds. This is one of those articles which has been much objected to by the people called Arians. It is certain, that the creed called the Apostles, may be subscribed by any Arian in the world; for although it asserts the divinity of the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity, yet it says nothing either concerning their unity or equality.

The Nicene creed was written against the Arians; for it asserts, in the most positive terms, the unity and equality of the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity. The third, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, carries things much further than the Nicene, for it pronounces damatory clauses against all those who do not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity.

It is certain, that in the primitive church, every congregation had its own creed, but they never differed in any of those points that relate to the essentials of religion. They were the same in substance, but not in words. Some great men in the church of England have complained of the Athanasian Creed, particularly archbishop Tillotson, who, in a letter to bishop Burnet, says, "I wish we could get well rid of it."

The ninth article asserts the doctrine of original sin, that is, that all mankind are conceived and born in sin, so that no man can be accepted by his maker, without the interposition of a mediator. The doctrine of original sin was never denied in the church, till the time of Pelagius, who was learnedly confuted by St. Austin.

All the Protestant reformers acknowledged this doctrine till 1603, when Arminius, a Dutch divine,

wrote against it, and was followed by several of his countrymen, which occasioned the calling the synod of Dort.

The tenth article asserts, that man cannot, by the freedom of his own will, nor by any powers he can exercise, obtain the divine favour; which article seems to have been uniformly believed by the primitive church. It is consequent to, and naturally follows, original sin; for if men come into the world in a state of corruption, consequently it must require almighty power and sovereign grace to renew them in the image of God, lost by their first parents' transgression.

The eleventh article asserts, that men are justified and made acceptable to God, through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. This article naturally follows the others that went before, for if we have no power to turn to God of ourselves, then there must be another person to save us from divine wrath; and certainly he who becomes our surety, transmits to us his merits, or his righteousness.

The twelfth article establishes the doctrine of good works; as flowing from faith in Jesus Christ. This article is expressed with all the caution imaginable; for certainly all good works flowing from a lively faith in Jesus Christ, are evidences of our being his disciples. It is very observable, that the sincere Christian, who performs the greatest number of good works, pays the least regard to them, nor does he put any confidence in them.

The thirteenth article asserts, that nothing can be acceptable to God, which does not flow from faith in Jesus Christ. This sentiment was, in general, believed by the primitive fathers; for we find only three of them of a different opinion, namely, Chrysostom, Justin Martyr, and Gregory Nazianzen.—The grand difficulty is to settle the dispute, whether the heathens, who lived virtuously, could be saved, although they had never been favoured with the light of the gospel? This question has been nobly answered by bishop Wilkins, in the last chapter of his book on natural religion. He says, "That the mercy of God, as well as all his other attributes, is a great depth; and as he has not told us what he will do with the heathens, so it is very improper that we should tell him what he ought to do." This we know, that none ever was, nor ever will be saved, but through the merits of Jesus Christ, who was the lamb slain from the foundation of the world; but in what manner God may communicate that blessing, is what we have no manner of business to pry into. Let us rest satisfied, that the judge of all the earth will do what is right.

The fourteenth article overthrows the popish notion of men being able to do more good works than they are commanded to perform in the gospel. This notion, which is what a sober heathen would have

been ashamed of, was not heard of in the Christian church till many years after the time of Constantine the Great, nor have we any account of it till after the tenth century. All Protestants of whatever denomination, whether established by law or otherwise, are of the same opinion with regard to this article, as the church of England.

The fifteenth article asserts one of the grand fundamental doctrines of Christianity; namely, that Christ was in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; and so far as we know, this doctrine never was denied, either by the Roman Catholics, or Protestants; nor by any who ever assumed the name of Christians, except some of the ancient heretics.—And here it is necessary to observe, that the first reformers considered the justification of sinners through the imputation of Christ's righteousness, as a necessary consequence of his having taken our nature upon him. Nor does it appear from the whole scripture account, that it could be otherwise; but had Christ descended among us in his glory we could not have received any benefit from him, but it was the will of the Lord our God to make the captain of our salvation perfect through sufferings.

The sixteenth article relates to sin after baptism and militates against the popish notion of venial and mortal sins. It is well known, that every offence against the law of God is a sin; but the papists, in order to make a proper distinction for the sake of aggrandizing their clergy have told us, that those venial or rather trifling sins, may be atoned for by penance; whereas grosser crimes, which they call mortal sins, can never be forgiven. Here is a distinction without a given rule, and a conclusion drawn before the points were stated. In order to oppose this popish notion, the church of England is plain and explicit; for as all sins are offensive to God, so the blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse the most impure sinner from all wickedness, and to render him acceptable to the Divine Being.

The seventeenth article relating solely to predestination; and it must be acknowledged, that it is here defined in a more modest and scriptural sense, than in any of the systems drawn up by the other reformers in Europe. It is certain, that some of the reformers abroad, when treating of this article made use of very unguarded expressions, which which led some of those, who were otherwise piously disposed, to despair, while the profane plunged themselves into desism. But here the church of England takes the middle line between the two extremes. She acknowledges the doctrine to be a scriptural one, but conscious of the weakness and depravity of human nature cautions her members to be upon their guard against enquiring too minutely into it.

The eighteenth article contains an enlarged sentiment indeed; for it declares that no man can be saved in consequence of his belonging to a particular sect or party, but that salvation alone is through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. This article was extremely necessary to be carefully inserted, because, that when the Reformation took place, many of the people were so ignorant, that they thought they might be saved by the merits of the saints. Here the church of England, to her everlasting honour, has given the glory of men's salvation to that Redeemer who purchased peace and pardon for them with his blood. If Christ did not come into the world to save sinners, why did he die on Mount Calvary? If Christ Jesus is not the Redeemer of lost mankind, and the sole hope the sinner can repose any confidence in, then there is an end of our religion and our preaching is vain indeed.

The nineteenth article asserts, that the church of Christ consists of a body of persons, who willingly consent to be obedient to every rule laid down in the gospel. This was the more necessary, because the papists had asserted, that the whole of those who in words professed the Christian religion, were members of the church. This article further asserts that no church is, or can be infallible; and it gives us three instances, besides that of Rome. It is certain, that Christ will have a body of people in the world, who will worship him in all ages till his second coming: and it may be added further, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against this church; but then it must be remembered that there is no promise that this church shall be local. God has his churches frequently where men do not discern them.

The twentieth article asserts the power of the church in decreeing rights and ceremonies, and although this article is expressed in the most cautious terms, yet it has been the occasion of much controversy. The dissenters were exempted from subscribing to this article, and yet we cannot see with what propriety. Had the declaration here made been that the church's power was absolute, then we should have been in the same condition as the papists. But it is quite otherwise, for the church is not to declare any thing to be binding on the people that is contrary to the scriptures. Indeed, there does not seem to be any ambiguity in the words of the article, for all the popish errors are carefully guarded against.

The twenty-first article relates to general councils, which were originally called by the Roman emperors; but least too much confidence should be placed in their decrees, the church of England has declared, that they have no such things as infallibility in them. Composed of fallible men, they are



liable to err, and therefore all their decrees must be tried by the test of sacred writ. It is certain, that general councils have erred, or at least, this much is certain, that they have not all been infallible; so far from it, we frequently meet with one council anathematizing another, and if this is the case, where is the truth to be found. General councils are nothing more than ecclesiastical bug-bears or scare-crows; but ancient usage had conferred upon them a sort of sanctity, embraced by the ignorant and nourished by designing priests.

The twenty-second article relates entirely to purgatory, a notion which the papists had embraced partly in consequence of not understanding what had been written by the primitive fathers, and partly to court favour with the heathens. It was necessary that our reformers, consistent with their characters as Protestants, should oppose this doctrine; for although it may, in the common acceptance of the word, have some affinity with Christianity, yet in general it is totally repugnant to it. It procures much money to the priests, whose heathenish tricks, preying upon the ignorance of the people, can at all times make them subservient to their purposes.

The twenty-third article relates solely to ordination, that is, that no person shall take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel till he is regularly appointed for that purpose. Bishop Stillingfleet, speaking of this article, says, there is no ambiguity in it; for he believed that every church might ordain their ministers in whatever manner they thought proper. It is certain, that there is necessity for a regular succession of ministers in the Christian church, and in the primitive times, notwithstanding the violences that took place, this was never interrupted. It may, however, be carried to a superstitious height, and therefore the church of England has expressed herself in very general terms concerning it.

The twenty-fourth article militates against the popish practice of having worship celebrated in a language which they do not understand. At what time this abominable practice took place does not appear, but we are certain it was not sooner than the tenth century. As a proof of this, there are several liturgies extant written in the sixth century, and in the language of those people for whom they were composed. Nay, the author asserts further, from his own knowledge, that there are several liturgies still extant in the Saxon language, written long before the use of Latin ones was imposed on the people.

The twenty-fifth article relates to the doctrine of sacraments in general, and gives as clear a definition of them as ever could have been given by any

Protestant divines whatever. They are defined to be the symbols of an unseen object, which they certainly are. They are the representations, says the church, of something that happened, but not the object itself.

The article, however, admits of nothing as a sacrament, except what is pointed out to be such in scripture. Confirmation and penance, matrimony and extreme unction are wholly excluded from the number. This may serve to shew, that the design of the English reformers was to level their whole power against the strong bulwarks of popery, to strike at the root of their principles by which it had been long supported, and establish in room of it a system of religion consistent with the doctrine laid down in the New Testament.

The twenty-sixth article asserts that the efficacy of the sacraments taken, received in faith, does not depend on the merits of the person who administers them. To understand this article rightly, which does not in the least militate against the papists, we must attend to the following circumstance:—About the time of the Reformation, when light was beginning to spring up in the minds of men, there were several people in Europe who embraced very erroneous opinions. Among these were some Germans who came over to England, and taught that the sacraments were of no avail, nor could the person who received them obtain any benefit, unless the minister by whom they were given was a real believer.

This was a most destructive notion, for admitting it to be true, then there is an end of all divine institutions. When a pious Christian goes to receive the sacrament, how does he know but the person by whom it is administered is an hypocrite. And is the favour of God to be lost in consequence? No, God forbid.

It was to oppose this notion, that the article we are speaking of was written, and it is expressed in modest and manly terms. While it regulates the notions of men's putting any merit or confidence in the person who administers the sacrament, it, at the same time, enforces the necessity of ecclesiastical discipline, and points out the duty of ministers in the clearest manner. This article is agreed to by all Protestants whatever, but none of their confessions are expressed with so much modesty as here, where we do not meet with a single dogmatical expression.

The twenty-seventh article enforces the doctrine of baptism by water, as a sign of our adoption into the church, as sons of God by regeneration. The words of this article are so clearly and plainly expressed, that even a child may understand them as soon as he has learned his catechism. It concludes

with enforcing infant baptism, not only as useful and agreeable to the word of God; but as necessary. It seems to have been on this principle, that the rubric was inserted in the office for the burial of the dead, which prohibits its being read over such as died unbaptized.

The twenty-eighth article treats of the Lord's Supper, as one of the sacraments of the Christian church. It is considered, in its genuine sense, as a sign of that charity which should always distinguish Christian churches. The popish doctrine of transubstantiation was totally abolished, and declared to be contrary to the nature of a sacrament. It is added further, consistent with the sense of the sacred scriptures, that as a sacrament is no more than a visible sign of something which it is to point out, so the bread and wine must be received by faith, as emblems of that body which was broken, and that blood which was shed for sinners.

The twenty-ninth article is a necessary consequence of the preceding one, for it is inseparably connected with it. It declares that no person can obtain any benefit from the partaking of the sacrament except the righteous. The article further expresses a strong caution to those who would partake of the sacrament to be on their guard; to be cautious in examining themselves, lest that which was intended to promote their spiritual interest, should even seal their condemnation. It is certain, that nothing is more dangerous than to trifle with and make light of religious ordinances. It hardens the mind, and in general the person embraces deism.

The thirtieth article enjoins the receiving the sacrament of both kinds, which was the practice of the Christian church from the death of Christ even so late as the tenth century. Nay, it was not then totally denied, for even two hundred years later, we find several writers standing up in defence of it. It is certain, that those who believe in transubstantiation, must consider the blood in the wafer, and were it not for that doctrine which contributes so much towards enlarging and aggrandizing the papal power, probably the papists would have granted the sacrament in both kinds to the laity at the Reformation.

The thirty-first article differs a little from the seventeenth, for it asserts that Christ died for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, which notion was afterwards improved on by James Arminius. This article, as it differs somewhat from St. Austin's notions, so it is probable that our reformers borrowed the sentiment from the fathers of the ancient Greek church. It is certain, that this sentiment runs through the works of Chrysostom, Gregory, Nazianzen, Basil, and many others. And it is generally acknowledged, that the death of Christ, as it surpasses all human comprehension, so it may

be of infinite efficacy; but here we leave the reader to judge for himself.

The thirty-second article relates to the marriage of the clergy, and condemns the popish doctrine on that subject. It is certain that no part of the New Testament enjoins celibacy to the clergy; and, during the first four centuries, we constantly find them mentioned as married men. If any lived single lives, they did so from choice, without being obliged thereto by any positive command. Celibacy among the clergy began to be encouraged about the sixth century, when the monastic life became in vogue, but still it was not imposed. Nay, so late as the tenth century, we find Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, entering into a violent struggle with the secular clergy, who refused to put away their wives. This struggle continued till the twelfth century, when we find Henry I. of England, giving countenance to celibacy among the clergy, and the consequence was, they kept their *Limmers*, an old word for prostitutes.

The thirty-third article relates to the sentence of excommunication, but it is not so clearly expressed as some of the others. By the proper judge that hath authority to publish this sentence, is undoubtedly meant the bishop's chancellor, who is generally a layman, at least he always acts under that character. By his authority here mentioned, must be understood that authority which he derives from common law; for in the primitive church, and among all other Protestants except in Europe, excommunication is considered as a spiritual action.

The thirty-fourth article relates to the traditions of the church, and it contains a clear definition of them. The latter part of this article has been much objected to, where it gives leave to all national churches to change their rites and ceremonies as often as they please, so as they be done to edifying. The word edifying has by some been considered as too loose and vague, because the papists tell us, that their ridiculous ceremonies are calculated for that purpose; but our reformers seem to have had nothing more in view than to establish what was consistent with the truth, and they looked upon all others as absurd and unnecessary.

The thirty-fifth article establishes the doctrine that the homilies were to be read. But as these venerable discourses are but little known in the present age, we shall take some notice of them.

The ignorance of many of the clergy, and the unsettled state of the church at the time of the Reformation, induced many of the greatest men at that time, to draw up a set of discourses, in the form of sermons, on the principal points of the Christian religion. One of those were to be read every Sunday in the parish churches, till such time as the

clergy could learn to compose sermons for themselves. 'This was of great service to the cause of truth at the time of the Reformation, for these homilies, having been drawn up very judiciously by men of learning and piety, they prevented the people from relapsing into popery, and established the principles of religion on their minds.

The thirty-sixth article asserts, the necessity and utility of episcopal ordination. This sentiment is founded on a notion, that there had always been in the church a regular succession of clergy from the days of the apostles; some great divines however, were at that time of a different opinion, particularly Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, and Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Many of the inferior clergy contented that it was sufficient for presbyters to ordain presbyters; and as these pretended to promote a purer Reformation than had hitherto taken place in the church, they were called in derision Puritans. This article is not so much disapproved of by the Dissenters as some are apt to imagine, for they allow the validity of English ordinations although they do not consider it necessary to impose them.

The thirty-seventh article establishes the supremacy of the civil magistrate in all things, and over all persons, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and this has occasioned much contention. It is certain, however, it was in some measure necessary at the Reformation, because the clergy had been long accustomed to call the pope their head. Some princes indeed, made a bad use of this act, by turning out bishops whenever they pleased; but nothing of that sort has happened for a considerable time. Indeed, it lodges a vast power in the crown, but while that power is not abused, we ought not to complain. All the power granted in this article to the king over the clergy is of a civil nature, for he is not permitted to administer divine ordinances, but merely to preserve the external peace of the church, and prevent factious clergymen from disturbing government.

The thirty-eighth article is levelled against the German Anabaptists, who sprung up at that time, many of whom, as we have already mentioned, came over to England. These people asserted, that all Christians should have their goods in common, and that none should be richer than the others. This was owing to a mistaken notion concerning the first Christians in Jerusalem. This was never enjoyed by the apostles, for Ananias and Sapphira were told by Peter, that they might have kept their estate to themselves. It is said, we acknowledge, that they had all things in common; but it is no where said they were commanded to have them so.

The Christians at Jerusalem were warmed with the love of the truth; they loved each other; they

had but a very precarious title to their possessions, while they were hated by the Jews and persecuted by the Romans. The afflictions of many of their brethren were great; the Jews considered them as blasphemers, and the Romans treated them as rebels. It was, therefore, necessary that they should assist each other; but when the cause was removed, the effect naturally ceased. We have a strong proof of this in several of the apostolical epistles, where the rich are exhorted to be charitable to the poor; and had there been an equality of property, there would have been no need to this exhortation.

The thirty-ninth and last article, relates to a Christian man's oath. This article, although it does not expressly say so, seems likewise to have been levelled against the Anabaptists; who not considering properly the meaning of our Lord's words, "Swear not at all," declared that all oaths were, in their own nature, sinful; whereas, all that Christ had in view was to put an end to two things, which were then much encouraged by the Pharisees: First, the frequency of swearing in common conversation, when there was no necessity for it; and, secondly, swearing by heaven, by the temple, the altar, the sacrifice, and such other things as were not objects of divine worship. The apostle, in writing to the Hebrews, explains every doubt concerning this point. God swore by himself, because he could swear by none greater, that was, that the Messiah should be priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck. And the same apostle adds, that an oath is necessary to put an end to controversies among men. If it was not for the solemnity of an oath, there would be an end of civil society; for such is the state of human nature, that although men may sometimes perjure themselves, yet there is generally a dread on their minds, when they go into a court of justice to swear.

Such are the articles of religion in the church of England, and when we consider all the circumstances attending the framing of them, we are really led to admire them. Let us but reflect, that the authors of them had been brought up in popish superstition; were proscribed and persecuted by queen Mary; obliged to take shelter in foreign countries, where they met with men of different sentiments.— And yet these men returned and compiled a system of divinity as little liable to exceptions, if not less so, than any other systems framed by different Protestant churches. In perusing the articles it appears, that in all those points which have been matter of dispute, and occasioned much controversy, the English reformers have conducted themselves with the greatest moderation. If a few expressions may happen to appear ambiguous, even the ambiguity gives peace of mind to the subscriber, because in consequence thereof, he can put what sense he



pleases upon them. The church of England allows of no infallibility in human beings, and therefore as her fundamental articles were written by men, so if any sentiment should displease the person who comes to subscribe them, he is at liberty to refrain, so as he gives up all pretensions to the temporal emoluments annexed to the subscription.

The next thing in order is the worship used in the church of England, and here we shall first take notice of the Liturgy, or Common Prayer in general, and then proceed to consider its different parts, omitting only the catechism, as that has been fully explained in our account of the articles. For all catechisms are no more than articles of religion, or public confessions of faith, drawn up in a plain easy manner, for the use of youth to be learned at school.

Before the Reformation, the Liturgy was only in Latin being a collection of prayers made up partly of some ancient forms used in the primitive church, and partly of some others of a later original, accommodated to the Romish religion, at that time the religion of England. But, when the nation in king Henry VIIIth's time, was disposed to a reformation, it was thought necessary both to have the service in the English or vulgar tongue, and to correct and amend the Liturgy, by purging it of those gross corruptions which had gradually crept into it.

And, first the convocation appointed a committee, A. D. 1537, to compose a book, which was entitled, *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*, containing a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments, &c. This book was again published in 1540, with corrections and alterations, under the title of, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*.—In the same year, a committee of bishops and other divines was appointed by king Henry VIII. to reform the rituals and offices of the church: and the next year the king and clergy ordered the prayers for processions, and litanies to be put into English, and to be publicly used. Afterward in 1545, came out the King's Primer, containing the whole Morning and Evening Prayer in English, not very different from what is in our present Book of Common Prayer. Thus far the Reformation of our Liturgy was carried in the reign of Henry VIII.

In the year 1548, the first of king Edward VI. the convocation unanimously declared, that the communion ought to be administered in both kinds: whereupon an act of parliament was made, ordering it to be so administered. Then a committee of bishops, and other learned divines, was appointed to compose an uniform order of communion, according to the rules of scripture, and the use of the

primitive church. The committee accordingly met in Windsor-castle, and drew up such a form. This made way for a new commission, empowering the same persons to finish the whole Liturgy, by drawing up public offices for Sundays and holy days, for baptism, confirmation, matrimony, burial, and other special occasions.

The committee appointed to compose this Liturgy, were:—

1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Thomas Goodrick, bishop of Ely.
3. Henry Holbeck, bishop of Lincoln.
4. George Day, bishop of Chicester.
5. John Ship, bishop of Hereford.
6. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster.
7. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of London.
8. Dr. Wm. May, dean of St. Paul's.
9. Dr. John Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.
10. Dr. Simon Haynes, dean of Exeter, and master of Queen's Coll. Camb.
11. Dr. John Redman, dean of Westminster, and master of Trin. Coll. Camb.
12. Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Christ's Church, Oxon.
13. Mr. Thomas Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester.

Our excellent Liturgy, thus compiled, was revised and approved by the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, and then confirmed by the king and three estates in parliament, A. D. 1549.

But, about the end of the year 1550, exceptions were taken against some parts of this book, which were thought to savour too much of superstition, Archbishop Cranmer therefore proposed a new review, and, to this end, called in the assistance of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two foreigners, whom he had invited over from the troubles in Germany. These, not understanding the English tongue, were furnished with Latin translations of the Liturgy. The principal alterations occasioned by this second review were, the addition of the sentences; exhortation, confession, and absolution, at the beginning of the morning and evening services, which, in the first Common Prayer book, began with the Lord's Prayer; the addition of the Commandments at the beginning of the communion-office; the removing of some rites and ceremonies retained in the former book, such as the use of oil in confirmation, the unction of the sick, prayers for departed souls, the invocation of the Holy Ghost at the consecration of the eucharist, and the prayer of

oblation that used to follow it; the omitting the rubric, that ordered water to be mixed with the wine; with several other less material variations. The habits also, which were prescribed in the former book, were in this laid aside; and lastly, a rubric was added at the end of the communion office, to explain the reason of kneeling at the sacrament.—The Liturgy, thus revised and altered, was again confirmed by parliament, A. D. 1551, with this declaration, that the alterations made in it proceeded from curiosity rather than any worthy cause. But both this and the former act in 1548, were repealed in the first year of queen Mary, as injurious to the Romish religion, which she was resolved to restore.

Upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, the act of repeal was set aside, and several learned divines appointed to make another review of king Edward's Liturgies.

These (according to Camden and Strype) were:—

1. Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely.
3. Dr. May.
4. Dr. Bill.
5. Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham.
6. Sir Thomas Smith.
7. Mr. David Whitehead.
8. Edmund Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.
9. Dr. Edwin Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York.
10. Mr. Edmund Guest, afterwards bishop of Rochester.

It was debated at first, which of the two books of king Edward should be received. At length the second was pitched upon, and confirmed by parliament, which commanded it to be used, "With one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise."

The alteration in the Litany here mentioned was the leaving out the deprecation, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, and adding these words to the petition for the sovereign, "Strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life."—The two sentences, added in the delivery of the sacrament, were; "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c." which were taken out of king Edward's first book, whereas, in the second book,

these sentences were left out, and in the room of them were used, "Take, eat, or drink this," with what follows; but now in queen Elizabeth's book, both these forms were united.

There are some other variations in this book from the second of king Edward. The first rubric, concerning the situation of the chancel, and the proper place for reading divine service, was altered; the habits enjoined by the first book of king Edward, and forbid by the second, were now restored; at the end of the Litany was added a prayer for the sovereign, and another for the clergy. Lastly, the rubric, that was added at the end of the communion-office, in king Edward's second book, against our Saviour's corporeal presence in the sacrament, was left out in this. This was done, that the aforesaid notion might remain as a speculative opinion, not determined; it being the queen's design to unite the nation, as near as possible, in one faith.

In this state the Liturgy continued without farther alteration, till the first year of king James I. when a conference was held at Hampton court, between that prince with archbishop Whitgift, and other bishops and divines, on the one side, and Dr. Reynolds, with some other Puritans, on the other: the result of which was, the adding some forms of thanksgiving at the end of the Litany, and an addition to the catechism in relation to the sacraments. Also, in the rubric at the beginning of the office for private baptism, the words Lawful minister were inserted, to prevent midwives and laymen from presuming to baptize; with one or two more small alterations.

But, immediately after the restoration, king Charles II. at the request of several of the Presbyterian ministers, issued out a commission for a new review of the Liturgy, empowering twelve of the bishops and twelve Presbyterian divines to make such reasonable and necessary alterations as they should jointly agree upon. Nine coadjutors were added on each side, to supply the place of any of the twelve principals, who should happen to be absent. Their names are these:

#### *On the Episcopalian side.*

##### *Principals.*

1. Dr. Frewen, archbishop of York.
2. Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London.
3. Dr. Cousins, bishop of Durham.
4. Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester.
5. Dr. King, bishop of Chichester.
6. Dr. Henchman, bishop of Salisbury.
7. Dr. Morley, bishop of Worcester.
8. Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln.
9. Dr. Laney, bishop of Peterborough.
10. Dr. Walton, bishop of Chester.

11. Dr. Stern, bishop of Carlisle.
12. Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

Coadjutors.

1. Dr. Eulse, dean of Westminster.
2. Dr. Heylin.
3. Dr. Hackett.
4. Dr. Barwick.
5. Dr. Gunning.
6. Dr. Pearson.
7. Dr. Pierce.
8. Dr. Sparrow.
9. Dr. Thorndike.

*On the Presbyterian side.*

Principals.

1. Dr. Reynolds.
2. Dr. Tuckney.
3. Dr. Conant.
4. Dr. Spurstow.
5. Dr. Wallis.
6. Dr. Manton.
7. Dr. Calamy.
8. Mr. Baxter.
9. Mr. Jackson.
10. Mr. Case.
11. Mr. Clark.
12. Mr. Newcomen.

Coadjutors;

1. Dr. Horton.
2. Dr. Jacob.
3. Mr. Bates.
4. Mr. Rawlinson.
5. Mr. Cooper.
6. Dr. Lightfoot.
7. Dr. Collins.
8. Dr. Woodbridge.
9. Mr. Drake.

These commissioners had several meetings at the Savoy, but to very little purpose; the Presbyterians reviving all the old scruples of the Puritans against the Liturgy, and adding several new ones of their own. Baxter had the assurance to affirm, that our Liturgy was too bad to be mended, and confidently pretended to compose a new one, which he thought proper to offer to the bishops. Upon this the conference broke up, without any thing being done, except that some particular alterations were proposed by the episcopal divines; which, the May following, were considered and agreed to by the whole clergy in convocation. The principal of these alterations were, that several lessons in the Calendar were changed for others more proper of the days; the prayers for particular occasions were disjoined

from the Litany, and the two prayers to be used in the Ember-weeks, the prayer for the parliament, that for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving, were added. Several of the collects were altered; the epistles and gospels were taken out of the last translation of the bible, being read before according to the old translation. The office for baptism of those of riper years, and the forms of prayer used at sea, were added. In a word, the whole Liturgy was then brought to the state in which it now stands, and was unanimously subscribed by both houses of convocation of both provinces, on Friday, Dec. 20, 1661. And being brought to the house of lords the March following, both houses very readily passed an act for its establishment; and the earl of Clarendon, then lord Chancellor, was ordered to return the thanks of the lords to the bishops and clergy, for their care and industry shewn in the review of it.

We shall subjoin Dr. Comber's character of the Liturgy of the church of England. "No church was ever blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a Liturgy, as ours; which is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion, and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full, that nothing is omitted, which ought to be asked in public; and so particular, that it compriseth most things which we would ask in private; and yet so short, as not to tire any that have true devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them; its method is exact and natural; its language significant and perspicuous, most of the words and phrases being taken out of the holy scripture, and the rest are the expressions of the first and purest ages, and in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius, who was no member of, nor had any obligation to this church, the English Liturgy comes so near the primitive pattern, that none of the reformed churches can compare with it."

Again he says, "In the prayers a scholar can discern close logic, pleasing rhetoric, pure divinity, and the very marrow of the ancient doctrine and discipline; and yet all made so familiar, that the unlearned may safely say, Amen."

As in the ancient church the reader always spoke a few words to the people before he began the service, so in the church of England, one verse of the sacred scripture is repeated. There is something praise-worthy in beginning divine worship with some part of sacred scripture, because it is giving preference to inspiration above every thing human.—It is really bestowing honour on God, and it is well known, that the sentences are most judiciously collected. They all intimate something leading to the



confession of sins; and these are followed by the exhortation. The confession that follows is expressed in very striking language, and such as is easy to be retained in the memory.

It has been much controverted by several other Protestants, whether a minister should pronounce the absolution. But if any person reads this form, he will find it is no more than a declaration that God will pardon sincere penitents. It supposes, that those who have on their knees confessed their sins, are contrite and penitent, which gives them encouragement to hope for mercy.

It has been objected, that the Lord's Prayer is too frequently repeated, so as to make it like a charm; but with respect to the controversy, we shall not meddle with it, leaving every man at liberty to judge for himself. And here it is necessary to observe, that every minister in the church of England may pray extempore before sermon if he pleases, only it is reckoned necessary to conclude with the Lord's Prayer. If this was more attended to, it would remove many objections that are constantly made against formality and repetition. The marquis of Halifax, who served four sovereigns in the highest departments of the state, recommended this practice; and he used to say, that when he knew a minister's life to be pious, and heard him pour out the effusions of his heart before sermon in extemporary prayer, it always affected him, and made a lasting impression on his mind, by charming him with the love of religion.

The Arians and Socinians make strong objections to the greatest part of the Common Prayer, because it every where asserts the unity of the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity: but these objections have been ably answered by many eminent divines, and also by laymen.

Another objection was made to the Litany by the Presbyterians at the Savoy conference, particularly these words, "From fornication and all other deadly sins," &c. Now by deadly sin has been generally understood the popish doctrine of mortal sin, but surely the compilers of the Liturgy never meant so. This will appear the more probable, when we consider that fornication is here called a deadly sin; for what man will assert that sin to be unpardonable? All that seems to be meant is, that as fornication is a breach of an absolute precept, so it is dangerous in any person to commit it as well as other sins of a similar nature. But we think this need not be enlarged on; we shall only add, that it has been objected, that some of the collects have been taken out of the Romish mass book. If it is allowed that the collects are good, then the objection falls to the ground; for it might, with equal propriety, be objected, that we should not be called Christians, because the papists call themselves by that name; and

so on in thousands of other instances. Let us keep all they have good among them; and let what is useless be retained by themselves. Reformation may be carried too far at some particular periods. Probably the first reformers thought so, and therefore they left these things for a more favourable opportunity. As for Litanies, we shall here observe what many learned men have said of them.

In the Christian sense of the word, a Litany is a solemn form of supplication to God. Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's custom of making his solemn addresses to God in his tent, says, he endeavoured to renew God propitious to him by his supplications and Litanies. And Arcadius, in one of his laws against heretics, forbids them to hold profane assemblies in the city, either by night or by day, to make their Litany. At that time, the public prayers, hymns, and psalmody, were all comprised under the general name of Litany. Afterwards the word came to signify a peculiar sort of prayers used in the church; concerning the original of which learned men are not agreed.

At first, the use of Litanies was not fixed to any stated time, but they were employed only as exigencies required. They were observed, in imitation of the Ninevites, with ardent supplications and fastings, to avert the threatening judgments of fire, earthquakes, inundations, or hostile invasions. The days on which they were used, were called Rogation-days. Several of these days were appointed by the canons of different councils, till the seventeenth council of Toledo decreed that Litanies should be used in every month throughout the year. And so, by degrees, these solemn supplications came to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient stationary days in all churches.

As to the form in which Litanies are made, namely, in short petitions by the priest, with responses by the people. St. Chrysostom derives the custom from the primitive ages, when the priest began, and uttered by the spirit some things fit to be prayed for, and the people joined the intercessions, saying, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord." When the miraculous gifts of the spirit began to cease, they wrote down several of these forms, which were the original of our modern Litanies.—St. Ambrose has left us one, agreeing in many things with that of our own church.

About the year 400, Litanies began to be used in processions, the people walking barefoot, and repeating them with great devotion. It is pretended several countries were delivered from great calamities by this means. About the year 600 Gregory the Great, out of all the Litanies extant, composed the famous seven-fold Litany, by which Rome, it is said, was delivered from a grievous mortality.—This has been a pattern to all the western churches

since; to which ours of the church of England comes nearer than that of the Romish missal, in which later popes have inserted the invocation of saints, which our reformers justly expunged. These processional Litanies having occasioned much scandal, it was decreed that the Litanies for the future should only be used within the walls of the church.

The days appointed by the 15th canon of our church, for using the Litany, are Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient fasting days of the primitive church; to which, by the rubric, Sundays are added as being the days of the greatest assembly for divine service. Before the last review of the common prayer, the Litany was a distinct service by itself, and used some time after the morning prayer was over. At present it is made one office with the morning service, being ordered to be read after the third collect for grace, instead of the intercessional prayers in the daily service.

By the fifteenth canon, whenever the Litany is read, every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church is to come, or send one at least of his household, to join with the minister in prayers.

There is one great advantage to Christians in the worship used by the church of England, and that is the reading of the psalms and lessons, and it is surprising that this should not take place in all Protestant churches. The advantage is not only to those who cannot read, but it refreshes the memories of the best scholars whatever. Nay, it has been asserted, that were the scriptures not read in our churches, we should become in a short time such barbarians as our ancestors were two thousand years ago. But let us here consider the practice of the ancient church on this head, and then take notice of our own, that the reader may make the comparison.

In the ancient church, the reading of the scriptures was one part of the service of the catechumens, at which all sorts of persons were allowed to be present for instruction. The lessons were always two at least, and sometimes three or four. The author of the constitutions speaks of four lessons, two out of Moses and the prophets, and two out of the gospels and epistles. The church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter: for, till the time of pope Celestine, about 400 years after Christ, they read no lessons out of the Old Testament, but only out of the New; whereas in all other churches, they read lessons out of both.

The method of reading the scriptures seems always to have been governed by some rule, though this might vary in different churches. St. Austin tells us, there were some lessons so fixed and appropriated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. He particularly in-

stances in the festival of Easter, when for four days successively the history of Christ's resurrection was read out of the four gospels. In like manner, on all other festivals, they read those parts of scripture, which related to the particular festival.

Particular books of scripture had their particular seasons of the year, in which they were more especially read. Thus the Acts of the Apostles was read immediately before the feast of Pentecost, and in Lent they usually read the book of Genesis. The book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion-week, and the prophet Hosea was read on the Vigil of our Saviour's passion. Though we have no complete Lectionarium, or Calendar of Lessons extant, yet we are sure their reading the scriptures was some way methodized, and brought under rule. The first Calendar of this kind is thought to be Hippolytus's Canon Paschalis, which Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing lessons for the festivals. But Bucherius, and others, give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain. There is a Lectionarium under the name of St. Jerome; but the best critics look upon it as counterfeit. Some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French churches. It is observable, however, that the lessons were sometimes appointed by the bishops at discretion. Ferrarius gives several instances of this practice out of St. Austin, and St. Chrysostomus.

As to the persons whose office it was to read the lessons, it is probable, that during the two first centuries, they were the deacons, or in imitation of the Jewish church, such as the bishop or president for that time appointed. But, in the time of St. Cyprian, it was the peculiar office of the readers, who were become an inferior order of the clergy. The reader, before he began to read, was used to say, Pax vobis, Peace be with you, which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of the offices in the church. This custom continued till the third council of Carthage made an order to the contrary, appointing that it should be said by some other minister. St. Chrysostom mentions two other customs introductory to the reading and hearing the scriptures. The first is the deacon enjoining silence and attention before the reader began. The second the reader's beginning every lesson with, "Thus saith the Lord."

There is a distinction made by some between the longer and shorter lessons, used in the ancient church. The longer lessons are said to be used at the long nocturnal or antelucan service, and the shorter at the other canonical hours of prayer. But this distinction could have no place till the canonical hours were settled; which was not till the fourth or fifth century. It is probable, these

shorter lessons were no other than the psalms; or antiphonal hymns collected out of the psalms, for the service of the several hours of devotion.

It is observable, that, in some churches, other books were allowed to be read by way of lessons and instructions, besides the canonical scriptures, such as the passions of the martyrs on their proper festivals, the homilies of the fathers, the epistles and tracts of pious men, and the letters communicatory of one church to another, with other writings of the like nature. Eusebius tells us, the book called *Hermes Pastor* was anciently read in the church. Dionisius bishop of Corinth, says, they read *Clemens Romanus's* first epistle to the Corinthians, and another written by *Soter*, bishop of Rome. *Sozomen* tells us, the Revelations of *Peter* were read once a year, on Good-Friday, in many of the churches of Palestine. Many other instances are to be met with in ecclesiastical authors.

Our own church in the choice of lessons, proceeds as follows. For the first lesson on ordinary days, she directs, to begin at the beginning of the year with *Genesis* and so to continue on, till all the books of the Old Testament are read over; only omitting the *Chronicles* (which are for the most part the same with the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*) and other particular chapters in other books, either for the same reason, or because they contain genealogies, names of persons, or places, or other matters less profitable for ordinary hearers.

The course of the first lessons for Sundays is regulated after a different manner. From Advent to Septuagesima Sunday, some particular chapters of *Isaiah* are appointed to be read, because that book contains the clearest prophecies concerning Christ. Upon Septuagesima Sunday *Genesis* is begun, because that book which treats of the fall of man, and the severe judgment of God on the world for sin, best suits with a time of penance and mortification. After *Genesis* follow select chapters out of the books of the Old Testament, as they lie in order; observing that, on festival Sundays, such as Easter, Whitsunday, &c. the particular history relating to the day is appointed to be read. On the festivals of the saints called saints-days, the church appoints lessons out of the moral books, such as *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdom*, as containing excellent precepts and instructions for the conduct of life.

As to the second lessons, the church observes the same course both on Sundays and week-days: reading the gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the morning, and the epistles in the evening, in the same order they stand in the New Testament; excepting on saints-days and holidays, when such lessons are appointed, as either explain the mystery, relate the history, or apply the example to us.—

Thus, by the prudence of our church, the Old Testament is read over once, and the new thrice in the year, some particular parts of both, for particular reasons, excepted.

In treating of the whole public service used in the church of England, we are under the necessity of taking notice of all the objections commonly made to it by all denominations of Christians. This is the more necessary, because, by taking these things in a proper point of view with candour, it may be the means of settling some of our unhappy controversies, or at least making Protestants love each other as brethren.

It is well known that there are holy days ordered to be observed in the church of England, yet they are not imposed, being left wholly to people's own discretion. If any of these holy days have been used to a bad purpose, the fault does not lay in them, but in the depravity of human nature. Did God become man for us, and must we become beasts? An afternoon's debauch will follow very ill after a forenoon's sermon; and therefore those who keep days holy, should keep them holy to the Lord. The first and most solemn of the times observed in the church of England, is Lent.

The word Lent, in the old Saxon language, signifies the Spring, and is therefore used to denote this holy season, which belongs to that part of the year, it being observed by Christians as a time of humiliation before Easter, the great festival of our Saviour's resurrection.

The observation of this fast is of very great antiquity in the Christian church. The Latins call it *Quadragesima*, which word denotes the number forty; whence this fast was called *Quadragesimal*, but whether from its being a fast of forty days, or only forty hours, is matter of dispute among the learned. They of the Romish church, and some of the Protestant communion, maintain that it was always a fast of forty days, and, as such, of apostolical institution. Others think it was only of ecclesiastical institution, and it was variously observed in different churches, and grew by degrees from a fast of forty hours to a fast of forty days. This latter is the sentiment of *Morton*, bishop *Taylor*, *du Moulin*, *Daille*, and others.

The church seems to have limited the term of fasting to forty days, in regard either to the forty days, in which God drowned the world; or to the forty days, in which the children of Israel did penance in the wilderness; or to the forty stripes, wherewith malefactors were to be corrected; or because *Moses* fasted this number of days, as did *Elias* the same space of time; or because the *Ninevites* were allowed precisely as many days for repentance; or, lastly, and most probably, because our blessed Saviour himself, when he was pleased to



fast, observed the same length of time. For some, or all, of these reasons, the church used this number of days, as the common solemn number belonging to extraordinary humiliation.

As to the original of this Quadragesimal fast, learned men are inclined to believe, it was not instituted by the apostles, at least not as any necessary rule obliging all men to fast forty days; and that for the following reasons: First, because there is some probability, that at first it was only a fast of forty hours, or the time that our Saviour lay in the grave, that is, the Friday and Saturday before Easter.— This appears from Tertullian and Irenæus, who speak of Christians observing those days, in which the bridegroom was taken from them, agreeable to these words of our Saviour; "The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." However, it must be confessed, these authors speak of more days than two as observed in many churches, only with this difference, that the first were observed as more necessary, being founded on the words of Christ himself, and the others were at the church's free liberty and choice, as being purely of ecclesiastical institution.

Secondly, because, if this fast was of apostolical institution, it is scarce accountable how such a great variety in point of time should immediately happen in the observation of it; some churches keeping it only three weeks, some six, some seven, and yet none of them hitting upon the precise number of forty days. It is observable however, that they all agreed in calling this fast Quadragesimal, and assigned different reasons for this appellation.

Lent consisted not of above thirty-six fasting-days in any church; for though some churches kept it six weeks, which make forty-two days, yet all Sundays were excepted out of the fast; and then six days being subducted, there remained but thirty-six days of fasting. Who first added Ash-Wednesday, and the other three days to the beginning of Lent, in the Roman church to make them forty, is not agreed among their own writers. Some say, it was the work of Gregory the Great; but others ascribe it to Gregory II. who lived about an hundred years after, in the beginning of the VIIIth century.

The general design of this institution is thus set forth by St. Chrysostom: "Why do we fast these forty days? Many theretofore were used to come to the communion indecently and inconsiderately, especially at this time, when Christ first gave it to his disciples. Therefore our forefathers, considering the mischiefs arising from such careless approaches, meeting together, appointed forty days for fasting and prayer, and hearing of sermons, and for holy assemblies; that all men, in these days, being carefully purified by prayers and alms deeds, and fasting,

and watching, and tears, and confession of sins, and other the like exercises, might come according to their capacity, with a pure conscience, to the holy table."

But if we enquire more particularly into the reasons of instituting the Lent-fast, we shall find them to be these following: First, the apostles' sorrow for the loss of their master. For this reason the ancients observed those two days, in which our Saviour lay in the grave, with the greatest strictness. Secondly, the declension of Christian piety from its first and primitive fervour. Thirdly, that the catechumens might prepare themselves for baptism, and the penitents for absolution; Easter being one of the settled times of baptizing the catechumens and absolving the penitents.

This solemn season of fasting was universally observed by all Christians, though with a great liberty, and a just allowance for men's infirmities; and this was in a great measure left to their own discretion. If men were in health, and able to bear it, the rule and custom was for them to observe it. On the other hand, bodily infirmity and weakness were always admitted as a just apology for their non-observance of it.

The manner of observing Lent, among those who were piously disposed to observe it, was to abstain from all food till evening. Whence it is natural to conclude, that the pretence of keeping Lent only by a change of diet from flesh to fish is but a mock fast, and an innovation utterly unknown to the ancients, whose Lent-fast was a strict and rigorous abstinence from all food till the evening. Their refreshment was only a supper, and then it was indifferent whether it was flesh, or any other food, provided it was used with sobriety and moderation. But there was no general rule about this matter, as appears from the story which Sozomen tells of Spiridion, bishop of Trimitus, in Cyprus; that a stranger once happening to call upon him in Lent, he, having nothing in his house but a piece of pork, ordered that to be dressed and set before him; but the stranger refused to eat flesh, saying he was a Christian; Spiridion replied, for that very reason thou oughtest not to refuse it, for the word of God has pronounced all things clean to them that are clean.

Lent was thought the proper season for exercising more abundantly all sorts of charity. Thus what they spared from their own bodies, by abridging them of a meal, was usually given to the poor. They likewise employed their vacant hours in visiting the sick and imprisoned, in entertaining strangers, and reconciling differences. The imperial laws forbade all prosecution of men in criminal actions, which might bring them to corporal punishment and torture during this whole season. Lent was a time of more than ordinary strictness and devotion; and

therefore, in many of the great churches, they had religious assemblies for prayer and preaching every day. They had also frequent communions at this time, at least on every sabbath or Lord's day. All public games and stage-plays were prohibited at this season; as also the celebration of all festivals, birth-days and marriages, as unsuitable to the present occasion.

These were the common rules observed in keeping the Lent fast, when it was come to the length of forty days. But there was one week, called the *Hebdomas magna*; or the great week before Easter, which they observed with a greater strictness and solemnity than all the rest. This is usually called the *Passion-week*, because it was the week in which our Saviour suffered.

The Christians of the Greek church observe four Lents. The first commences on the fifteenth of November, or forty days before Christmas. The second is our Lent, which immediately precedes Easter. The third begins the week after Whitsunday, and continues till the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. The number of days therefore comprized in this Lent is not settled and determined, for they are more or less according as Whitsunday falls sooner or later. Their fourth lent commences the first of August, and lasts no longer than till the fifteenth. These Lents are observed with great strictness and austerity. On Saturdays and Sundays they indulge themselves in drinking and using oil, which are prohibited on other days.

Lent was first commenced to be observed in England by Ercombert, seventh king of Kent, before the year 800. No meat was formerly to be eaten in Lent, but by licence, under certain penalties.—And butchers were not to kill flesh in Lent, except for the victualling of ships, &c.

The next thing to be taken notice of, is Baptism, the first sacrament in the Christian church. As to what manner this is observed in the church of Rome, we have already taken notice in our accounts of the popish ceremonies. We know of but two objections that ever have been made to the form of baptism, as practised in the church of England, but these will be taken notice of afterwards.

We have already seen, that the church of England defines baptism to be, not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church: The promises of the forgiveness of sin, of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed, faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer to God. She adds, that the baptism of young children is in any wise to

be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

In the rubrics of her liturgy, she prescribes, that baptism be administered only on Sundays and holy-days, except in cases of necessity. She requires sponsors for infants; for every male child two god-fathers and one godmother; and for every female two godmothers and one godfather. We find this provision made by a constitution of Edmond, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1236; and in a synod held at Worcester, A. D. 1240. By the xxixth canon of our church no parent is to be admitted to answer as godfather to his own child.

The form of administering baptism is too well known to require a particular account to be given of it; and we shall only observe some of the more material differences between the form, as it stood in the first liturgy of king Edward, and that in our Common Prayer Book at present. First, in that of king Edward, we meet with a form of exorcism, founded upon the like practice of the primitive church, which our reformers left out, when they took a review of the liturgy in the 5th and 6th of the king.. It is as follows:—

*Then let the priest, looking upon the children, say,—*

“I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy baptism, to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in everlasting fire, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants whom Christ hath bought with his precious blood, and by this his holy baptism called to be of his flock.”

The form of consecrating the water did not make a part of the office, in king Edward's Liturgy, as it does in the present, because the water in the font was changed, and consecrated but once a month. The form likewise itself was something different from that we now use, and was introduced with a short prayer, that Jesus Christ upon whom, when he was baptized, the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove, and would send down the same Holy spirit, to sanctify the fountain of baptism; which prayer was afterwards left out, at the second review of it.

By king Edward's first book, the minister is to dip the child in the water thrice; first dipping the right side; secondly the left; the third time dipping the face towards the font. This three-fold immer-

sion was a very ancient practice in the Christian church, and used in honour of the holy Trinity; though some later writers say it was done to represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, together with his three days' continuance in the grave. Afterwards, the Arians making an ill use of it, by persuading the people that it was used to denote, that the three persons in the Trinity, were three distinct substances, the orthodox left it off, and used only one single immersion.

By the first Common Prayer of king Edward, after the child was baptised, the godfathers and godmothers were to lay their hands upon it, and the minister was to put on him the whole vestment, commonly called the Chrysome, and to say, "Take this white vesture, as a token of the innocency, which, by God's grace, in this holy sacrament of baptism, is given unto thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen." As soon as he had pronounced these words, he was to anoint the infant on the head, saying, "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins, may he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his holy spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen." This was manifestly done in imitation of the practice of the primitive church.

The custom of sprinkling children, instead of dipping them in the font, which at first was allowed, in case of the weakness, or sickness of the infant, has so far prevailed, that immersion is at length quite excluded. What principally tended to confirm the practice of affusion, or sprinkling, was, that several of our English divines, flying into Germany and Switzerland, during the bloody reign of queen Mary, and returning home when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, brought back with them a great zeal for the Protestant churches beyond sea, where they had been sheltered and received; and, having observed that, at Geneva, and other places, baptism was administered by sprinkling, they thought they could not do the church of England a greater piece of service than by introducing a practice dictated by so great an oracle as Calvin. This, together with the coldness of our northern climate, was what contributed to banish entirely the practice of dipping infants in the font.

Lay-baptism we find to have been permitted by both the common prayer books of king Edward, and that of queen Elizabeth, when an infant is in immediate danger of death, and a lawful minister cannot be had. This was founded upon the mistaken notion of the impossibility of salvation without the sacra-

ment of baptism; but afterwards, when they came to have clearer notions of the sacrament, it was unanimously resolved in a convocation, held in the year 1575, that even private baptism, in a case of necessity, was only to be administered by a lawful minister.

The objections made to the office of baptism are, first, the use of godfathers and godmothers. At the Reformation, it was absolutely necessary that they should have sponsors for infants, lest their parents should have brought them up in the popish religion. It was the same in the primitive church, as has been already taken notice of, to prevent the children from being brought up heathens. At present, when we consider that almost universal depravity of manners, so prevalent among the people, we are led to wish that pious persons could be found, who would take care to see the children brought up in the fear of God. On the other hand, when we reflect on the conduct of those persons who frequently assume the characters of sponsors, such as drunken sots and giddy girls, who never intend to pay any regard to the solemn promise they have made, as it were, before God and a Christian congregation, we are apt to wish that none were admitted but such as would do their duty. We know but of one law in the church of England that forbids a father to be sponsor for his own child, but long usage has given a sanction to the present practice. Let sponsors, however, beware of mocking God, but if they take that office upon them, let them endeavour, through the divine assistance, to discharge their duty.

The second objection is, that made to the use of the sign of the cross. We have already taken notice, that this was used in the primitive church, and lord King thinks it first began about the middle of the second century. After that time, it began to be generally practised, but not imposed, so that people were left at liberty to use it, or let it alone. Soon after the time of Constantine the Great, it was become so universal, that it was considered as an imposed duty on the clergymen to cross the children in the sacrament of baptism.

We find from what we have taken notice of before, that the ritual for baptism in the beginning of the reign of king Edward, had something in it very superstitious. As for the making the sign of the cross, there can be no harm in it, unless people believe that it has something in it of a sacred nature. Those who submit to it as the mode used in the established church, should look upon it as an indifferent thing, but those who consider it as inconsistent with the word of God, should by no means use it. There is, however, in this country, but little reason to complain, for there is such liberty for tender consciences, that although the minister cannot dispense with the act of uniformity, yet any man



who is of opinion that baptism is absolutely necessary to infants, may apply to the Dissenters, none of whom use the sign of the cross.

The next thing to be considered is confirmation.

In the primitive times, this was a grand ceremony in the church. It frequently followed immediately after baptism, when the party made a solemn promise before the bishop and all the congregation present, that he would live according to the rules of the gospel. He was then admitted to the communion, after the bishop had prayed for him, and laid his hands on his head. It was absolutely necessary that such a declaration should be made, especially as the people were but newly converted from heathenism. And the same circumstance took place here immediately after the Reformation. It was necessary that the ministers of parishes should know to whom they administered the communion, and therefore it was ordered, that those who intended to partake of that holy ordinance, should first be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; for no solemn mystery enjoined in the New Testament must be trifled with.

It is therefore appointed both by the canons and by several public acts, that all those who are to be confirmed, must produce a certificate of their knowledge from the minister of the parish where they reside. This ordinance is observed by the Lutherans, and although not attended to by many Protestants, yet we shall have occasion to point out wherein they have something like it. Indeed, we do not know that ever any of the Protestants spoke or wrote against confirmation, but in some of their writings we find them complaining of abuses in the ceremony, namely, it is not attended to with that awful reverence it was in the primitive church. All we can say on this head is, that our bishops should consider whether it would not be much better to visit their parishes once every year, than once in three years. Bishop Jewel used to say, "A bishop should die preaching, and surely the gates of heaven must be ready opened for that minister who leaves this world doing his duty."

We come next to the eucharist or sacrament of the Lord's supper, which in all Christian churches makes a part of divine worship. This sacrament, as well as that of baptism, was instituted by Christ himself; and by many divines it has been called Christ's last legacy to his people. It was constituted to be kept up in remembrance of him to the end of the world. We are assured by Pliny, in his epistle to the emperor Trajan, that the Christians met on one day in seven, and had a feast together. This feast was no other than what we now call the communion. In the beginning of Christianity, the whole church or body of Christians met together; and those who had been baptized were admitted to

the communion. But as they began to multiply, a more rigid discipline was found necessary, catechumens, penitents, and all who were found guilty of any scandalous offences, were debarred from the communion; the former, till they had been properly instructed, and the latter, till they had given sufficient proofs of their amendment. The bishop always washed his hands before he consecrated the elements, according to the words of the psalmist, "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I go to thine altar." But as these things have been treated of at large in our account of the primitive church, we shall therefore only take notice of some traditions concerning the efficacy of the eucharist, which we have carefully collected from different historians. These traditions, however, are not related as facts, but merely as forgeries invented, when the purity of Christianity was on the decline.

Optatus tells us, that some Donatists, who, in their mad zeal against the Catholics, ordered the eucharist which they had consecrated to be thrown to their dogs, but not without an immediate sign of divine vengeance on them; for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters and tore them to pieces.

Again it is related of St. Laurence, that being extended on a red-hot gridiron in order to suffer martyrdom, the sacramental bread and wine which he had just before received, rendered him quite insensible of the force and violence of the fire; and that this surprising event converted a great many people, who were present to see the execution.

The acts of St. Stephen relate a remarkable story concerning the eucharist, of one Tharicus, an acolyth, who, as he was carrying home some of the consecrated elements, met with a company of soldiers, who demanded of him what he was carrying, and upon his refusal to discover the sacred mysteries to those infidels, they beat him to death. The story adds, that God confirmed his piety and prudence by a miracle; for the soldiers, though they searched all over him, could not find what he wished to conceal from them.

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, in the fourth century, and a great persecutor of the Novatians, having long hated some of those poor people, obliged them, against their will, to communicate with him, by forcing open their mouths and thrusting the eucharist down their throats, which to them was the most insupportable of all punishments.

The historian Sozomen relates, that a certain woman of the Macedonian sect, being obliged by the threats of her husband to dissemble an inclination to embrace the Catholic faith, came to church in order to receive the eucharist, where, instead of

swallowing the consecrated bread, she privately conveyed it away, and put another piece she had brought with her into her mouth. But by the judgment of God, when she endeavoured to eat it, she found it changed into a stone, upon which she became a sincere convert to the Catholic faith.

St. Austin relates of one Acacius, that he came into the world with his eye-lids so closed that he could see nothing, and that his mother, by applying the eucharist to his eyes in the form of a plaister, brought him presently to sight.

We are likewise told by St. Austin, of a young girl who being possessed by the devil, and having continued twenty-eight days without nourishment, was dispossessed and perfectly restored to health, by partaking of the eucharist.

We have mentioned these things for the benefit of our Protestant readers, who ought to be on their guard when they read the writings of the ancient fathers. And here we may find, that just after the time of Constantine the Great, the priests began to extol the eucharist so much, that the foundation of the corporeal presence was laid. The magnifying any thing beyond its proper merits, or the design for which it was appointed, is first superstition, and then generally ends in idolatry. This is always the effect of will worship, or doing what is not commanded; and if we can here find such a name as that of St. Austin giving countenance to such notions, we need not be much surprised at finding the same in latter writers.

The compilers of our Common-Prayer Book originally extracted this service out of several ancient liturgies, as those of St. Basil, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory; but Boucher having found great fault with it, it therefore went under several alterations. The office was originally designed to be distinct, and consequently to be used at a different time from morning prayer. A custom which bishop Overall says was observed in his time in York and Chichester; and he imputes it to the negligence of the ministers, and carelessness of the people, that they are ever huddled together into one office.

By the last rubric after this office, part of it is appointed to be read on every Sunday and holy-day, though there be no communicants; and the reason seems to have been, that the church may shew her readiness to administer the sacrament upon those days, and that it is not her's, but the people's fault, that it is not administered: or it might be so ordered for the sake of reading the Deacon's, or Ten Commandments, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and the Nicene Creed; together with the Offertory, or sentences of scripture, and the prayer for Christ's church.

As there has been much dispute concerning the propriety of having altars in churches, where there

is no sacrifice, we find it necessary to take some notice of the place where the church of England orders the eucharist to be celebrated. And here it is necessary that we should first describe the progress of the primitive church, and then compare it with the practice of the reformed.

This holy table was distinguished among the primitive Christians, by the name of altar; and Mr. Mede thinks it was usually so called for the two first ages, and that the name table is not to be found in any author of those ages now remaining. However, it is certain they did not mean by the altar, what the Jews and heathens meant, either an altar adorned with images or idols, like those of the heathens, or an altar for bloody sacrifices, which was the use of them both among the Jews and Gentiles. But for their own mystical, unbloody sacrifice, as they called the eucharist, they always owned they had an altar, which they scrupled not to term indifferently by that name.

The communion-tables, or altars, of the primitive Christians, seem to have been made only of wood, till the time of Constantine, when stone altars were brought in, together with the stateliness and magnificence of churches. The pontifical speaks of silver altars, dedicated by Constantine. And, as the materials of which altars were made, were changed, so the form and fashion of them began to be changed likewise: For whereas, before, they were in the form of tables, they now began to be erected more like altars, either upon a single stone, or pillar, in the middle, or upon an edifice erected like a tomb.

Among the primitive Christians there never was more than one altar in a church. One bishop and one altar, is the known aphorism of Ignatius. Some are of opinion, that, anciently, there was but one altar in a whole city, or diocese, belonging to a bishop; notwithstanding there were many churches. But this is a point involved in too much obscurity to be easily determined.

In some of the more stately churches, as that of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople, the altar was overshadowed with a sort of canopy. It was raised in the form of a little turret, upon four pillars, at each corner of the altar. The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls, the top of it was in the form of a sphere, adorned with graven flowers.—Above the sphere stood the cross: and the several arches below, between the pillars, were hung with veils or curtains, which served to cover and conceal the whole altar. Sometimes the Holy Ghost was represented, in the effigies of a silver dove, hovering over the altar.

The holy vessels, which they made use of to administer the eucharist in, made another part of the ornaments of the communion-table, or altar. The

materials, it is true, were sometimes no better than plain glass or wood; but, in the more stately churches, they were often of gold or silver. What, this holy furniture consisted of, we may judge from an inventory of communion plate, given in to the persecutors by Paul, bishop of Cirta. There we find two gold cups, six silver cups, six silver water-pots, seven lamps, and some other things.

As to the ceremony of bowing towards the altar at the first entrance into the churches, Mr. Mede thinks there is no plain demonstration of it in the ancient writers, but some probability of such a custom derived from the Jews, who used to bow themselves down towards the mercy seat. It is certain, the Christians, both of the Greek and oriental churches, have time out of mind, and without any known beginning thereof used to bow towards the altar, repeating the words of the publican in the gospel, "God be merciful to me a sinner," as appears by the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, which custom not being founded on any known decree, or canon of a council, and being agreeable to the practice of the Jewish church, to which the Christians succeeded, may therefore fairly be supposed to have been derived to them from some very remote and ancient tradition.

The communion-table or altar in the primitive church, was placed at the upper end, not close to the wall, as it is at present, but at some little distance from it; so that the bishop's throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void space to encompass or go round it. And this is the meaning of Eusebius, who speaking of the church of Paulinus, says, "He set the holy of holies, the altar, in the middle," not in the middle of the nave, or body of the church, as some have misunderstood it; but in the middle of the bema, or sanctuary, at such a distance from the upper end, as that the seats of bishops and presbyters might be behind it. Dr. Hammond, and other learned men, think this position of the altar, in the Christian churches was in imitation of the altar of the Jewish temple, to which the psalmist alludes in those words, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thine altar."

At the beginning of the Reformation in England, a dispute arose, whether the communion-tables of the altar-fashion, which had been used in popish time, and on which masses had been celebrated, should be still continued. This occasioned a letter from the king and council of all the bishops, requiring them to pull down the altars; and, when the Liturgy was reviewed in 1551, the rubric was altered, and the priest was directed to stand on the north side, not on the altar as it was before, but of the table.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the Reform-

mation first received a civil establishment, then it was that our reformers displayed a considerable share of moderation. They appointed that the communion-table should be either in the church or chancel, but not a word concerning altars. In this manner things continued till the reign of Charles I. when one half of the people ran mad in favour of Puritanism, and the other half in favour of superstition. The love of ceremonies trampled over the love of truth, and opposition to government was considered as a virtue. It was at that time that Dr. Laud caused the Book of Sports to be published, by which people were permitted to play at all sorts of games after divine service on Sundays. This circumstance proved fatal at that time to the church of England, but affliction taught her leaders wisdom.

In 1634, Laud procured an order, that all those tables where the people communicated, should be removed from the middle of the church, and placed within rails on the east end of the chancel, and this was to be called the altar. It is impossible to describe all the confusions that took place on this occasion. The Puritan ministers, by their affected austerity, had gained on the minds of the people, who were become as much slaves to them as ever they had been to the popish priests. They said, that to set up altars, was the same as to set up popery, and as some of the clergy were more forward in this affair than others, so it occasioned many tumults, fomented by the Puritans, and laughed at by the papists.

At Grantham, in Lincolnshire, the vicar of the parish procured a piece of painting from one of the remains of an abbey, and had it placed within the altar. All his hearers were Puritans, and the setting up the painting drove them almost stark mad. And here it may be justly said in the words of a celebrated author, "There were fire and tow assembled." The vicar loved ceremonies, and the people hated them. A combination of the parishioners went to the church to demolish the altar, and the vicar to defend it. A stout battle ensued, in which the vicar, who seems to have been a man of courage, lifted a form upon his shoulder, and knocked down five or six of the assailants. The clergy who cannot teach people wisdom, should drive it into them.

Here was a fine opportunity for the papists to laugh at the simplicity and weakness of Laud, who, to use the words of bishop Burnet, "Drove all things into confusion." Ward, who wrote a book called England's Reformation, takes notice of this, when he says,

What mischiefs did in Kirks arise,  
By setting tables altar wise;  
How Grantham's vicar by the rabble,  
Was bang'd about the communion-table.



By the act of uniformity, none is to communicate in public, but at the altar, and they are to receive the elements kneeling. The ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament is observed by the Lutherans and the church of England, but not by any other Protestants that we know of. In this country, it has occasioned much contention, and a variety of disputes. This much is certain, that kneeling at the communion was not used in the primitive church till after the time of Constantine the Great. And yet there can be no harm in the ceremony, so as it is not used to superstition. It is certain, that the rubric has cautioned people against running into superstition, and perhaps to the liberal and enlarged in sentiment, it will be much the same whether they commemorate the death of their Redeemer kneeling or standing. In all things of an indifferent nature, people should be left to their own discretion; for where the conscience is once wounded, there can remain no peace of mind. Last of all, let us consider that this holy ordinance is a feast of charity, and was considered as such by the primitive Christians. With what great care then ought we to examine ourselves, whether we have any grudge or malice against our neighbours, for we ought not to go to the Lord's table with any besides those with whom we could wish to sit down in heaven.

Marriage, as in all other Protestant countries except one, must in England be performed by a clergyman. That marriage is in the law of nature a civil institution, is known to every historian, and the sentiment is established by all modern writers, who have treated of the laws of nature and nations. The Jewish marriages were civil contracts, attended with some innocent ceremonies, and the bishops, in the primitive ages of Christianity, never meddled with those things, their sole care being to prevail on the people to live in a state of chastity, according to the apostolical institution, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband."

We are not exactly certain as to the time when the Christian priests first claimed the privilege of marrying the people, all that we know is, that it was practised before the reign of the emperor Justinian, who lived in the sixth century. That emperor published an edict, forbidding any person to perform the ceremony of marriage except a clergyman.—To enforce the clerical power, he made this a principle in the pandects, and from that time till the time of the Reformation, it was an object of great emolument to the priests who performed the ceremony, and to the popes who assumed the power of setting aside marriages whenever they pleased.

At the Reformation, the Lutherans did not follow the popish rule of making a sacrament of marriage, but still they retained many of the ceremonies. In the church of England it is likewise declared not to

be a sacrament, but the privilege of performing it is still confined to the clergy; and by the marriage act 1754, there are several restrictions laid upon this bond of union, that where unknown before. This act has defeated its own intention, which was that of preventing young persons from marrying without the consent of their parents or guardians. Avarice inspired the sentiment, and pride supported its operations. By this act, destructive of the natural rights of the human race, dreadful enormities have been committed. Those who found they could not elude the force of it in England, made elopements to Scotland, where they were married without the consent of their parents; and these marriages are declared by the court of session, the supreme court of judicature in that part of the island to be legal; and this decision has been affirmed in the house of lords, from whose decree no appeal lies.

But as most of these matches were, and still are concluded in the heat of youthful unguarded passion, and as the parents frequently withdrew from them what was intended as a marriage portion, so poverty creates uneasiness, brings on a coldness between the parties, and they are seldom happy.—But this is not the worst effect of the act, it operates shockingly, and with a baneful influence on the morals of those in high life. Young ladies, being forced by their parents to enter into the marriage state with persons who have nothing to recommend them but money, are tempted to engage in unlawful pleasures, and to this is owing the vast number of divorces that have taken place in this country.—Indeed, these have been multiplied so much of late years that the lower classes of people, copying the example of their superiors, have as it were laughed at all moral obligation, and endeavoured to unhinge the basis of human society. The evil has spread far and wide, and we should not have been so explicit on it, had it not been learnedly animadverted upon, by some of the members of both houses of parliament, who are in their private and public characters, an ornament to human society. Methods have been proposed to put a stop to the growing evil, but they have all met with violent opposition, and where it will end God only knows.

The church of England, though she does not consider marriage as a sacrament, yet looks upon it as an institution so sacred, that it ought always to be celebrated by an ecclesiastical person. And by several canons of our church, it is declared to be no less than prostituting one's daughter, to give her in marriage without the blessing of the priest. But marriages without this sanction are not, therefore, null and void, for, though the positive law of man ordains marriage to be made by a priest, that law only makes marriages otherwise solemnized, irregular, but does not dissolve them.

There is no canon, or custom of this realm, which prohibits marriages to be solemnized at any time. The ecclesiastical courts, it is true, pretend, that a licence is necessary, to empower persons to marry, during such times as are said to be prohibited, viz. from Advent-Sunday, to the Octave of the Epiphany inclusive; from Septuagesima-Sunday, till the Sunday after Easter inclusive; and from the first of the Rogation-days, that is, the Monday before Ascension-day, till the day before Trinity-Sunday inclusive. During these pretended prohibited times, they allow no person to marry by banns only, as at other times of the year.

For better security against clandestine marriages, the church orders, that all marriages be celebrated in the day time. By the LXIII<sup>d</sup> canon, they are ordered to be performed in time of divine service; but that practice is now almost, by universal consent, laid aside and discontinued. The canonical hours for celebrating matrimony are, from eight to twelve in the forenoon. Formerly it was required, that the bridegroom and bride should be fasting, when they made their matrimonial vow; by which means they were secured from being made incapable, by drink, of acting decently and discreetly in so weighty an affair.

The impediments to marriage are specified in the 102<sup>d</sup> canon of our church, and are these: 1. A preceding marriage, or contract, or any controversy or suit depending upon the same. 2. Consanguinity or affinity. 3. Want of the consent of parents or guardians. In Henry VIII<sup>th</sup>'s time, an act was passed, that marriages, solemnized and consummated, should stand good, notwithstanding any precontract, that had not been consummated. But this was done only to gratify the king: and therefore, in the next reign, this act was repealed. As to the impediment of consanguinity or affinity, there is a table of prohibited degrees drawn up by archbishop Parker, and set forth by authority in 1563.

There is one objection that has been made to the ceremony of marriage in the church of England, and that is the use of the ring. Among the ancient heathens the ring was considered as an emblem of eternity, because a ring has no end. We find several instances of this in ancient history, particularly among the Egyptians, and it was to please the heathens that the Christian clergy, about the latter end of the sixth century, adopted the ceremony. From that time till the Reformation it was kept up; but in the Greek church, the parties in marriage exchange rings with each other, so that both husband and wife has one each. At the Reformation, it was retained by the Lutherans, and by the church of England, but all other Protestant churches exploded it. However, as the English Dissenters are all obliged to marry in the church, they use the ring in

common with others, except the *Friends*, vulgarly called Quakers, who never make use of it. All we have to say concerning this dispute, is, that we do not think it worth the mentioning, nor a subject of serious enquiry. If women will have husbands, no doubt but they will accept of the ring along with the male partner; for as Mr. Gray says,

"What female heart's averse to gold."

It puts us in mind of what Cartwright, the Puritan minister said, when being asked what objections he had to a square hat, answered, that his head was not square. There are some other religious disputes which might be terminated in the same manner.

We are here obliged to take notice of another objection made by several persons, and that is against the following words, "With my body I thee worship." This was a dreadful bugbear to some enthusiasts in the last century, who did not understand what the word worship pointed out. They imagined that worship and divine service were synonymous terms. Now the simple meaning of the expression is, that as the Christian dedicates himself wholly to God, so the man who enters into the marriage state should consider, that he is so connected with his wife, as not to have any thing to do with harlots.

As marriage is necessary on many accounts, and as it is one of the ordinances appointed to be observed in the church, so it ought to be attended to with great care; nor was it ever despised but by libertines. The comforts of society, the mutual assistance that the one sex should give to the other, the propagation of the human species, the care of bringing up children, and industry of providing for them, are all included under this name. The debauchee may enjoy a temporary pleasure, attended with a severe repentance; the virtuous man who is married knows the sweets of human life. If he is afflicted, he has a helpmate to sympathize with him; if he is in a state of prosperity, then she will partake of his comforts. Their children will grow up together as ornaments of human society, as saints prepared for heaven, and on a death-bed it will be their consolation that they have not lived in vain.

We cannot conclude this article better than in the words of Milton, the greatest poet perhaps that ever lived in the world, next to the inspired writers.

    Hail, wedded love! mysterious law! true source  
    Of human offspring! sole propriety  
In paradise, of all things common else!  
By thee adulterous lust was driven from man,  
Among the bestial herds to range: by thee,  
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,  
Relations dear, and the charities

Of father, son, and brother, first were known;  
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets!  
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights  
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings:  
 Here reigns and revels: not in the bought smile  
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,  
 Casual fruition; nor in court-amours,  
 Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,  
 Or serenade, which the starv'd lover sings  
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.

The next thing to be considered is, the visitation of the sick, a duty which hath been attended to amongst all ranks and denominations of Christians, and it points out a fixed belief of eternity; for what occasion would there be to visit the sick, if there was not a belief of an awful change taking place soon afterwards. We know but of one objection that has been made to the office for the visitation of the sick, and that is, the absolution. Undoubtedly there are here some words that might have been more clearly expressed, so as to remove all sorts of doubt, and to extinguish ambiguity; but where is perfection to be found in human things? It appears by the rubric, that the minister is to pronounce this absolution in consequence of a firm persuasion that the sick man is a real penitent; and as he does it by the authority of Christ, consequently we should imagine that no real Protestant would consider it in an improper light. We are loath to enter into disputes of that nature; but this much is certain, that absolution to sick persons was very early used in the church, even before the time of Constantine the Great; but if it was turned to superstition afterwards, we are not to answer for it, being convinced that the church of England gives no encouragement to it, unless a few simple words can be construed to that purpose.

The burial of the dead naturally follows the visitation of the sick, and the rubric enjoins that it shall not be used for any that die unbaptised or excommunicated, or who have laid violent hands on themselves. These words of the rubric have occasioned much controversy; for first, it supposes, or at least insinuates, that those who die unbaptised cannot be saved. This notion was never embraced in the Christian church till the tenth century, when it was established into a law by the council St. John de Lateran. Secondly, as to persons excommunicated in the church of England, they may be so for civil offences, and to deny them Christian burial, according to the rites of their own church, is joining civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction together. Lastly, as to those who have laid violent hands on themselves, the general practice of this country has set aside the barbarity of the rubric. Inquests generally set aside common homicides, because it is imagined

that none would put an end to their lives, unless they were madmen. To despise life, indicates a privation of judgment, and therefore we generally find that our inquests return their verdicts *Lunacy*. However, this is not all, the sentiment arises according to the sense of the rubric, from a belief that those who lay violent hands on themselves can have no time to repent, and consequently are lost for ever.

That self-murder is a horrid crime is not to be disputed, and God forbid that we should stand up in defence of it; but then who is to limit Divine Omnipotence? Mr. Clark repeats a story, which although perhaps not true, yet it may serve to point out the sentiments of a charitable Christian.

A very profane man riding one day on horse back, fell and was killed in the very act of swearing. That his soul was gone to hell most people believed, and yet a bye-stander declared he heard a voice utter the following words:—

Betwixt the saddle and the ground,  
 Mercy was sought, and mercy found.

We mention this, not as a real fact, but only to point out what are frequently the sentiments of men on such a subject. Great caution should be used in forming notions of the state of our departed friends. God has ways to govern the exertions of his glorious attributes, with which we are utterly unacquainted; and to acknowledge our ignorance is the sure way to attain to wisdom.

There is, however, another objection to this ceremony, which has been frequently made by the Dissenters, and that arises from the repetition of the words, "In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life." By a sure and certain hope can only be meant a well grounded hope, and that is such an hope as is founded upon rational principles. Therefore, if there is any ambiguity in the expression, it does not seem to arise from superstition in our reformers, but rather from a charitable principle.

The next ceremony in the church of England is, that of returning thanks to the great God of nature and providence, for delivering women in child-birth. This practice is attended to in one form or other by all the Protestant churches we know of, whether established by law, or Dissenters. And can any thing in the world be more just? Natural religion points out that we should return thanks to God for every favour we receive from him, and Christianity enforces the duty by the most solemn sanctions.—Our gratitude should at least be, as far as lays in our power, proportioned to the benefits we have received; and what sufferings in this life can be compared with those of a woman who goes through the pains of child-bearing? And, if the affliction is so great,



if there is a living mother, and what is still more, a living child? How cheerfully should those concerned go into the house of God, and acknowledge the obligation they are under to him. So far as we know, there has never yet been any exception made to a single passage in this office, by any of our Dissenting brethren. It follows the practice of the Jewish church, in which they were to offer a turtle-dove, or two young pigeons; but Christianity requires the sacrifice of the heart.

The commination, the last ceremony to be taken notice of, has its rise from a practice in the ancient church, when the bishop, or in his absence, any other lawful minister, declared, that those who had not repented of gross sins or immoralities, should not presume to come to the Lord's table. That such a practice existed in the primitive church, is acknowledged in the rubric to this office. The whole ceremony is plain and simple, and the man who is conscious of his guilt, may freely acknowledge himself as cursed in the sight of God for the sins he has committed, without losing hopes of the divine favour, which no doubt will be communicated to him in consequence of his accepting of salvation, according to the terms offered in the gospel.

Such is the public service of the church of England, and, perhaps, upon a dispassionate inquiry, it will be found that very few exceptions in the eye of reason can be made to it. There can be no criticising, however, in these affairs, so that we must speak with candour, concerning all those who differ from us.

The next thing to be considered in the church of England is, her government, which is different from all other Protestant churches in the world. She is the same in her discipline, and both these must be explained to the reader.

England is governed in ecclesiastical matters by two archbishops, and twenty-four bishops, and under these, by deans of cathedrals, arch-deacons, rectors, and vicars of parishes; all which must be properly attended to, especially as we must soon take notice of Calvinism and the church of Scotland.

Though bishops, in the primitive church, were all vested with the same office, yet as Christianity increased, it was found necessary to enlarge the episcopal power; therefore, as before, there was commonly a bishop placed in every great city, so now, in every metropolis, as the Romans called it, or mother city, of every province, wherein were courts of civil judicature, there was a metropolitan or archbishop, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the bishops of that province. His jurisdiction consisted in ordaining, or ratifying the elections and ordinations of all other bishops; and once a year he was to summon them all to a synod, in which he

presided, to inquire into their conduct, to censure with suspension, or deprivation, and to hear and determine causes between contending bishops.

Dr. Bingham is of opinion, that archbishop was originally but another name for patriarch; though in process of time their jurisdiction became distinct.

The first establishment of archbishoprics in England, if we may credit Bede, one of the most ancient writers of the English nation, was in the time of Lucius, said to be the first Christian king of England; who, after the conversion of his subjects, erected three archbishoprics, at London, York, and Landaff, then called Caerleon. The dignity of archbishop continued in the see of London 185 years, till, in the time of the Saxons, it was translated to Canterbury, where it has continued ever since, and York remains a metropolitanical see to this day.

Augustin, the monk, who was sent by pope Gregory, to convert the English nation, in the reign of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was the first bishop of Canterbury; but Theodore, the sixth in succession after him, was the first archbishop of that see. The archbishops of Canterbury had anciently the primacy not only over England, but Ireland also, and all the bishops of the latter were consecrated by him. He was styled by pope Urban II. "Alterius Orbis Papa;" he had a perpetual legantine power annexed to his archbishopric; he had some marks of royalty, such as the power of coining money, &c. Since the Reformation, he is styled Primate and Metropolitan of all England: archbishop Cranmer was the first who bore this title. As to precedence, there have been ancient contests about it, as also about the oath of canonical obedience, between the two archiepiscopal sees. Some antiquaries will have it, that the archbishop of York was originally primate of the British church; for London never was a Roman colony, or the seat of the Roman emperors, as York was, where both Severus and Constantius Chlorus lived and died, and where Constantine the Great was born; and from hence they infer, that, where the emperors resided, that was the most likely place to have pre-eminence above the rest. However it be, in the reign of Henry I. William Corbel, archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from the pope the character of legate, by which he secured to himself a superiority over the see of York, which he visited *Jure Legationis*. But after his death, the contest still continued. For we find, that in the reign of Henry II. a synod being called at Westminster by the pope's legate, the archbishop of Canterbury coming first, seated himself at the right hand of the legate; but York coming afterwards, refused to take the seat on the left hand, and demanded Canterbury's place,

which the latter refusing, York sat down in his lap. This occasioned the synod to break up in disorder, and both parties appealing to the pope, the contest was decided in favour of the see of Canterbury, which enjoys the precedence to this day.

The privileges of the archbishop of Canterbury are, among others, to crown the kings of England; to have prelates for his officers; as the bishop of London his provincial dean; the bishop of Winchester his chancellor; the bishop of Lincoln his vice-chancellor; the bishop of Salisbury his precentor; the bishop of Worcester his chaplain; and the bishop of Rochester his crosser bearer; which last office, since the times of popery has ceased. He is also the first peer of England, next to the royal family.

The archbishop of Canterbury hath the supreme government of ecclesiastical matters, next under the king. Upon the death of any suffragan bishop, the custody of his see devolves upon the archbishop; he hath a power of censuring any bishop in his province; he hath an ancient right to preside in all provincial councils of his suffragans, which formerly were held once a year, but have been discontinued a long time; so that his power of examining things throughout his province is devolved to his courts; of which he holds several, as the court of arches, prerogative-court, court of peculiars, &c. and he has the probate of wills.

As to the archbishop of York, he is now styled primate and metropolitan of England, and takes place of all peers, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord Chancellor. He had originally the primacy, not only over twelve English sees, but also over all the bishoprics of Scotland. But Scotland has disowned his prerogative many years since, and the archbishopric itself hath swallowed up several smaller and more inconsiderable bishoprics; so that the whole province is now reduced to four sees; Durham, Chester, Carlisle, and Man.

Scotland, whilst episcopacy prevailed in that country, had two archbishoprics; viz. of St. Andrews and Glasgow; the former of whom was primate of Scotland.

Wales also anciently boasted of an archbishop, whose see, as has been observed, was established at Caerleon; and was afterwards translated to St. David's. But the plague raging very much in that country, the archiepiscopal see was again removed to Doll in Bretagne; where this dignity ended.—Notwithstanding which, in after ages, the Britons or Welsh, commenced an action, on that account, against the archbishop of Canterbury, but were cast.

Ireland has four archbishops: of Armagh, Dub-

lin, Cassil, and Tuam, of whom the archbishop of Armagh is primate of all Ireland.

The earliest account we have of British bishops, is carried up no higher than the council of Arles, assembled by the emperor Constantine, in the fourth century; at which were present the bishops of London, York, and Caerleon.

Before the Norman conquests, bishops were chosen by the chapters, whether monks or prebendaries. From the conqueror's time to the reign of king John, it was the custom to chuse bishops at a public meeting of the bishops and barons, the king himself being present at the solemnity, who claimed a right of investing the bishops by delivering to them the ring and the pastoral staff. It is true, the popes endeavoured to gain the election of bishops to themselves; and this occasioned great struggles and contests between the Roman pontiffs and our kings. At length, after various disputes between king John and the pope, the former by his charter A. D. 1215, granted the right of election to the cathedral churches. A statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. settles the election of bishops as follows:

"The king upon the vacancy of the see, was to send his Conge d'eslire to the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, and in case they delayed the election above twelve days, the crown was empowered to nominate the person by letters patent.—And, after the bishop thus elected, had taken an oath of fealty to the king, his majesty, by his letters patent under the broad seal, signified the election to the archbishop, with orders to confirm it and consecrate the elect. And lastly, if the person assigned to elect and consecrate, deferred the performing their respective offices twenty days, they were to incur a *præmunire*." But a statute of Edward VI. made a change in the manner of electing bishops, and transferred the choice wholly from the deans and chapters to the crown. The preamble in the first place alleges the inconveniences of the former manner of electing; from the circumstances of delay and expence. After which it is said in the preamble, "that the said elections are in every deed no elections, but only by a writ of *conge d'eslire* have colours, shadows, and pretences of election: that they serve to no purpose, and seem derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, to whom only appertains the collation of gift of all archbishoprics and bishoprics, and suffragan bishops, within his highness's dominions." This statute therefore enacts, that "for the future no *conge d'eslire* shall be granted, nor any election be made by the dean and chapter, but that the archbishopric or bishopric shall be conferred by the king's nomination in his letters patent." But this alteration made

by the statute of king Edward, is no longer in force, and the custom of sending down the *congé d'eslire* is restored.

Upon the vacancy of a bishop's see, the king grants a license, under the great seal, to the dean and chapter, to elect the person whom by his letters missive he hath appointed; and they are to chuse no other. The dean and chapter, having made their election accordingly, certify it under their common seal to the king, and to the archbishop of the province, and to the bishop thus elected; then the king gives his royal assent under the great seal, directed to the archbishop, commanding him to confirm and consecrate the bishop thus elected. The archbishop then subscribes his fiat confirmatio, and grants a commission to the vicar general to perform all the acts requisite thereto; who thereupon issues out a summons to all persons who may object to the election, to appear, &c. which citation is affixed on the door of Bow church. At the time and place appointed, the proctor for the dean and chapter exhibits the royal assent, and the commission of the archbishop, which are both read, and accepted by the vicar general. Then the new bishop is presented by the proctor to the vicar general: and, three proclamations being made for the opposers of the election to appear, and none appearing, the vicar general confirms and ratifies the choice of the person elected, who takes the oaths of supremacy, canonical obedience, and that against simony.

Till this act of confirmation is performed, the bishop elect may be rejected, because there may be reasons assigned why he should not be made a bishop; which is the reason of the above-mentioned citations and proclamations.

After confirmation, the next thing to be done is consecration; which the archbishop performs by the imposition of hands and prayer, according to the form laid down in the Common Prayer Book.—Which done, the bishop is complete as well in relation to spiritualities as temporalities. Justice Dodridge, in his argument of Evans and Ascue's case, says, there is a spiritual marriage between the bishop and his church, which is begun by election, contracted by confirmation, and consummated by consecration.

A bishop of England is a peer of the realm, and, as such, sits and votes in the house of lords. He is a baron in a three-fold manner, viz. Feudal, in regard of the temporalities annexed to his bishopric; by writ, as being summoned by writ to parliament; and by patent and creation. Accordingly he has the precedence of all other barons, and votes as baron and bishop. But though their peerage never was denied, it has been contested whether the bishops have a right to vote in criminal matters. This right was disputed as early as the reign of Henry II. and

we find this decision of the controversy; archbishops, bishops, &c. in like manner as the rest of the barons, ought to be present at the judgments in the king's courts until it come to diminution of members, or to death.

The reason which the canonist give, why bishops should not be present in cases of blood is, because they contract an irregularity thereby. Yet archbishop Cranmer, being one of the privy-council to Edward VI. signed the warrant for the execution of Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral of England. And the archbishop of Canterbury was the first in commission at the trial of Mary queen of Scots.—And, in the earl of Strafford's case, in the reign of Charles I. when Williams archbishop of York, declared his opinion, that the bishops ought not to be present at the passing of the act of attainder, it was looked upon as betraying a fundamental right of the whole order. At present, the bishops have their vote in the trial and arraignment of a peer; but, before sentence of death is passed, they withdraw, and vote by their proxy.

The jurisdiction of a bishop, in England, consists in collating to benefices; granting institutions on the presentation of other patrons; commanding induction; taking care of the profits of vacant benefices for the use of the successors; visiting his diocese once in three years; in suspending, depriving, degrading, and excommunicating; in granting administrations, and taking care of the probate of wills: these parts of his function depend on the ecclesiastical law. By the common law, he is to certify the judges touching legitimate and illegitimate births and marriages. And to this jurisdiction, by the statute law, belongs the licensing of physicians, chirurgeons, school-masters; and the uniting small parishes: which last privilege is now peculiar to the bishop of Norwich.

The bishops' courts have this privilege above the civil courts, that writs are issued out from them in the name of the bishop himself, and not in the king's name, as in other courts. The judge of the bishop's court is his chancellor, anciently called *Ecclesiasticus Causidicus*, the Church Lawyer.

The bishops of Scotland anciently exercised their episcopal functions wherever they were, there being no distinct dioceses in that kingdom till the reign of Malcolm-III. about the year 1070. Whilst episcopacy prevailed in that kingdom, the form of church government stood thus: In every parish the cognizance of some offences belonged to the cession, a judicature where the minister presided *ex officio*.—But, if the case proved too intricate, it was referred to the presbytery, a superior judicature consisting of a certain number of ministers, between twelve and twenty. The moderator of this assembly was named by the bishop. Above all, was the convocation, in



which the archbishop of St. Andrews presided.— And, besides these, every bishop, for the causes of testaments, &c. had his official or commissary, who was judge of that court within the diocese. The bishops of that kingdom were likewise lords of parliament.

In the reign of Henry II. A. D. 1177, the Scotch bishops and abbots obliged themselves by oath to own the archbishop of York for their metropolitan, and consented that their successors should repair to York for consecration. But in the reign of Edward IV. A. D. 1471, the pope made the church of Scotland independent of the see of York, induced to it by complaint of bishop Graham, that, when England and Scotland were upon terms of hostility, the Scotch bishops had no opportunity of having recourse to their metropolitan, and bringing appeals to him.

The ecclesiastical government of Ireland hath been from ancient time by bishops, consecrated either by the archbishop of Canterbury, or by one another. But in the year 1152, as we find in Philip of Flattebury, “Christianus, bishop of Lisimore, legate of all Ireland, held a famous council at Meath, where were present the bishops, abbots, princes, dukes, and magistrates of Ireland; and there, by authority of the pope, with advice of the cardinals, and consent of the bishops, abbots, and others, there met together, four archbishops were established in Ireland, Armagh, Dublin, Cassil, and Tuam.”

The bishop of the Isle of Man is a baron of the Isle. He has this peculiar privilege, that, if any of his tenants be guilty of a capital crime, and is to be tried for his life, the bishop's steward may demand him from the lord's bar, and try him in the bishop's court, by a jury of his own tenants; and, in case of conviction, his lands are forfeited to the bishop. When the bishopric is vacant, the lord of the Isle nominates a person, and presents him to the king of England for his royal assent, and then to the archbishop of York to be consecrated. After which he becomes subject to him as his metropolitan.

The next officer to the bishop in precedence, is the dean, who, with great propriety, may be called the master of the cathedral, or president of the chapter. His office is just what the deacon's was in the ancient church, for his duty is to govern every thing of a domestic nature belonging to the cathedral. He sits as president among the canons and prebendaries. His name is first mentioned in all leases granted by the chapter, and in the king's writs, which are directed for the election of a bishop.— They are frequently advanced to bishoprics, or at least their office is considered as leading to it.

As there are two foundations of cathedral churches in England, the old and the new, the new erected by Henry VIII. so there are two ways of creating

deans. Those of the old foundation, as the deans of St. Paul's, York, &c. are raised to that dignity, much after the same manner as bishops; the king first sending his warrant, the chapter electing, and the king confirming the election. Those of the new foundation, whose deaneries were raised upon the ruins of priories and convents, such as the deans of Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Winchester, &c. are donative, and installed by a shorter course, namely, by the king's letters patent, without any election or confirmation.

There are cathedral churches that never had a dean, and in which the bishop is head of the chapter, and in his absence, the archdeacon; such are the cathedrals of St. David and Landaff. There are also deans without a chapter; such as the dean of Battle in Sussex: and there are deans without a jurisdiction; as the dean of the chapel royal, &c. A dean, without a chapter, has a jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical matters, arising in the several parishes within his peculiar. Rural deans, who, originally, exercised jurisdiction over deaneries, and afterwards became only the bishop's substitutes, to grant letters of administration, probate of wills, &c. are now quite laid aside, and their office is lost in that of the archdeacons and chancellors.

A dean and chapter are the bishop's council, to assist him in the affairs of religion, and to assent to every grant, which the bishop shall make to bind his successors; and as a deanery is a spiritual dignity, a man cannot be a dean and prebendary of the same church.

Though ecclesiastical bodies, in cathedrals, are very ancient in England, yet it does not appear, that they had any jurisdiction peculiar to themselves during the Saxon times. Sir Edward Coke says, there were chapters, as the bishop's council, before they had distinct possessions, and that the bishops parted with some of their possessions to them, and so became patrons of the prebends of the church.

In the reign of king Charles I. a remonstrance was presented to the parliament, by the Presbyterian party, setting forth the great revenues, and the little use of deans and chapters. And, the same year, so fatal to episcopacy and the hierarchy, the commons voted, that all deans, deans and chapters, prebendaries, canons, &c. should be abolished, and their lands employed to the advancement of learning and piety.

The next officer in the church of England is, the archdeacon, and he may be called the bishop's vicar or substitute, as he acts great part of what was the duty of the bishops formerly; and though archdeacons, in these last ages of the church, have usually been of the order of presbyters, or priests, yet anciently they were no more than deacons; as the name imports. But how the archdeacon came by

his honour, and after what manner he was invested, is a matter of some dispute among learned men.—Salmatius, and some others, are of opinion, that originally he was no more than the senior deacon. Others think, the dignity was always elective, and in the breast of the bishop: and St. Jerome plainly asserts, that the office went not by seniority, but by election.

The office of archdeacon was always a place of great honour and reputation; for he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; by which means he commonly gained such an interest, as to get himself chosen before the presbyters, to succeed the bishop. His business was, 1. To attend the bishop at the altar, and to administer the cup, when the bishop celebrated the eucharist. He was to order all things relating to the inferior clergy, such as to appoint readers, acolythists, subdeacons, &c. 2. He was to assist the bishop in managing the church revenues assigning their several portions to the poor, orphans, &c. Upon which account, Prudentius, describing the office of St. Laurence, whom he makes to be archdeacon of Rome, among other things, assigns him the keys of the church's treasure, and the care of dispensing the oblations of the people: and he introduces the heathen persecutor demanding of him those treasures, which he promising to do, in a short time brought before him the poor, the lame, the blind, and the infirm, telling him, those were the riches, which he had in his custody. 3. Another part of his office was to assist the bishop in preaching, and in ordaining the inferior clergy. 4. He was also invested with the power of censuring deacons, the inferior clergy, but not presbyters. 5. As to his jurisdiction, it will admit of a dispute, whether it originally extended over the whole diocese, or was confined to the city or mother church. In the middle ages of the church, there is no question but his power extended over the whole diocese. 6. Valesius observes, that the archdeacons were also called Cor-Episcopi. This may seem at first only a corruption of the Chorepiscopus, because, in latter ages, the power of the ancient Chorepiscopi dwindled into that of the archdeacons. But when it is considered, that the deacons anciently were called the bishop's eyes, ears, mouth, or heart, it will appear very probable, that the archdeacon was called by way of eminence, Cor-Episcopi, i. e. the bishop's heart.

How long this office has existed in England, cannot well be known; but probably long before the Norman conquest. At present there are sixty of them, because some bishoprics being large, it is necessary there should be in them more than one. The office is not altogether a sinecure, but it is not much unlike it, and sometimes we find the bishop of a diocese acting the part of archdeacon in ano-

ther. It does not prevent them from holding other livings, even at present, nor is a dispensation necessary. Some of them have been advanced to bishoprics, without having any other dignity in the church; and at present they are to summon the clergy to meet them at some particular place, where they hear a sermon, and deliver a charge. On these occasions a free gift is bestowed upon the archdeacon, and he makes presentations either to the bishop or the spiritual court of every thing he finds anis. It is his duty to examine candidates for the ministry. This part of his duty, however, generally devolves on the bishop's chaplain.

The rectors and vicars of parishes are the next to be considered. The rectors are those who have the whole emoluments of the livings without any deductions. On the other hand, the vicars are such as whose livings were either subject to cathedrals, or to religious convents. Many of both are presented by the king, and others by the lords of manors. By the constitution of the church of England, no clergyman, who is an incumbent, and has the tithes, is obliged to preach more than one sermon on Sunday; but prayers are to be read in the afternoon. This was the reason why a new order of the clergy took place about the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and these were called lecturers. They were at that time mostly composed of Puritan ministers, who scrupled to read the prayers, on account of the ceremonies. They were men of sour tempers, full of austerity, excessively proud, and continually abusing such of the bishops as were fond of ceremonies. Their followers were among the lower orders of the people, over whom they exercised an unlimited power. Many of the ladies, however, were their adherents, and the noblemen, disaffected to government, took them into their families, as tutors to their children.

When Dr. Laud was advanced to the see of Canterbury, he resolved to change many things in the Protestant church of England, and he began with putting an end to the lectureships. Nothing could have been more iniquitous, for the people paid for the lecturer, who was not provided for them by law.

At the restoration, 1660, lectureships were restored, and they have continued on the same footing ever since. And here it is necessary to observe, that as these lecturers are paid by the people of the parish, so their choice or election falls on the housekeepers in general. They have no right to demand any thing; but we hope there are few men of piety, whether churchmen or Dissenters, who will refuse them so small a pittance,—especially as they discharge their duty, trusting in the benevolence of the parish.

There is one complaint, frequently made by the



parishioners against the ministers of their parishes, and that is, that although they pay their lecturers, yet the incumbent can at any time refuse him the pulpit. That the incumbent has a right to do so by law cannot be disputed; but it has been considered as extremely hard, by several well-meaning pious men, that as the law has made no provision for sermons in the afternoon, so when the people are willing to pay a preacher, it is rather cruel to hinder them.

It is undoubtedly the duty of the rector of every parish to deny his pulpit to a man of scandalous life, whose character has been blackened by the most enormous crimes; but we really believe, the people seldom, if ever chuse such persons, but quite the reverse. Some small difference in sentiment should not induce the minister of a parish to disoblige his people; for in such cases he will be little esteemed by them; and if preachers are not esteemed, their public ministrations will have but little effect on the hearers. We cannot comprehend every thing, but in all religious disputes, we ought to take care that the people may not be confused in their notions, because confusion in these matters generally leads them to Deism.

The last order of the clergy, and such as have no benefices annexed to their titles, are the chaplains, and these by statute, 21 Henry VIII. are to be kept by particular persons. The act, however, contracts the number in the following manner:—An archbishop is allowed to have eight; a duke, six; a dutchess, two, besides the six her husband has, and she has a right to retain two after she is a widow, and although she should marry again; a marquis is allowed five; and an earl the same number; the lord Almoner, two; a viscount, four; a baron, three; the widows of viscounts and barons, two each; a bishop three; the chancellor, six; chief justice, one; clerk of the closet, two; master of the rolls, two; comptroller of the household, two; dean of the chapel, two; a knight of the garter, three; secretary of state, two; treasurer of the household, two; and the wardens of the cinque ports, one. By 25 of Henry VIII. every judge of the king's bench, and common-pleas, the chief baron of the exchequer, the king's attorney, and solicitor general, is permitted to retain one chaplain, who shall be attendant on his person, and may have one benefice without being resident on it. And by statute 33 of the same king, the groom of the stole, the treasurer of the king's chamber, and the chancellor of the duchy, are allowed to retain one chaplain each.

Before we conclude this account of the church of England, it is necessary we should say a few words concerning the convocation; for although that court has never been permitted to do any business during the last sixty years, yet it still meets on the second

day of every session of parliament. It is an assembly of the clergy of England, by their representatives, to consult of ecclesiastical matters, and consists, like parliament, of an upper and lower house. In the upper house, all the archbishops and bishops sit, and in the lower, the inferior clergy, who are represented by their proctors; consisting of all the deans and archdeacons, of one proctor for every chapter, and two for the clergy of every diocese, in all one hundred and forty-three divines, viz.—twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four prebends, and forty-four proctors of the diocesan clergy. The lower house chuses its prolocutor, or speaker, and presents him to the archbishops and bishops of the upper house. His business is to take care that the members attend, to collect their debates and votes, and to carry their resolutions to the upper house.

The lower house of convocation was formerly called together by two distinct writs. The first was the parliamentary, or king's writ, to the bishops of every diocese, summoning them to parliament, with a clause in it, requiring each chapter to send one of their body, and the clergy of each diocese two proctors, to represent them in parliament; and whence some have been of opinion, that the clergy sat, together with the laity, in parliament, till the reign of Henry VIII. when they fell under a prerogative, by submitting to Cardinal Wolsey's legate power, and forfeited their seats there. It is certain, the lower house of convocation, in the next reign, apprehended they had a right to sit in parliament, and therefore petitioned the upper house to intercede with the king and protector, that they might be restored to the same. This was again attempted in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and in that of king James I. but still without success.

The second writ by which the clergy were assembled together, was called the provincial writ. By the first writ, they were a mere state convention, and not a church synod; and the intent of their meeting was, to consult about their civil rights, and to grant a portion of their estates towards the support of the government. But, the clergy not looking upon themselves as obliged to obey this lay summons, archbishop Winchelsea prevailed with king Edward II. to discharge them from it; and from that time, when the king issued his parliamentary writ to the bishops, he sent another to the archbishop, to summon all his provincial bishops to the convocation.—This second writ was to secure their obedience to the former, and to make the assembly more canonical, as meeting by virtue of a summons from their archbishop. This writ is now ordered by the lord chancellor, and transmitted by him to the archbishop of Canterbury, who issues thereupon his mandate to the bishop of London, as dean of his province.



The clergy, assembled in convocation, had the power of giving away their own money, and taxing themselves; a power which they continued to exercise from the Reformation till the 15th year of Charles II. from which time they receded from that customary right, and were for that reason discharged from two of the four subsidies given by themselves, and then in arrear; and it was for this reason, that from the time before-mentioned, the rectors and vicars, who were to be taxed for their spiritual preferments, were allowed to vote in elections for knights of the shire, that they might still be virtually taxed by themselves.

The power of the convocation is limited by a statute of king Henry VIII. They are not to make any canons or ecclesiastical laws without the king's licence, nor, when permitted to make any, can they put them in execution but under these restrictions:—

1. Such canons must not be contrary to the king's prerogative.
2. They must not contradict any statute, or the common law.
3. Nor must they alter any known custom of the realm.

They have the examining and censuring all heretical and schismatical books, persons, &c. but there lies an appeal to the king in chancery, or to his delegates. The clergy in convocation, and their servants, have the same privileges as members of parliament.

The reason why the convocation is not permitted to sit, was originally owing to the unhappy disputes that began after the Revolution, between the high-church party and those who favoured moderation.—In the latter end of queen Anne's reign, these disputes were not only carried on with an unbecoming heat, but some of the disputants went almost stark mad. Mr. Dodwell wrote a book to prove, that the human soul is mortal, but becomes immortal by baptism, so as the ceremony is performed by those ministers who have received episcopal ordination.—This book was levelled against the Dissenters, but it was answered by the churchmen. Dr. Atterbury attempted to prove that the convocation had a power equal to that of the parliament, but he was learnedly answered by Nicholson, bishop of Carlisle. And Dr. Sacheverell did not content himself with giving all the Dissenters to the devil, he actually called all those of his own brethren hypocrites, who were not equally violent with himself. The whole nation was in a flame, the people were driven to a state of religious insanity, the Dissenters had their meetings pulled down, and the moderate part of the clergy were in danger of sharing the same fate.

This occasioned the making the riot act, and

such was the madness of the people, that a club of high-churchmen in a public-house, went to another public-house in Salisbury-court, where there was a club of low-church, or moderate men, and pulled the house down to the ground. For this offence, some of the rioters suffered death, and of course their families were ruined.

The learned Dr. Hoadly represented to his majesty George I. that such tumults would never cease while the convocation was permitted to do business, because their disputes tended to inflame the minds of the people. These things having been taken into consideration, it was resolved on in council, that the convocation should be still summoned to meet, but on the day of their meeting they should be adjourned.

We have been the more explicit concerning these matters, because we could wish the reader to know as much as possible.

The last thing to be treated of is, the discipline of the church of England, or the means by which good order is kept up, and delinquents punished.

In all civil establishments of religion, there must be a power lodged somewhere, and in general this is vested in the clergy, except in the church of England, where the proceedings against offenders are carried on, in what is called the bishop's, or spiritual court. The proceedings in these courts are carried on by the bishop's chancellor, who is generally a doctor of the civil law; but if he happens to be a clergyman, he gets another to act for him, who is called his official. Adultery, blasphemy, refusing to pay tithes, traducing the characters of their neighbours, together with many other gross immoralities, are cognizable in this court.

The proceedings begin by citation, which issues from the court, and is delivered by an officer called Aparitor. If the person who receives the summons, treats the order with contempt, then he is liable to be excommunicated, and he can be arrested for the plaintiff's costs. And even supposing he should be able to pay the bill of costs, yet he cannot get admitted into the church again without doing penance. Excommunicated persons are much in the same condition as if they had been proscribed.—They cannot have their children baptized; they cannot be admitted to the communion; they cannot sue in any action in law, so as to obtain property; they cannot be admitted to swear as evidences in a court of justice; they cannot marry;—and, in a word, the sentence is dreadful, for it even denies the excommunicated person the common rights of Christian burial. The proceedings in these courts are very expensive, and it is dangerous to be concerned in them; but they are calculated to teach people not to offend.

The public examination of the children is a us-

cessary part of the discipline of the church of England, and it is much to be wished that it was more attended to than it is.

The catechism of the church of England is drawn up, after the primitive manner, by way of question and answer. Originally it consisted of no more than repetition of the baptismal vow, the creed, and the Lord's prayer: but king James I. ordered the bishops to add to it a short and plain explanation of the sacraments; which was accordingly performed by bishop Overall, then dean of St. Paul's, and approved by the rest of the bishops.

This catechism is universally allowed to comprehend a summary of the Christian doctrine; it being so short, that the youngest children may fix it in their memory, and yet so full, that it contains all things necessary to be known and practised in order to salvation.

<sup>1</sup> The times appointed for catechising are Sundays and holidays. By the first book of Edward VI. it was not required to be done above once in six weeks. But, upon Bucer's objecting to the interval of time as too long, the rubric was altered, but expressed notwithstanding, in indefinite terms, leaving it to be done as often as occasion requires. Indeed, the fifty-ninth canon enjoins every parson, vicar, or curate, upon every Sunday and holiday, to teach and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish, in the catechism set forth in the book of Common Prayer; and that under pain of a sharp reproof for the first omission, suspension for the second, and excommunication for the third.

In the other parts of the discipline of the church of England, the minister is obliged to visit the sick, and to baptize such children as are in danger of dying without the benefit of that ceremony. In refusing to perform any of these ceremonies, he is liable to be informed against in the spiritual court, and may be suspended from his living by the bishop. It is, however, not a very easy matter to proceed against clergymen in these matters, and perhaps the fewer disputes take place between the ministers and the parishioners the better. This should always be attended to, that no offence be taken against religion. Clergymen are not to enjoy any more benefices with the cure of souls than one, unless any obtain a second by a dispensation from the lord chancellor. However they may, at the same time, enjoy sinecures in cathedrals.

The holding pluralities of livings has been much complained of, as inconsistent with the institution of the Christian church, and much has been written on the subject by Dr. Newton on the one hand, and Mr. Wharton on the other. It is certain, that it was not known till the middle ages of Christian-

ity. England is the only Protestant country where it is permitted, and non-residence has been a continual bone of contention. The late bishop Burnet, in his charge to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury, mentioned an expression made use of by one of the ancient fathers, when a young man came to be ordained, and who wanted to hold two livings; the good bishop asked him how he was to discharge the duty of both? He answered, he would do the duty of one himself, and the other could be done by a substitute. "Yes, answered the bishop, you may get the duty done by a substitute, but you will be damned in person." This had such an effect on Mr. Kelsey, a pious clergyman, that he gave up one of the two livings he enjoyed, and Dr. Burnet had so much regard for him on that account, that he made him his archdeacon, in order to set an example to the rest of his brethren.

In all these matters of dispute, we shall not concern ourselves; because where there is such a general toleration as we enjoy, there can be but little room to complain. There is not a Protestant church in the world, but what will own its imperfections: If this was not the case, then we might, like the Roman Catholics, pretend to the belief of infallibility, a notion which we utterly disclaim.

Upon the whole, no Protestant church has produced greater scholars, better writers, or more pious Christians, than that of England; and where the means of grace are to be found, it is our fault if we do not use them in a proper manner. However, the rigour of the ecclesiastical law may appear to some, yet the innocent need not be afraid of it; and as for non-residents in parishes, if they are culpable of a fault, the people are no losers in general thereby, because they generally find substitutes or curates to perform the duty for the hearers. Thus, where there is no loss there should be no complaint, and this should reconcile us all to those circumstances, which sometimes create diversity of opinions.—The members of the church of England live in peace with those who differ from them in religious sentiments, leaving every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—They are not led away by those prejudices, which took place in former times; they consider their Protestant brethren travelling to heaven as well as themselves, and therefore they are much to be honoured. Long may true religion flourish among them:—may their ministers become an ornament to their profession, and the people an honour to the gospel; and to use the words of the apostle; "Let every one who nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

## THE HISTORY OF CALVINISM.

THE next religious profession in order among Protestants, is that of Calvinism, established first at the little Republic of Geneva, afterwards in several of the Cantons of Switzerland; and professed by almost one half of the people in France, before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, 1685. In 1560, it was established in Scotland, as will be mentioned afterwards, and it is now the national religion of the Seven United Provinces; and throughout most of the American provinces this system is professed.

In giving an account of this religion, we shall be extremely impartial, and point out how far the public profession of Calvinism differs in one place from another, beginning with the life of its illustrious founder.

John Calvin was born at Soissons a city of France, June 6, 1509. His father's name was Gerrard Calvin, who gave his son a liberal education.

From the grammar school, he sent him to Paris, and placed him with Maturinus Corderius, a man well esteemed both for probity and learning.

His father, from the beginning, designed him for the study of divinity, which he judged him to be much inclined to, being religiously addicted from his childhood. He procured a benefice of the bishop for him, in Soissons, in which place John, before his ordination, preached divers sermons to the people. But this purpose of his was afterwards altered; for his father, seeing the study of the law was the surer step to riches and honour, altered his mind, and his son, growing into acquaintance with a certain kinsman of his, was by him instructed in the true religion, whereupon he applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures, and began to abominate the superstitious services in the popish church.

Whilst he was employed in these studies, he neglected not that of divinity, so that he preached divers sermons in a neighbouring town. But whilst he was thus busied, news came to him of his father's death, which called him back into his own country. Having settled his affairs there, he went to Paris, being now about twenty-four years old. After a few months stay at Paris, he grew acquainted with all that professed the reformed religion; and among the rest, with Stephen Forgeus, a famous mer-

chant, who afterwards sealed the truth with his blood.

From henceforward, at the earnest request of all those that held their private meetings in Paris, he laid aside all other studies, and wholly applied himself to that of divinity. At this time Nicholas Cope was rector of the university at Paris; who, being to make an oration on All-saints day, at the instigation of John Calvin, spoke of religion more purely and clearly than he used to do. This the parliament of Paris was angry at, inasmuch that they cited him before them; but, as he went, some of his friends advised him to take heed of his adversaries; whereupon he returned home, and immediately after left France and went to Basil.

The officers, sent by the parliament, searching for Cope, went into Calvin's house, who, by chance, not being at home, they ransacked his study, and amongst his papers, found many of his friends' letters, which had like to have endangered the lives of many. But it pleased God to divert that storm, by the prudent and pious diligence of the queen of Navarre, the only sister of king Francis, a woman of admirable wit, and exceedingly tender of the professors of the reformed religion. She also sent for Mr. Calvin to her court, used him very hospitably, and heard him gladly. But Mr. Calvin finding Paris too hot for his rhode, went to Nantonge, where, he sojourning with a friend, at his request, drew up short admonitions, which were dispensed amongst certain priests, to be taught to their people, that so they might by little and little, be drawn to search out the truth.

About the same time, observing that there were many in France that knew, and were convinced of the truth, and yet indulged themselves as if it were enough that they reserved their hearts for Christ, though they were present at the Popish services, he published two elegant epistles; one, to exhort the flying idolatry, the other on the popish priesthood. But whilst he (Calvin) was thus employed, he met with grievous seditions at home.

The gospel indeed was entertained, and popery abjured in Geneva; but many were not reformed from the profane and scandalous courses which they had learned of the popish clergy; and the ancient feuds amongst the chief families were not



yet laid aside. These, at first, were gently admonished, and, when that prevailed not, more sharply reprehended; and, when yet they continued stubborn, and the city, by the factions of private persons, was divided into parties, Farrell, Calvin, and Carodus, openly professed that they could by no means administer the Lord's supper to persons who were at such enmity amongst themselves.

Upon this occasion, the Syndics which were chosen for that year at Geneva, who, for the time, are the chief magistrates, assembling, the captains of the seditious persons, so far prevailed, that these three worthy servants of Christ were commanded, within two days, to depart the city. When this decree was brought to Calvin, he said, "Truly, if I had served men, I should have had but an ill reward; but it is well—that I have served him who doth always perform to his servants what he hath once promised."

Calvin went to Basil, and thence to Strasbourg; where, by desire of the senate, he was made professor of divinity, which place he discharged with great applause of learned men; and by the consent of the senate, planted the French church there, and settled discipline in it. Calvin settled in another place, and a new church was erected.

At this time, cardinal Sadolet, a man of great eloquence, seeing the flock deprived of such able and vigilant shepherds, thought it fit time to ensnare them; for which end he wrote letters, directed to his dear friends as he called them, the senate, council, and people of Geneva, in which he omitted no arguments, whereby he might persuade them to return into the bosom of the Romish church. There was no man in Geneva that would undertake to answer him; so that probably these letters would have done much mischief, but that they were written in a foreign language. But when Calvin had read them; forgetting all the wrongs which had been done him, he returned an answer so speedily and eloquently that the cardinal, despairing of accomplishing his end, wholly gave over his design.

Mr. Calvin continued at Strasbourg to the year 1541, in which the emperor Charles V. assembled two diets, the one at Worms, the other at Ratisbon, for composing the differences about religion: at both which Mr. Calvin was present, to the great advantage of the churches, and where he was most lovingly entertained by Philip Melancthon, and Gasper Cruciger. He also had much private conference with them about the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and they could not but approve of his opinion therein. The city of Geneva began to call for Farrell and Calvin; but when, by no means, they could recover Farrell, they used all their endeavours to procure Calvin; and for that end, sent ambassadors to Strasbourg. The senate of Strasbourg were

exceedingly unwilling to hearken to it; and Calvin himself, abhorring to enter into new troubles, and finding great success attended his ministry at Strasbourg, did absolutely refuse to return. Besides, Bucer, and the other pastors, did profess their great unwillingness to part with him.

But the Genevians still pressing hard for him, Bucer at last thought their requests should be condescended to. This falling out just at the time when Calvin, with Bucer, was going to the diet at Ratisbon, his return was delayed for a time; when they chose Peter Viret: and, indeed, this made Mr. Calvin far more willing to return, when he saw that he was to have such a colleague.

Mr. Calvin went to Geneva, September the 13th, 1541, being singularly welcomed by the people, and especially by the senate, who acknowledged the wonderful mercy of God towards them, in restoring him to them. And whereas the senate of Strasbourg had decreed, that, after a time, he should return to them again; that of Geneva would never give it over, till they had reversed that decree, which at last, was yielded to by those of Strasbourg, yet with this proviso, that the pension, which they had settled upon him, should still be continued to him. But Mr. Calvin could never be persuaded to receive it, caring for nothing less than for riches. Mr. Calvin being thus restored to his church, and perceiving that the city needed such bridges, he professed that he could not comfortably exercise his ministry among them, except, together with the doctrine of the gospel, they would embrace the Presbyterian government, for the well regulating of the church. Hereupon elders were chosen, and a model of government was drawn up.

His ordinary labours were these: every other sabbath he preached twice; Mouday, Tuesday, Wednesday, he read his divinity lectures; every Thursday he assisted in the consistory for the ecclesiastical discipline. On Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing hard places of the scriptures; answered many adversaries to the truth; wrote many letters to sundry places. So that we have cause to wonder how it was possible for one man to undergo so many businesses.

Besides his forementioned labours, he had also the charge and business of a family, and many foreign employments; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the Christian world, he was sought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach; so that, at the same time, there was an Italian church, an English church, and a Spanish church, and the city seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

In 1542, Mr. Calvin met with many afflictions, some at home, but especially by the fury of the adversaries of the truth abroad in France and Italy,

whence they drove away many professors of the gospel, for the comfort of whom he laid himself out exceedingly, writing many encouraging letters every way, both to those that were escaped, and to those that yet remained in the lion's jaws.

In 1545, was that abominable and cruel edict which the parliament of Aquitaine set forth against the poor Waldenses of Merindol, Cabriers, and those parts; whereby unheard-of cruelties were exercised, not against some few, but against all of them, without any distinction of age or sex.

Some of those that escaped, flying to Geneva, Calvin was the more afflicted for them, and careful of them, because, a little before, he had written consolatory letters to them, and sent them faithful pastors, and had also, where they were in danger before, preserved them by his intercession to the German princes.

In 1546, one of the senators, in a public assembly of the people, blamed Calvin as one that taught false doctrine, suborned, as was supposed, by two of the college of pastors, both of them being drunkards, and, therefore, fearing the severity of the laws. But Mr. Calvin made little account of this. Yet the man who accused him was called before the senate, and, his cause being heard, was condemned for slander; and those two drunken ministers who had set him on, were removed out of their places.

The year 1547 proved far worse; indeed that age saw not a more calamitous time than it was: the churches of Germany seemed to be utterly subverted, the Protestant princes taken, and cities yielding up themselves after so great labours used, and so great difficulties passed through, in planting the gospel amongst them.

With what grief Mr. Calvin was afflicted for the desolations of the churches, is not easy to express, especially if we consider that great affection which he bore to them, though far remote from him, which indeed was no other than if he had supported them all upon his shoulders. Indeed he was wonderfully grieved when he heard of those holy men, his worthy friends Philip Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, &c. in so great danger, that they seemed nearer death than life.

In the midst of these contentions, the church of Geneva did wonderfully increase, and Mr. Calvin was very solicitous to entertain and provide for such as were banished for the name of Christ. In the year 1550, the church of Christ enjoyed peace, and then it was decreed in Geneva, that the ministers, not only in their sermons, which many neglected, and others heard with small profit, but, from house to house, should divide the city amongst them, and require of every family an account of their faith; by which means it is scarce credible what benefit accrued to the people.

At this time a grievous persecution rising at Paris, it was a great concern to Mr. Calvin; many being taken when they were assembled in St. James's-street, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, being about eighty in number, the rest escaping by the benefit of the night; who, the next morning, were led to prison, loaded with scorn and reproaches, though some of them were noble women of good account.

There were also some false witnesses furnished against them, when the credulous multitude were too apt to believe; there were, therefore, seven of them brought forth to be burned, amongst whom there was a noble woman, who, with six others, shewed admirable patience; and whereas they were accused of promiscuous whoredoms at their meetings, a learned man who had lately been their pastor, easily confuted those lies; and the German princes interceding in their behalf, which Mr. Calvin procured with admirable celerity, the tempest was, in a good measure, blown over.

The year 1559 was famous for the league entered into between the two most potent kings of Spain and France, strengthened by affinity betwixt them, which was likely to prove fatal to Geneva. In the mean-time Calvin, though sickly, laboured hard, comforting the afflicted churches; as also by his frequent and fervent prayers, craving help of God. Whilst all things were full of terror, the king of France, in the great marriage solemnity which was made for the confirmation of the peace, in his running at tilt, received his death wound, and that by the hand of the captain of his guard, by whom, a little before he had apprehended and imprisoned several senators.

At this time the Bohemians sent two of their brethren to Calvin, to desire his judgment about some matters of religion, whom he lovingly satisfied, exhorting them also that they would enter into a nearer conjunction with other reformed churches. At the same time also, queen Mary being dead, and queen Elizabeth succeeding, many of the French relying upon her piety and humanity, fled for refuge into England, with the consent of that reverend divine Edmund Grindal, bishop of London; and craved leave of her, that one might be sent from Geneva, to plant a French church there.

Towards the latter end of this year, king Francis of France, died suddenly, and that in such a juncture of time, when all things seemed desperate.—King Charles IX. a child, was scarce entered on his reign, when by a herald, letters subscribed with his name were brought to Geneva, wherein he complained that many were sent from thence, who infected his kingdom, desiring that they might be presently called back; threatening, that otherwise he would revenge the injury.

Calvin, being hereupon sent for by the senate, answered in his own, and in his colleague's names, that, at the request of the churches of France, they had exhorted certain men who were sound in the faith, and of a holy life, that they should not be wanting to lend their help to their country in so holy a cause; and that this they had done, not to disturb the kingdom, but that the people might be taught the gospel of peace; and, if they were accused for any thing further than this, they were ready to answer their accusers before the king: so this business went no further.

In the year 1562, God gave peace and liberty to the French churches, by a public edict of the king: but not long after the king of Navarre, presently after the duke of Guise had committed that abominable massacre at Vassy, began a civil war, which continued many years after, to the miserable devastation of France. It cannot be spoken how much Calvin was afflicted therewith, which so far increased his disease, that it was easy to divine, that it would not be long before he would be translated to a better life; yet he did not desist from exhorting and comforting every one, nor from preaching and reading his ordinary lectures.

In this manner Calvin continued to practise the duties of his function till he sunk under a variety of infirmities, and at last died on the third day of June, 1563, much beloved by the people of Geneva, and much esteemed by all the Protestant churches.

His works are numerous, and amongst them is a commentary on the bible, written in elegant Latin. But those which chiefly demand our notice are, his institutions of the Christian religion. Calvin had been brought up to the study of the civil law of the Romans, and therefore he considered, or imagined, that every science should be reduced to a system.— Thus he drew up his famous institutions of the Christian religion, on the same plan as that laid down by the emperor Justinian, and followed by all the Civilians. It is certain, that systematical learning gives people a clearer notion of the truth than any other methods that can be made use of; but still it is equally certain, that systems may be too slavishly attended to. If systems are considered as mere matter of speculation, and not imposed as absolutely binding on the conscience, they may be innocent enough; but when they are imposed as the real sense of the word of God, they sometimes wound the tender conscience, and lay a stumbling-block before the weak and well-meaning.

It is acknowledged by bishop Burnet, Mr. Brandt, and other writers, that all the Protestant reformers embraced the same notions with St. Austin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa. That Luther did so, appears evident from his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians; and that the English reformers were of

the same opinion, appears from perusing the thirty-nine articles. Calvin, however, was the first person who reduced the sentiments of St. Austin into a system, and those who will read his works in a dispassionate manner, will find that he has done justice to that celebrated father. That Austin was opposed by all the Greek fathers in his time, is certain, but this does not concern us at present. All we have to do is to point out those grand distinguishing marks by which the doctrine of St. Austin is known, and the systematical manner, into which it was reduced by Calvin, and, in some measure, though not in every thing, still adhered to by those people called Calvinists.

And, first, they assert that God made all things in a state of perfection, and entered into a covenant with our first parents, that they should enjoy eternal life, in consequence of their obedience to the law, which he had prescribed as the rule of their conduct: that had they continued to obey this law, they would have become immortal as the angels, and death could have had no dominion over them. But should they transgress this law, then they were to be subject to all the miseries of this life; to death itself both temporal and eternal. That in consequence of our first parents disobeying this command, the divine malediction was to descend to all their posterity, and the earth was to be cursed for their sake. That is, they were not to receive those instantaneous productions which the garden of Eden afforded, but they were to labour hard in order to procure sustenance.

Secondly, that our first parents did forfeit the divine favour, by eating the forbidden fruit, and having been declared guilty by the Almighty Lord God of providence and grace, they were excluded from his favour, and all their descendants were involved in the general dreadful calamity. This fall of our first parents, not only involved us in their guilt, but in the ordinary way of generation, conveyed to us a natural propensity to evil.— All the faculties of the human soul were disordered, that glorious fabric which God had erected after his own image, was in a manner reduced to a heap of ruins, and man, who had come pure from the hands of his maker, became, by the domineering slavery of his passions, like one of the beasts that perish.— This was the origin of evil (we speak in the words of the Calvinists) and from that dreadful period, there has been little but sin in the world. All the evils that have taken place, have been caused by the fall of man; he has become obnoxious to his maker, and the beasts of the field, over which he was made the universal lord, are now become his enemies; when he fell he was without hope, because he knew the eternal mandate would hold good, for God is the fountain of truth and cannot lie.



Thirdly, it was asserted by St. Austin, and embraced by Calvin, that no man had it in his power to turn to God when he pleased, but that he must wait for the operation of efficacious grace. This sentiment has occasioned much controversy; and although there are some expressions in the apostolical epistles that give countenance to it, yet they should be read with much caution. Our notion of God should always be founded on the principles of moral rectitude; but here we are led into an amazing difficulty, when we come to consider what moral rectitude is. Human nature objects, that it is inconsistent with the divine attributes, to exact obedience from the man who has it not in his power to perform it, and those feelings peculiar to men as rational beings, teach them, that the merciful Lord of the universe cannot act the part of a tyrant.

On the other hand, it is asserted, that God has a right to dispose of his creatures in what manner he thinks proper, and that he may exact obedience without giving any reason for so doing. And here the words of the prophet Isaiah are brought in to support the sentiment. "My ways are not as your ways, nor my thoughts as your thoughts." It is certain that Omnipotence cannot be limited, and it is blasphemy in men to set bounds to the divine perfections.

Our Lord says, "Ask and it shall be given you, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And again, the prophet Isaiah says,— "Let the sinner forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord who will have mercy, and our God who will abundantly pardon." In these, and in many other expressions in the sacred scriptures, there seems to be no privation of the will implied. There are, however, objections against this, in support of the original sentiment.

Thus, it is said, that "No man can come unto me, except the father which sent me draw him."— In our humble opinion (for we will not dictate to any one) these words do not refer to the privation of the human will, but they seem to be an allusion to those words of the prophet, "I will allure them into the wilderness, and there will I speak comfortably to them." The alluring goodness of God leads men to repentance: for what disobedient son would not obey his father, if he was to treat him with tenderness? It is said several times in scripture,— "None ever sought God in vain," and therefore let every one make a proper use of those powers given them, and then most certainly God will command his blessing.

The next article in the systematical plan of Calvinism, which deserves our notice, is that of predestination. Like the article concerning the freedom of the human will, it has been much animadverted

on, and perhaps little understood. We cannot, under the present head, take notice of it in its utmost point of view, being obliged to confine ourselves to the sense in which St. Austin broached it, and how it was retained by Calvin.

We are certain, that the sacred scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, give some sort of countenance to the doctrine of predestination; but the grand question is, does this predestination apply to individuals, or is it only the ordinance of God at large? it has been contended that it should be taken in the former sense, and the sentiment has been founded and supported on the following principle.

"God looking down upon the human race, saw that all mankind would be disobedient to his commands, and therefore he fixed what should be their inevitable fate. He ordered it so, that these people should never be able to make a proper use of the means of grace so as to lead them to eternal happiness; or at least these means should not be conveyed to them in an efficacious manner. And yet at the same time, it was asserted, that the clergy should teach the people to comply with the plan laid down in the gospel, without considering that at the same time they were denied the exercise of the freedom of the human will." Calvin seems to have considered the doctrine in the following light.

"He believed that God had fixed an eternal purpose to save some part of the human race, and to reject the others; but as that was a secret which no human being could know, consequently it was the duty of ministers to exhort all their people alike. This last sentiment is much favoured by several expressions in the sacred scriptures, and particularly in the New Testament, and probably it is in consequence thereof that some of the genuine Calvinists exhort their people to duties, without prying into the divine decrees." The God knows what shall happen to his creatures in this world cannot be denied; but that he lays an impulse upon their wills, has been disputed. We do not chuse to enter into this controversy, for we are certain, that there is enough in the sacred scriptures to give satisfaction to every humble enquirer, and make men wise unto salvation.

It must be acknowledged, that the Divine Being sees all that passes in the course of this life, and has it, as it were, all before him, from the beginning of time, till the commencement of eternity. To deprive God of prescience, is to rob him of one of his attributes; but then we may believe that God knows, without saying that he lays a restraint on our rational powers. Dr. Edwards of New Jersey has written with great judgment on this subject, and such was the effect of this treatise, that it induced lord Kames to alter the second edition of his discourses

on religion and morality. But no writer we know of ever came up to the learned lord Stair.

That nobleman, who had seen much of the world and served the crown fifty years, in one of his meditations, says, "That to believe in the prescience, or fore-knowledge of God, is the same thing as to believe in predestination; for if God foresees what will happen and does not change it, then the effect is the same as if he had appointed it." And he adds, that there is a comfort in believing a doctrine which sets the Omnipotence of God in such a grand point of view. "Did my gracious God (says his lordship) create me and send me into this world? Did he bring me under the light, and within the sound of the everlasting gospel? Did he give me power to embrace that gospel, and will he suffer me to perish? No: I will say with Luther,—I can trust my soul with God."

The next article in Calvinism, and that which distinguishes it from Arminianism, is particular redemption. That is, that Christ died to save only a select number of the human race. This naturally follows the doctrine of absolute predestination; for if God has appointed that a certain number of the human race shall be saved, and no others, consequently Christ could only have died for that number, and the efficacy of his death could not reach any further.

The nature of this work leads us into the necessity of taking notice of every disputed point in religion; but still we could wish the reader to judge for himself. That Calvin taught that there was such a thing as particular redemption, cannot be denied; for this is plain throughout the whole of his institutes. And yet this celebrated reformer seems to have thought otherwise at some times; for in his commentary on the parable of the king's making a marriage feast for his son, he says, that the man who had not the wedding garment was condemned by the evidence of his own conscience, because he might have had it—if he chose; and this may serve to shew, that men had a power to comply with the terms offered in the gospel. Thus we find how difficult it is to keep to the positive words of a system, while the sentiment is disputable. It is certain, that there may be different conclusions drawn from many intricate passages in scripture, and in all such cases we should be humble, without prying into the secrets of the Almighty.

Another, and a very important article in St. Austin's system, is that of final perseverance, which was embraced by Calvin. There are many passages in the sacred scripture, that may be understood as not only favouring this doctrine, but even enforcing it. Thus it is said, "the path of the just man is a shining light, that shineth more and more until the perfect day," and again, "those whom he once

loved, he loved to the end." Nay, there are many other expressions stronger in support of the doctrine than those above quoted, and there are others that appear quite the contrary. Thus it is said, "let him that standeth take heed lest he fall." Many great and pious men have believed, that although God will not forsake his people who love and serve him, yet they may forsake him, and become objects of his displeasure. This seems to have been the opinion of the elegant and pious Dr. Watts, when he says,

Unshaken as the sacred hill,  
And firm as mountains be;  
Firm as a rock the soul shall rest,  
That leans, O Lord, on thee!

The greatest objection made to this doctrine, is, that it leads to carnal security, keeping men off that holy caution and strict guard which should regulate all their actions. It is further objected, that it fills the mind with pride, by teaching people to believe, that they themselves are more worthy of the divine favour than others. Perhaps there is too much truth in this; for surely we may trust in the divine veracity, without running into presumption.

Mr. Neale, in his account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, has recorded an anecdote which we shall consider as true, because it comes from the pen of such a candid writer. He tells us that when Oliver Cromwell lay on his death-bed, he was attended by the most eminent divines of the independent persuasion. Amongst these was Dr. Thos. Godwin, then president of Magdalen college, Oxford. This gentleman, whose writings are dull and tedious, seems to have been a great favourite of the protector's; for Cromwell asked him seriously, "whether there was a falling off from grace." Godwin said there was not; then replied Cromwell, "I am certain I once had grace." And in these sentiments this man died.

To conclude, these disputed points are exceedingly dangerous, when handled without caution and moderation; but they have been treated with respect by the wise of all denominations. They have created much confusion, and yet one would imagine there was no necessity for any thing of that nature. God has revealed enough for us to know, in order to make us happy, both in time and in eternity, and therefore it is irreverent, as well as indecent and impious in us to enquire into secrets, which to know can be of no service to us, nor even make us wise unto salvation.

The wit of the profane, the malice of the satirical, and the laugh of the debauchee, have been all united to ridicule those notions which St. Austin broached, and Calvin taught. This will appear

from an attentive consideration of the following verses of Mr. Dryden.

But here the doctors eagerly dispute,  
Some hold predestination absolute:  
Some clerks maintain, that heav'n at first foresees,  
And in the virtue of fore-sight decrees.  
If this be so, then prescience binds the will,  
And mortals are not free to good or ill;  
For what he first foresaw—he must ordain,  
Or his eternal prescience may be vain.  
As bad for us if prescience had not been:  
For first, or last, he's author of the sin.  
And who says that, let the blaspheming man  
Say worse, ev'n of the devil, if he can.  
For how can that eternal pow'r be just  
To punish man, who sins—because he must?  
Or, how can he reward a virtuous deed,  
Which is not done by us, but first decreed?  
I cannot bould this matter to the brain,  
As Bradwardin and holy Austin can:  
If prescience can determine actions so,  
That we must do because he did foreknow?  
Or that foreknowing, yet our choice is free,  
Not forc'd to sin by strict necessity.  
This strict necessity they simple call  
Another sort, there is conditional.  
The first so binds the will, that things foreknown,  
By spontaneity, not choice, are done.  
Thus galley-slaves tug willing at their oar,  
Content to work in prospect of the shore,  
But would not work at all if not constrain'd  
Before.  
That ether does not liberty restrain;  
But man may either act, or may refrain;  
Heav'n made us agents free to good or ill,  
And forc'd it not though he foresaw the will.  
Freedom was first bestow'd on human race,  
And the prescience only held the second place.  
If he could make such agents wholly free,  
I'll not dispute,—the point's too high for me:  
For heaven's unfathom'd pow'r what man can  
sound,

Or put to his omnipotence a bound?  
He made us to his image; all agree,  
That image is the soul, and that must be,  
Or not the maker's image, or be free.  
But whether it were better man had been  
By nature bound to good, not free to sin,  
I wave, for fear of splitting on a rock.

Having said thus much concerning the doctrinal principles of the Calvinists, we must now proceed to their worship. All the reformers pretended to simplicity, but all did not attain to it. Of this we have a striking instance in the Lutherans, who have retained many of the popish ceremonies. On the

other hand, the church of England kept in the middle, between the two extremes, while the Calvinists attempted to strip religion of all those gaudy ornaments which it had borrowed from superstition.—In Geneva, where Calvinism was first propagated, in Holland, in some of the German provinces, and indeed every where but in England and Scotland, their form and manner of worship is the same.—There may, indeed, be some few differences, but they are of such a trifling nature as not to be worthy of notice. At Geneva, and in Holland, as well as in all the provinces of Germany, and Switzerland, where Calvinism is professed, the service is conducted in the following manner:—

The minister goes into the reading-desk, and having told the people to lift up their hearts to God, begins with a short prayer, begging the divine presence to be with them, during the whole of the worship. This being over, he reads two or three chapters out of the Old or New Testament, according to his own discretion, and then a psalm or hymn is sung.

He then reads the Ten Commandments, which are followed by the Apostles' Creed, and another hymn or psalm is sung afterwards. And here it is necessary to observe, that in most of the Calvinistical churches abroad, they have organs, together with some other sorts of instrumental music.

This part of the service being over, the minister goes into the pulpit, and repeats an extemporary prayer for the whole state of mankind in the world, and then a discourse follows, which is either a sermon on a particular text, or a paraphrase of some passage in the sacred scripture. The sermon being over, another hymn is sung, after which the congregation are dismissed with a blessing.

With respect to the sacrament of baptism, it is as amongst us, administered to their infants, but they do not use the sign of the cross, nor have they any godfathers or godmothers, every father being obliged to stand sponsor for his own child. On which occasion he binds himself to see it brought up in the fear of God.

In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they are not confined to any rule with respect to the mode of administration, nor have they any altars. Some of the communicants receive it kneeling, some sitting, and others standing. This allowance granted to tender consciences is much to be commended; for what may appear trifling to one man, may have a most formidable appearance to another.

The Calvinists abroad, that is, on the continent of Europe, also observe several holy days, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, with some others; but they do not pay superstitions regard to them.—However, we find in the acts of the general assembly of the church of Scotland in 1594, something



remarkable on this subject. King James told the general assembly of the clergy, that the people of Geneva kept their Christmas and their Pasch; and pray, said he, what warrant have they for it? It is nothing but will-worship, and, like the service of the church of England,—it is an ill said muss in English. James, however, changed his sentiments afterwards, and became a persecutor of those very people whose piety and religion he had extolled.

In the discipline among the Calvinists, there is something that bears a near affinity to the ancient church. Every congregation has its own minister, and under him are a certain number of respectable persons, called Elders. These elders are ordained by the imposition of the hands of the minister, and their business is to visit the sick from house to house, and to pray with them.

They are to be men of fair characters, against whom no complaint has been preferred, and they are to examine, in the absence of the minister, all those who desire to come to the communion. They are to give notice to the minister of all such persons as lead scandalous and immoral lives, that they may be cut off from the congregation of the faithful.

They are to take care that no part of their own conduct shall give such offence, so as to bring the gospel into disrepute; and they are to be at all times ready to assist the minister with their advice. This order among the Calvinists seems to have come in the room of the presbyters in the ancient church, who were always to assist the bishop, both by their council and otherwise. These men are not elected for a time, as churchwardens are in England, but they are ordained for life, and nothing can set aside the exercise of their office, but some crimes of a scandalous nature.

The next order of officers in the Calvinistical churches abroad are deacons, whose business it is to visit the poor, and distribute as much money as the church allows for that purpose. They are elected by the people, and appointed by the minister; they are to carry the elements of bread and wine round to the communicants: they are to see that the widows and orphans are provided for in a proper manner, and that Christian parents bring up their children in the fear of God. They are to give a faithful account to the minister and elders in what manner they have disposed of the money committed to their care; and they are, by their conduct, to set an example before all those who belong to the congregation. They are to be extremely cautious into what company soever they go, and they are to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

The first time we hear or read of deacons in the Christian church is in Acts vi. and as to their office,

it seems to have succeeded that of the Levites among the Jews, who were to be ministers and servants under the old law. The following account of the ordination of primitive deacons will, no doubt, give some satisfaction to our readers.

The ordination of a deacon, in the primitive church, differed from that of a presbyter, both in the form and manner of it, and also in the gifts and powers conferred thereby. The ordination of the former might be performed by the bishop alone, who puts up his prayer in general that "God would make his face to shine upon his servant, who was then chosen to the office of a deacon, and fill him with the holy spirit and power as he did Stephen the martyr; that he, behaving himself acceptably, uniformly, and unblameably in his office, might be thought worthy of an higher degree, &c."

As to the office of deacons, the most common and ordinary was, to be attendant on the bishop or presbyters in the service of the altars, to take care of the holy table and all the ornaments and utensils belonging to it. In the next place, they were to receive the offerings of the people, and to present them to the priest, at the same time reciting the names of those that offered. In some churches, but not in all, the deacons read the gospel, both before and at the communion service. At Alexandria, the archdeacon only reads the gospels, and in some churches, on high festivals, the bishop himself, as at Constantinople, on Easter-day. But it was something more peculiar to the office of deacons, to assist the bishop and presbyters in the administration of the eucharist: at which their business was, to distribute the elements to the people who were present, and carry them to those that were absent. But they were not allowed to consecrate them at the altar; as appears from the testimonies of Hilary, Jerome, and the author of the constitutions; who assign as a reason, that deacons were reckoned no priests, or but in the lowest degree.—As to the sacrament of baptism, it is evident, they were permitted, in some cases, to administer it solely, as appears from Tertullian, Jerome, and the council of Eliberis.

Another part of the office of deacons was, to be a sort of monitors and directors to the people, in the exercise of their public devotions in the church. To which purpose they made use of certain known forms of words, to give notice when each part of the service began.

The deacons had a power to preach, by licence and authority from the bishop, but not without it: which was likewise the case with relation to the power of reconciling penitents, and granting them absolution; this privilege being allowed them only in cases of extreme necessity, when neither bishop nor presbyter was at hand to do it. It may be

reckoned also among their extraordinary offices, that they were sometimes deputed by the bishops to be their representatives and proxies in general councils. But, in provincial synods, they were allowed to give their voice, as well as the presbyters, in their own name.

There are two things more to be observed concerning the office of deacons, in church assemblies. The first is, that they had a power to rebuke and chastise those who behaved indecently in the church. The other is, that before the institution of the inferior orders in the church, such as sub-deacons, exorcists, catechists, &c. the deacons were employed in performing all the offices which were afterwards committed to those orders.

But, besides these offices, which properly belonged to the service of the church, the deacons had employment out of the church. One of these was, to be the bishop's sub-almoner, and to take care of the necessitous, such as orphans, widows, virgins, prisoners, and all the poor and sick, who had any title to be maintained out of the public revenues of the church. Another of these offices was, to inquire into the morals and conversation of the people, and to make their report thereof to the bishop. Upon this account, the deacons were usually styled the bishop's eyes, and ears, his mouth, his right hand, and his heart; because by their ministry he took cognizance of men's actions, as much as if he himself had seen or heard them; and because, by them, he sent orders and directions to his flock, and by them distributed to the necessities of the indigent.

For this reason, there being a great variety of business attending the office of a deacon, it was usual to have several deacons in the same church. In some they were precisely to the number of seven, in imitation of the first church of Jerusalem. But this rule was not observed in other churches, the number of deacons being indifferent, as the business of each church required. In that of Constantinople particularly, the number was so great, that we find them limited to an hundred, for the service of the great church, and three others only.

The qualifications required in deacons, were much the same as those required in bishops and presbyters; except that in their age, there was some difference. Deacons might be ordained at twenty-five years of age, and not before; whereas bishops and presbyters could not be ordained till thirty.

The ceremony of the ordination of deacons in the Romish church, is briefly this. The candidate prostrates himself before the bishop, who confers on him the Holy Ghost, laying his right hand only on his head, to signify that he does not receive it so fully as the priest. An acolyth puts on him the

stole and dalmatica; after which the bishop presents him with the book of the gospels: the ceremony concludes with the prayers of the bishop and people. It is the deacon's office to incense the officiating priest or prelate; to lay the corporal on the altar; to receive the paten or cup from the sub-deacon, and present them to the person officiating, to incense the choir; to receive the pix from the officiating prelate, and carry it to the sub-deacon; and at the pontifical mass, when the bishop gives the blessing, to put the mitre upon his head, and to take off the archbishop's pall, and lay it on the altar.

The Maronites of mount Libanus have two deacons, who are merely administrators of the temporalities. Dandini, who calls them *signori diaconi*, tells us, they are secular lords who govern the people, set in judgment on all their differences, and treat with the Turks concerning the taxes, and other matters.

In England, deacons are not capable of any ecclesiastical promotion, not so much as to be admitted to a donative; all benefices requiring the incumbent to be in the priest's orders. Yet he may be a chaplain in a family, curate to a beneficed clergyman, or lecturer to a parish church. A man may be ordained deacon at twenty-three years of age, *anno corrente*; but it is expressly provided, that the bishop shall not ordain the same person both a deacon and a priest in the same day. The form of ordaining deacons declares, that it is their office to assist the priest in the distributing of the holy communion; in which agreeably to the practice of the ancient church, they are confined to the administering of the wine to the communicants.

St. Paul requires, that deacons should be chaste, sober, and blameless; that they should be neither great drinkers, nor given to filthy lucre; that they should hold the mystery of faith in a pure conscience; that they should be well approved, before they are admitted into the ministry; that they should be husbands of one wife, and take care of their houses and families.

The last thing to be attended to is, their government.

In Geneva, and in Holland, they have their presbyteries and synods, but no general assemblies as in Scotland. Political states are jealous of political disputes, and therefore they take care that the clergy shall meet as seldom as possible together. Had this rule been attended to in the middle ages of Christianity, perhaps we should not have had so many violent disputes as we have at present.

All offences of a common, ordinary nature, are first considered by the minister and the elders, and

if the delinquent does not chuse to comply with their decision, he may appeal to the presbytery. If after their decree, he thinks himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the synod, whose sentence is binding. But there are no civil penalties inflicted upon the delinquent as in England, for he is only excluded from church communion, and church privileges.

Such is the nature of the Calvinistical religion on the continent of Europe, and when it is considered how nearly we are connected with its professors, it will naturally point out that we should consider them as brethren. Did they persecute to death Servetus? The church of England has burnt Protestants who had been declared heretics! Are they without episcopal ordination?—the church of Scot-

land knows nothing of bishops. Do they reject the ring in marriage?—this does not deserve our notice; for to take up the idea of the ingenious author of a tale in a tub, Peter kept all his gaudy ornaments upon him; Martin stripped off a few, but still left his clothes in a decent manner; but Jack went farther, and pulled off both the lace and the clothes. It is certain, that the Calvinistical religion, as professed on the continent of Europe, affords all the means of grace, and opens the way to eternal happiness. In that form of religion, many pious Christians, many eminent divines, have been brought up, and where God has bestowed his blessing on the appointed means, let man be silent.

## HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

WE have already, in our account of Calvinism in general, considered the nature of those sentiments, concerning which there has been so much dispute. We have stated the objections made against them, with the answers that have been offered. We have shewn in the most candid manner from whence those disputed sentiments took their rise, and unwilling to enter into controversy, we have referred them to history. We have considered the Calvinists in a general point of view, as particularly established in some nations in Europe. We shall now consider them as a national church, begun by infinite wisdom, supported by Almighty power, regulated by unerring Providence, and at present one of the glories of the Protestant world. And here we are sorry to observe, that although the people of England are united under one government with those of Scotland, yet there are many of the former utterly ignorant of the religion of the latter. Nothing is more common in England than to call the people of Scotland Dis-senters, whereas they have their own church established by law. Nay, so firmly is the church of Scotland established, that it cannot be overthrown, unless there is a total revolution.

This will appear evident, when we consider in what manner the king of Great Britain swears to protect, defend, and support that church. The moment the death of the king is made public to his successor, the heir takes his place in the council, and it is intimated to him, that he cannot be pro-

claimed till he has sworn before their lordships that he will maintain the church of Scotland as by law established. This oath is administered in the Scottish fashion, by the king's holding up his right hand, and solemnly swearing, that he will do nothing to injure the church of Scotland, but support her in all her rights and privileges. A copy of this oath is recorded in the books of the privy council, and then a messenger is dispatched to Edinburgh, who gives it in to the court of session, where it is read, and ordered to be recorded in the lords' register office.

Here we find a vast privilege bestowed on the church of Scotland, beyond that of England; for in England the king does not swear to maintain the church till his coronation. This privilege was claimed by the people of Scotland, in that convention of estates, 1689, which declared the throne vacant, and voted in William and Mary. It was again insisted on by the whole nation of Scotland, at the union 1707. It was claimed, not as a favour, but as a right, and the king of Great Britain can no more dispense with it, than he can with any of the fundamental laws of the constitution. We have been the more explicit on this subject, that our readers may be made acquainted with it, and that they may know every particular; for, as a celebrated author says, "We should not only learn every thing, but we should learn every thing well."

We shall now proceed to consider this church in a manner altogether different from those who have



gone before us; for we can assert, that the history of this church was never yet properly written, though often attempted.

In the treating of it, we shall lay down the following principles, to direct us in the narrative.

First, a general view of the history of that church.

Secondly, a more particular state of it since the Reformation.

Thirdly, its various forms of worship during that period.

Fourthly, its various forms of confession during that time.

And lastly, its present state in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government.

And first—with respect to a general view of religion in Scotland.

Religion, according to reading, report, and experience, is the first consideration that attracts a man's attention in Scotland. But, when we speak of religion, we do not mean that propensity for agitating controverted points of divinity, which has possessed the clergy of most countries and ages; but we mean that plan of doctrine and discipline, which, in a well-regulated state, ought to be adapted to the constitution of the government, without regard to the dreams of bigots, or the talk of enthusiasts. Now it is impossible to understand the present state of religion in Scotland, in the sense of the words which we have laid down, without a review of their ecclesiastical constitution; and by that review we shall be enabled to form a pretty clear idea of their ancient government, not only in their church but their state.

The introduction of Christianity into Scotland, was by monks, who were without the means of transmitting orders of any kind to their successors, in the manner which the churches of England and Rome now prescribe. The name of the person who was at their head, was *Regulus*, said to be a Greek: They were driven on the coast of Scotland by accident, and after his death, they of themselves, elected and ordained another to preside in their principal church *Kilrimont*, now *St. Andrews*, without applying to the court or church of Rome. That this was the case, unquestionably appears from the canons of the council of *Calcuth* in England, in the year 816, the fifth of which prohibits any Scotch clergyman from exercising his functions in England, because, say the makers of the canon, it is uncertain to us by whom he is ordained, or if he is ordained at all. In like manner, the sixty-fifth of the *Capitularia* of the French king, is concerning the Scots who call themselves bishops, and ordain certain persons without the licence of their superiors.

We know it may be pretended that the Scots

spoken of here were the Irish, and even the learned have a vulgar notion, that when the word *Scots* occurs at this time, the Irish are understood; and in a few, but a very few, instances of higher antiquity, we may admit the fact to have been so; but at the time here mentioned, there can be no doubt but that the *North British Scots* were meant.

That their religion was void of many errors, and superstitions which then prevailed; that their manners were blameless, their zeal indefatigable, their piety unaffected, and their submission to their superiors, such as became good Christians and subjects, could be proved by many unquestionable cotemporary authorities, which can have no room here.—They went by the name of *Culdees*, or *Culdees*, which is not, as the Scotch historians ignorantly imagine, a contradiction of the words *Cultoris Dei*, but two ancient Pictish or Celtic words; *Cul*, a Hood, from whence we have the word *Cowl*, and *Dee*, Black, because of their wearing black hoods, so that the people of the country distinguished them by that appellation.

The plainness, virtue, and piety of the *Culdees*, gave offence to the church of Rome, whose corner stone is founded upon a succession of priesthood, derived from bishops depending upon the pope; and pope *Celestine* sent one *Paladius*, with a large train of followers to preside over the Scots, about the year 430. Every one knows what impression high pretensions and great pomp have upon weak minds. *Paladius* soon formed a party amongst the chief inhabitants, who received his clergy, and believed in the name of the pope. This occasioned a schism; the *Culdees* were favoured by the Pictish princes, and the Romanists by the descendants of the ancient Celts, who had been settled before the Picts were, in Scotland; and to whom the Picts gave the reproachful term of Scots. This name was then appropriated to many of the northern adventurers, in different parts of Europe; and undoubtedly, was derived from the Scythians, the maternal nation of all those various clann'd barbarians, who, at that time, deluged Europe.

As they were themselves Celts, when a part of them landed in Scotland, they naturally fell in with the old *Guidels*, or the ancient *Caledonians*, who were Celts likewise: and their singularity of language and manners, soon cemented a friendship between them. The Picts, on the other hand, who had pushed the *Guidels* westward, in the same manner as the Romans had pushed the Picts northward, were the descendants of the *Belgic Gauls*; and though they were likewise of Celtic original, yet their communications had occasioned a great difference in their language and manners from the *Guidels*, whom we may term the *Aborigines*; whereas the *Belgic Gauls*, the ancestors of the Picts, had

not been settled in Britain above four score years before the invasion of it by Julius Cæsar. As the Picts, about the time of the landing of the Scots, undoubtedly professed Christianity, it was easy for the Culdees to cement a friendship with them. The degeneracy of the Pictish princes, giving the old inhabitants vast advantages, the Culdees sometimes suffered great persecutions, till Alexander the first, one of the wisest and best of the kings of Scotland, wanting to abolish all invidious distinctions amongst his subjects, restored the Culdees, about the year 1118, to their primitive lustre, though he could not to their sanctity of manners. This was a severe blow to the interest of the church of Rome in Scotland; and she omitted no practice to procure an exclusion of the Culdee ordination. They, however, kept their ground, and the chief pastor, who continued to be of their own choice, and to hold his seat at St. Andrews, was dignified with the name of *Scotorum Episcopus*, bishop of the Scots; but that denomination was afterwards changed into *Escop*. Alban. bishop of Albany.

David, the brother and successor of Alexander, having great connections with England, was eaten up with superstition, and suffered a Romish legate to hold councils in the most southerly parts of Scotland, and prevailed with Robert, then the chief of the Culdees, to receive a coadjutor from the bishop of Chester, and to appropriate the revenues of the other Culdees, to defray the expence of extravagant buildings at St. Andrew's, the stupendous remains of which are still visible there. This revived the interest of the Romanists in Scotland, and David finding the Culdees to be too well established for him to think of exterminating them, sought only to persuade them to accept of papal ordinations and consecrations, which never had as yet been admitted of amongst them. The more sensible, however, amongst the Culdees, were not to be either flattered or frightened out of their rights and properties, and continued to make a vigorous opposition to the Romanists, though by that time several other sees, filled with popish bishops, had been erected in Scotland. But the Culdees, who were now only a handful, found it impossible to make head against the ambition of the popes, favoured by the weakness of their own princes.

In the year 1250, their right of ordination and consecration came to be questioned, and the pope appointed the abbot of Dumfermling, and another ecclesiastic, to summon the chief Culdee, whom the record does not style bishop, but *Prepositus*, Provost, to appear before them at the church of Inverkeithen, to answer for the crime of rebellion against the see of Rome, and to inquire whether the Culdees had a right to celebrate divine offices. That is, they were to inquire into the right that the Culdees

had to confer orders; and celebrate divine ordinances. It appears, however, from the same record, that Adam Malkarwiston, the head of the Culdees, and his brethren, refused to submit to this tribunal; nor do we find any thing decisive was done till the year 1273, when one Wishart, after receiving episcopal orders at Scoon, was thrust by the pope and the king of Scotland, Alexander the Third, upon the Culdees. He was succeeded by Fraser and Lamberton, against whose elevation the Culdees made a vigorous resistance; but their head being ill enough advised to appeal to the see of Rome, pope Boniface the Eighth confirmed Lamberton's election, and the Culdees, notwithstanding all their struggles, were never afterwards permitted to have any voice in the election of a bishop of St. Andrews.

Such of the historians of Scotland, who were really Protestants, were ignorant of the facts we have laid down in this short review; and they are stilled by the papists and popish Protestants.

The dispute, however, between the Culdees and the Romanists had the happy effect, that the laity, especially those of the greatest power, of Scotland, never could be reconciled to the latter; and the papal power had less influence with them, than it had amongst any people in Europe, before the time of the Reformation: therefore the wisest of their kings were always sure of being supported in the frequent and vigorous oppositions they made, not only to the power, but to the visits of papal agents.

The first prince of the Stuart family, who deviated from that wise policy, was James the Fifth, who, to a thorough hatred of England, which was his family's ruling passion, joined cruelty and bigotry, vices till then unknown to the blood of Stuart; but a misconception of his own and his people's interests with regard to England, served materially to pave the way for the Reformation. His Dowager, who succeeded him in the administration, a weak bigotted woman, governing Scotland by French magistrates, French soldiers, and French councils, rendered the Reformation a measure of necessity as well as choice.

The kings of Scotland had always been bounded in their prerogative, not so much by the positive laws of their country, as by the unlimited exercise of power, which the feudal constitutions gave to the great landholders over their dependents, whom they styled their vassals. These great landholders, as we have seen, had always hated the Romish bishops, whose power rested solely upon the regal authority: and Scotland is the only nation in Europe, into which the Reformation was introduced without opposition from any lay subject. Nay, what is still more remarkable, while England and other nations were reforming by slow, imperfect degrees, the Scots reformed all at once, so thoroughly, from the

errors of the church of Rome, that all the deviations that have been since made from their original reformation, have been in favour of popery.

But this Reformation, glorious as it was in some respects, was not without lamentable consequences in other. For zeal lighting upon ignorance, and interest prompting riot, the whole was a scene of confusion, and effected by agents so totally illiterate that the Scotch presbyterian clergy continued long distinguished for their ignorance, and for not having produced one man of learning, or eminence in letters. This was the more extraordinary, as they had all the means of erudition in their possession, and their incomes, in general, were not only greater, and less precarious, than those of the foreign Protestant clergy, who made great figures in learning, but than those of the English, the most learned in the world.

Many of the Scotch Roman Catholics, at the time of the Reformation, made great figures in Europe by their learning, and the reformers succeeded in their attempts by a conduct and character diametrically opposite. But in this nothing was affected, for they were really as ignorant as they appeared to be; and bigotry in them, being destitute of knowledge, they relapsed into the most dangerous abuses of what we may call practical popery. The churchmen usurped a power not only over the consciences, but even the persons and estates, of the laity; their excommunications were attended, if possible, with worse consequences than those of Rome, for they always inferred the loss of all property; in many cases, that of liberty; and in some, that of life itself.

The nobility of Scotland, who, till the union of the two kingdoms, had perhaps the truest notions of public liberty of any set of men in the world, found themselves, by this frantic conduct of their clergy, in the case of Actæon. They were ready to be torn to pieces by the very dogs they had so hounded out upon others, and who seldom returned without their prey; and, to save themselves, they were obliged to resume the shape of men, which they had for political ends discontinued for some time after the Reformation. Meanwhile, the part they had to act was dangerous; for the ambition of the court, and of the clergy, though pointed different ways, was equally threatening to public liberty. James the first, Charles the first, and Charles the second, hated not only the Presbyterians, but all moderate Protestants, worse than they did the Papists; while the Presbyterian clergy were ever willing to prefer the most horrid scenes of civil war to a submission either to the king or the nobility.

The power of the latter, however, carried it for a moderate episcopacy, founded in a great measure,

upon the plan of the Culdees; for we do not find in general, that their bishops thought it necessary to have recourse for their consecration, either to Rome or to England. The madness of Laud influenced Charles the first to break this excellent scheme, by introducing many poperies into the public worship, which the common people looked upon as Popish, and, throwing off all restraint, they reverted to the extreme from which they had been reclaimed; for from the year 1640 to the year 1660 the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland exercised over the laity a power more than papal, which the nobility for the sake of public liberty, endangered by the practices of the court, and attacked by the power of England, were once more obliged to submit to, till the restoration took place.

Had it not been for this frantic behaviour of the clergy, who had thereby forfeited all esteem with the nobility and great landholders of Scotland, the Scots never could have been brought to have received Charles without terms. It is true they made an effort, and sent deputies for that purpose, but they betrayed the people of Scotland, as Monk did those of England, and the ministers of Charles ever after alledged, in vindication of their despotic administration, that their master, being restored without terms, had a right to govern as he pleased, a people who, having been rebels to his government, now subsisted only through his clemency. The Scots were not united among themselves so well as to dispute this doctrine, and the odium into which the clergy had brought themselves with all the civilized sensible part of the kingdom, made the abolition of Presbyterianism there go down without a struggle.

The earl of Clarendon knew too little of the temper and disposition of the Scots, and was too much wedded to certain formalities without the essentials of episcopacy, to make a right use of a juncture so critical for the interests of his master. The episcopacy which was restored, was indeed more moderate than that contended for by Laud, for the people were not offended by the use of the book of Common Prayer; and their public service differed very little, if any thing, from that of the Presbyterians. Many faults, and those irretrievable, however, were committed in the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, which was very different from that in England, where many great and eminent confessors for the cause of monarchy and loyalty, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, were yet alive, and had a title to the highest ecclesiastical preferments.

In Scotland, excepting in a few of the northern parts, the clergy had avowed themselves to be the enemies of monarchy and episcopacy; they had acted accordingly, and Sharp, with some of the



more moderate amongst them, had won the confidence of many of the nobility, by promising, as one of the deputies from the clergy, to insist upon the continuance, and at the same time the restriction, of Presbyterianism in Scotland. But Sharp deceived all his constituents, and he not only accepted of the primacy of Scotland, but consented that he and his brethren should be consecrated in England.

But neither this step, nor the restoring bishops to their seats in parliament, could have produced any considerable disaffection amongst the Scots either to episcopacy or to the family of the Stuarts, had it not been that most of the men made choice of for bishops, were a set equally profligate and illiterate; and they who were not, were men bred to books without either inclination or talents for public business, even in their own functions. The whole episcopal order in Scotland was thus exposed to hatred and contempt. To hatred, not only on account of their apostasy and treachery, but on account of the cruelties they countenanced against the Presbyterians; which were such as would have disgraced the reign of a Nero or Domitian; and to contempt, on account of their putting themselves upon the same footing with the old nobility, without possessing one good quality that could entitle them to notice, far less to elevation.

Mean while the nobility, and the men of sense in Scotland, loved episcopacy, though they hated prelacy, but the court could not be brought to disjoin them. This produced a few ill-judged insurrections in the west, which were easily suppressed, for the nation in general hated Presbytery, and the success of the government was crowned by scenes of the most horrid cruelties, abetted and impelled by the prelates. Those cruelties were defended by Sir George Mackenzie, a great lawyer, and lord advocate or attorney general for Scotland, but a mere fanatic both in religion and politics. It became now the avowed principle at the council board in England, that the king in Scotland was above law, and might govern it, as he actually did, by a military force. The same doctrine was recommended to the council board of Scotland, where divisions ran so high, that each party sought to strengthen itself by an implicit obedience to the will of the court and of the bishops.

This was the critical period that effected the revolution under the prince of Orange. The Scots, in general, saw themselves in a real state of slavery, under the most worthless and contemptible of men, and this consideration superseded all others. The men of spirit amongst them, applied more early than the English did, to the prince of Orange; and the consequence was, that the revolution met with less difficulty from the Scotch, than it did from the English parliament.

The crown being settled, religion came next under debate, and the inclination both of court and parliament was to have continued it upon the same footing it was on before. But the connection which the prelates knew to subsist between king William and the enemies rather of their persons than of their order, made them distrust his sincerity. They thought that king James might yet retrieve his affairs by the power of France, and by the Highlanders; who, had their general, the viscount of Dundee, survived the defeat which he gave to the government troops at Gillierauky, would certainly have changed the face of affairs in Scotland. They considered that if king James should be restored, after their submitting to king William, they were to expect no favour; and that should he not be restored, many of them would be brought to a severe account for their illegal conduct in the last two reigns. All these, and other motives, influenced them to stand out against the revolution, and as the necessity of the juncture could admit of no delay, Presbytery, but not of that bloody tyrannical kind that was abolished at the restoration, was again restored by act of parliament in Scotland.

But the same case happened after the revolution, that had happened at the Reformation. The few clergymen in Scotland, who, by their learning were qualified for their functions, were episcopists, who, influenced by their bishops, and the prepossessions in which they had been educated, disclaimed king William's title to the crown; and thus the government was obliged to fill up the vacant churches with men who had nothing to recommend them, but zeal against the exiled family and the routed clergy.—The nation, however, in general, was discontented with the restoration of Presbytery; the episcopals formed a strong party, the men of the greatest fashion and interest in Scotland became their followers, and they of Presbyterianism were thereby so mortified, that, excepting in some trifling instances, their conduct, ever since the revolution, has been excellently adapted to that plan of civil power which ought to be pursued in a free country; nay, we should be wanting to that sincerity we profess, if we did not give it as our opinion, that the established clergy in Scotland have done more than any one set of men (the legislature excepted) in Britain, to keep the crown in the family of Hanover.

Mean while, though it may perhaps seem unfair to attribute a virtuous conduct to an interested motive, we cannot help saying, that the very existence of their order depended upon that attachment, since nothing is more certain, than that before the last rebellion in 1745, the nation in general was much more inclined to episcopacy than to Presbyterianism, and it is incredible to believe with what spirit the former was supported, both amongst the jurat and

nonjurant part of their persuasion. The extinction of the rebellion, however, left the established church in triumphant possession of every thing they could claim, but that which they could not recover, we mean the hearts of the people.

This, we are afraid, was owing to the degeneracy of discipline; which must always happen in any body of men where the individuals are vested with a parity of power. The Roman senate long held out against it by means of the censorship, and private virtue will ward it off for some time:—but it happens unfortunately for the Scotch clergy, that their constitutional powers are very limited, and their influence was owing to that authority which they had over the minds of the people, prepossessed with an opinion of their virtue. When that opinion was gone, their authority vanished, and they had nothing but power to trust to. However, we are not to imagine, that there are not in the established church of Scotland many divines whose virtues would do honour to any church: but we are afraid their numbers are not sufficient to revive the veneration of the people for their order.

This appeared eminently upon the extinction of the rebellion, when, encouraged by their public services, they came to a resolution of applying to the legislature for some favours that really seemed very reasonable, but in the opinion of the people pointed towards an augmentation of their own livings. To our knowledge, the ministry was extremely well disposed towards them: but so incredible an opposition arose to them from people of all ranks in Scotland, that when they were ill enough advised to push the affair into parliament, the ministry did not think it prudent to support them, and the spirit of opposition was carried so far against them, that they lost every reasonable point they aimed at, merely through a prepossession that they intended to aim at what was unreasonable.

The bounds of this volume will not suffer us, though we could easily enter on a detail of the causes, why the Scots, a people that formerly believed in their clergy, hold them now so cheap.—The want of discipline, as we observed before, is the obvious cause, and that is occasioned, in a great measure, by a superficial education, by which the younger part of the clergy learn just as much as to have a contempt for all learning that requires pains and application. Thus some of them commence deists, and some enthusiasts. The abilities, whether natural or acquired, of both, are pretty much alike; and the complexion of the man generally determines the walk into which he strikes, whether it be that of enthusiasm or irreligion. The former resigns all freedom of thinking, the latter abuses it:—the one carries zeal into bigotry; the other liberty into licentiousness: and, in both, ignorance

is the ruling principle. Instead of studying that sound philosophy, which reconciles religion to reason, the one part of them cons over the shallow observation of Shaftsbury, the illiterate remarks of Chubb, the false reasoning of Collins, and the second-hand objections of Bolingbroke to the Christian religion. The other part of them disclaim all what we call human learning, and though not less contemptible than the former, yet they are less dangerous, as long as the power is so circumscribed as it is.

We are obliged to be the more plain concerning these things, because people in general are apt to believe either too much or too little. Thus, if a Scotchman is an enthusiast in favour of his church, he will tell you with an unblushing boldness, that their church could never have any errors in it. On the other hand, the libertine, or profane person will tell us, that the clergy in Scotland are all hypocrites, but we shall take more notice of this afterwards. In other respects there are many valuable things in the church of Scotland, but we must write of things as they are, without considering what they should be.

We come now, 2dly, to consider the circumstances of that church in a more enlarged point of view, and also from historical evidence, to bring every circumstance open to public view.

In England, the Reformation was gradually carried on; in Scotland it was sudden. The Romish clergy knowing that their young queen had been educated in France, had great hopes of their religion being supported by her in all its cruelty. This made them attempt to despise the ancient nobility, whose spirits were too high and too proud to brook the affront, especially as it came from men of obscure birth, who had nothing to recommend them besides their church livings. Mr. Knox was invited over from Geneva, where he had resided several years as an assistant to Calvin and Beza. This was in 1558, and the nobility making choice of such a man as Knox, is a strong proof of their good sense. He was a man of a bold, intrepid spirit, who feared nothing, and consequently became the happy instrument in the hand of Providence, of introducing the reformed religion among a rude people. The bigotry of Mary of Guise, the queen-regent, obliged the nobility and gentry to form themselves into societies for their own preservation, and these were called the lords of the congregation. The queen-regent drew up an army in order to give them battle, but finding herself too weak, and her men of the same opinion with the lords, she promised to grant them a toleration till the parliament should meet.

Had the queen kept her promise, things might have been conducted in a more moderate manner than they were; but just about that time [1559] her

brothers, the cardinal and duke of Guise, the avowed enemies of the Reformation, planned the league of Cambray, by which an association was entered into to extirpate the Protestant religion. A copy of this was sent over to the queen-regent, who, not doubting but she would be supported by a train of Papists, ordered several clergymen to be burnt alive for preaching the Protestant doctrines. This exasperated the lords of the congregation, who had the whole body of the country people on their side, and they marched through Fifeshire with Mr. Knox along with them. The queen went eastward from Stirling-castle to give them battle, but she was too weak. She had then recourse to her former practices of amusing them with false promises, but they would not trust her. They marched northward to Perth, a town situated on the river Tay, very near the borders of the Highlands. There was a Carthusian convent, where king James I. was murdered, 1436. It is certain, that the reformers had no intention at first to commit any violence, but provocation drove them mad.

A few days before they came to Perth, two men had been burned alive, and one woman drowned, for no other crime besides that of eating a capon on a Friday. The people saw what was to be their fate if the clergy were to exercise a coercive authority, not only over their consciences, but also over their persons. It would have been prudent in the Romish clergy to have left the town for a few days, especially as they knew they were hated by the people; but just as if they had courted their own destruction, one of the priests ordered the chapel door of the convent to be set open, and began to say mass. This was considered as an insult offered to the lords of the congregation, upon which their followers tore the priest's robes from off him, brought out all the utensils of the chapel, and made a bonfire of them in the street. The town was now in an uproar, the people were exceedingly exasperated against the priest, and in a few hours the whole convent was levelled to the ground.

The army then marched westward to Stirling, near to which they demolished the mitred abbey of Cambus Keneth, and indeed every cathedral and collegiate church or convent wherever they came, except at Glasgow, where the town's people bore arms and defended their cathedral. The queen-regent took shelter in the castle of Edinburgh, where she died soon after, probably of a broken heart, on being told of the devastation that had been made among the relics of the ancient superstition.

From Glasgow the reformers marched eastward to Edinburgh, and happened just to come into that city, while the priests were preparing to begin a

procession, in honour of St. Giles, the titular saint of that city.

The priests went into the high church as it is called, to bring out the image of the saint, but some unlucky rogue had stolen it away. Vexed with the disappointment, they borrowed an image from another church, which was carried about in procession, and the people called it in derision, *Young St. Giles*. The procession being over, the mob tore the priests' vestments to pieces, mounted St. Giles on the back of a jack-ass, led him to the Grass-market, the common place of execution, where his saintship was tied to a stake and burnt.

Just about this time, when Scotland was in a state of confusion without a sovereign, their young queen being then in France along with her husband Francis II. that monarch was killed in a tournament, and Mary was left a widow, about the nineteenth year of her age. Application was made to her to call a parliament, to settle disputes concerning religion, and writs were sent over to Scotland for that purpose, before she herself arrived.

This parliament met at Edinburgh, August 24, 1560, and by it the Protestant religion was established by law, although the queen, who arrived the next year in Scotland, refused to give her assent to it. This act, however, was always considered as the basis of Reformation in Scotland, and although another act passed in 1567, yet there was so much studied ambiguity, such vague expressions, and such appearance of duplicity, that those of the reformed religion saw through the intended deception, and insisted that the first act should be the security of their religion.

At the same time that the parliament met in August 1560, a general assembly of the clergy were summoned to meet in the high church of Edinburgh, of which assembly the famous Buchanan was president, though he was no more than a layman. But these were violent times, and there was no regularity. This was the first assembly of the church of Scotland, and its decrees were important. Thirteen of the mitred abbots attended as members of this assembly, and the rest were formed by some priests, who were willing to embrace the Reformation, and by some zealous men, who had commenced preachers without being ordained to that office. It was agreed, that they should embrace in some part the discipline of the church of Geneva, but then it was difficult to find out in what manner the external government of the church was to be conducted. It could not be by presbyters and synods, because they had not a sufficient number of ministers, and as for episcopacy they abhorred it. They took a middle line, for they sent as many ministers as they had, to the most capital towns, and



in the country parts they appointed persons whom they called readers, who were to read the scriptures as often as the people came to church.

Above these they appointed another set of men, who had no ordination at all, and these were called superintendents. They were but few in number.—Spotiswood was appointed to superintend all those counties which lie southward of Edinburgh. Winram, who had been formerly sub-prior of the convent of St. Andrews, was appointed superintendent of Fife and its neighbourhood. Mr. Erskine, a lawyer, was appointed to superintend the counties lying north of the Tay, as far as the county of Murray. Mr. Willocks, who had been formerly an Augustinian monk, was appointed superintendent of Glasgow, and the western counties; and Carswell, a Franciscan friar, was sent to Argyll and the isles.

The duty which these superintendents were to perform, was of a very important nature. They were to visit every parish in their bounds, and they generally preached at least twelve times every week.—They were to inquire into the conduct of the clergy and readers, and see that churches should be provided with ministers as soon as any could be procured. They were to hold synods for church discipline, but when the general assembly met, they were to take their places as ordinary ministers, and to submit to church censures with those of the lower order. Here was a sort of moderate episcopacy, and an episcopacy suitable to the state of Scotland at that age.

The superintendents were likewise to preside at all ordinations of the clergy, which may serve to shew that the Scots at that time did not pay any regard to a *Jure Divino*; or a divine right conferred by orders. Their characters were blameless, and they were revered while they were beloved by their people. Whenever there was a vacant congregation, they endeavoured as far as lay in their power to supply the want of a minister, and under their nourishment, as men who wished well to the interests of Christianity, the church of Scotland grew and flourished; the sooner they could provide ministers for vacant churches, their labours decreased of course: although most of them were advanced in years, yet they thought no hardship too great, so as they could promote the interest of their fellow Christians.

Such was the state of the church of Scotland till the year 1570, when a new revolution, though of a short duration, took place, which flowed from avarice, and was maintained by ambition. The Scottish reformers, like all those who undertake to set up new religions, had made a public declaration of their own disinterestedness, but they soon found that the benevolence of their people was not sufficient to support them. On the other hand, the nobility,

embracing such a favourable opportunity, laid hold of the greatest part of the church lands, and left the clergy to starve. To treat men with inhumanity, who are set up as the public guides in religious exercises, is unjust, cruel and impious: and what encouragement could these men have to prosecute their studies, and teach the people, while they were left to starve? The clergy saw their folly, and the nobility triumphed over their weakness.

There was, however, a necessity of saving appearances, of putting on the garb of the hypocrite when truth was in a manner extinguished. A motion was made in one of the parliaments, that the superintendents were beginning to grow old, and therefore it would be much better to appoint bishops in the different dioceses, but that they should still be subject to a general assembly. Accordingly some old friars were appointed to these offices, without knowing for what reason. The nobility, however, had their own interests in view; for their design was, that these men should have the name of bishops, while they themselves enjoyed their emoluments.

As they had no more than a name, they were called Tulchan bishops, a term that we must explain to the reader. The word is Saxon, and signifies deception. When a calf in Scotland is taken from the cow in order to be weaned, they dress an image resembling the young one, which they put under her teats, to make her let go her milk. This image is called Tulchan, because it represents what it is not.

As this form of church government took its rise from unjustifiable motives, so it could not be supposed that it would last long. The parity of power in the general assembly gave the members an opportunity of censuring the bishops, and Douglas, who had been promoted to the see of St. Andrews, was degraded. Indeed these Tulchan bishops had no power, but they were tools in the hands of a brave but ambitious nobility. They were despised by the very persons who set them up, and they were considered as time-serving creatures by the people.—Their ministry was not attended, and every general assembly called them to an account for their conduct.

During the whole of this period, the kingdom of Scotland was, as it were, drenched in blood, owing to their unhappy civil dissensions. Almost all the inhabitants were Protestants, and yet dividing themselves into two parties, they supported different interests. One of the parties took part with their unfortunate queen, who was then a prisoner in England; and the other supported the aristocracy of Scotland.

The power of the nobility had been strengthened by a succession of minorities; and when we con-

sider that the king was then no more than an infant, we need not be surprised to find that the high spirits of the Scottish nobility led them to dispise monarchy, and trample upon municipal institutions. It is certain that they did so, but that leads us to consider a more important period of the history of the church of Scotland, which, in some measure, gave rise to the form it now enjoys. The event could not be ascribed to a single cause, but to many. The pride of the nobility, the ignorance of the clergy, the minority of the sovereign, the unsettled state of affairs in the nation, the disputed points between the contending parties, all conspired towards bringing about an event, which, although small in its first appearance, yet was in the end, great in its consequences.

The nobility continued to support the nominal bishops, although they were in general men of so pliant tempers that they lost all credit with the lower ranks of the people. The king was an infant, the nobility were employed in cutting each others throats, the clergy were starving, and discipline was neglected; so that every thing bid fair to promote an ecclesiastical Reformation in the then Protestant church of Scotland.

In the year 1574, Mr. Andrew Melvill, returned to Scotland from Geneva, where he had spent some years under the tuition of the famous Theodore Beza. If we take the character of this man from the episcopalians, it is very striking indeed. Mr. Sage says, "He was a man by nature fierce and fiery, restless and ungovernable. Education in him had not sweetened nature, but nature had soured education, and both these conspiring together, formed a true original; a piece composed of pride and petulence, of malice and mischief; he could make as free with the sceptre as with the crozier, and could treat with the same contempt, the purple and the lawn-sleeves."

On the other hand, the Presbyterians in Scotland have represented him in a light quite the reverse.—It is certain, he was a man of some learning, and as for his attachment to the religion of Geneva, it is a speculative notion, which must be left to every one's own private judgment.

No sooner had Melvill returned to Scotland, than he was appointed one of the professors in the University of St. Andrews, and minister of a parish. This naturally called him to the general assembly of the clergy, where he harangued in favour of the discipline of Geneva; which he represented as superior to all others. It took mightily with the people, but it was opposed by the nobility, who to colour their sacrilegious use of the church-money, wanted to retain the poor Tulchan bishops.

The controversy, however, was carried on full six years, till at last the Presbyterian party carried

it in a general assembly of the clergy held at Dundee 1580. King James VI. of Scotland was then only fourteen years of age, but he took the government upon himself. It is certain, he loved the Presbyterians, and would never have quarrelled with them, had not their intolerable insolence forced him to it. They not only presumed to dictate to him as a Romish confessor, but, they even abused him openly in their own churches; and, to use the words of Dr. Robertson, who is himself a Presbyterian minister, "The pulpit was disgraced by being used as a vehicle to revile the sovereign, and stir up contention among the people." One Black, preaching in the chapel-royal at Edinburgh, told his sovereign, "á kings were the De'il's bairns;" that is all kings were the devil's children. Of these indecent expressions Dr. Robertson observes, that the preacher deserved the most severe chastisement; but the king only banished him out of the country, along with six others.

The reformed clergy, in all countries, brought along with them intolerant principles; and thus, when the king of Scotland was petitioned to support the Protestant religion, it was implied that he should extirpate the Roman Catholics. James seldom went into a church but he was insulted; and one time, because he refused to dismiss his kinsman the earl of Lenox, from his presence, and banish him from the country, the clergy stirred up the people at Edinburgh, who besieged the king in the parliament-house, crying out, in the words of the Old Testament, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon, the day shall be either theirs or ours."—The king would have been barbarously torn in pieces, had not the earl of Mar come down from the castle with a party of soldiers and rescued him.

This usage exasperated James so much against the Presbyterians, that he never loved them afterwards. He began to abridge their power, and curb their insolence, by giving up all his share of the crown lands that had formerly belonged to the bishops, and appointed thirteen ministers to assume that name, but still they had no episcopal ordination. They were not Tulchan bishops, because they had revenues; but still they were without power, and their ministry was confined to single congregations.—Things continued going on in this manner till the death of queen Elizabeth, 1603, when James succeeded to the crown of England. Then it was that this prince resolved to introduce the episcopal form into his ancient kingdom of Scotland, but he proceeded with great moderation, always bestowing the bishops lands on such men as were most esteemed for their abilities.

It does not appear that James ever thought of causing the Scottish clergy to be episcopally ordained

till he was persuaded thereto by Boncraft, archbishop of Canterbury; nor indeed did this prince see the scheme wholly reduced to practice. It is true, three of the Scottish bishops were sent up to London and consecrated, and on their return they consecrated their brethren; but most of the clergy refused to be re-ordained by them, and still kept their churches.

In 1616 James went down to Scotland and held a general assembly of the clergy at Perth, where, by a small majority, he got the following articles declared to be binding on the church of Scotland.

First, that the cross should be used in baptism. Secondly, that confirmation should be used.—Thirdly, that Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday should be observed. Fourthly, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be received kneeling. And lastly, that baptism should be administered in private to infants. These are commonly called the five articles of Perth, and they were the same year confirmed by a small majority in the Scottish parliament, but it gave great offence to the people, and to the majority of the clergy.

It is perhaps from this period, that we must date the original of the civil wars. The clergy who hated the ceremonies were very popular; they prayed for two hours together before sermon, and the sermon itself was seldom less than five hours at a time. This inflamed the passions of the people who admired them, because they spent most of their time in abusing the king and traducing the bishops. They ingratiated themselves with the ladies, who are generally the most easily caught by the priests, and they pretended that they frequently got answers to their prayers from heaven. Many of the poor old women who were not addicted to enthusiasm, were desired to pray, and bring an answer to one of the pious ladies. Some of the ladies were women of high rank, and their husbands, who were no great friends to the bishops, were easily brought to join them.—Their ministers, during the summer, had private meetings with their friends, and plans were laid to irritate the people against episcopacy.

In this manner things went on till 1633, when Charles I. went down to be crowned at Edinburgh, attended by Laud, Lindsey, archbishop of Glasgow, who came to assist at the coronation, hated the ceremonies, and Laud thrust him away from him with contempt, because he was not dressed in the pontifical habits. A parliament was called to enforce the observations of the Perth articles, and when the clerk-register had collected the votes, he declared that there was a majority against the motion. The clerk was seconded by lord Balmerino, the earl of

Cassels, and other noblemen, which so much enraged the king, that he demanded the roll of the names, and declared that there was a majority in favour of the bill. Accordingly the act passed, and then the king ordered the chancellor to command any person who contradicted him to come forward to the bar, and swear that what Cassels had said was true. By the law of Scotland, to say that the king tells a lie, is high treason, so that none would venture to do it, and the act was recorded.

Charles returned to England, but left the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, meditating a dreadful revenge. They had their meetings in private every summer, and having heard that a common-prayer-book was to be sent them from England, they dispatched some of their agents to London, to prevail upon their Puritan brethren to say all they could in favour of the liturgy, for they knew that if ever it should be sent to Scotland, it would answer all they had in view, namely, to extirpate the bishops, and oblige the king to grant themselves the emoluments of the church. All their wishes were gratified; for in 1636, Laud sent down the prayer-book, which was to be read publicly in the churches of Edinburgh, on Easter-Sunday of the next year, 1637. In the mean time, a great number of Presbyterian ministers held a private meeting at Edinburgh, and it was agreed, that one Janet Geddes, a zealous woman, should take her seat near the reading desk, and knock down the dean if he came to read the book. The chancellor, who at that time was Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, the great officers of state, the judges of the court of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, all attended in the high church of that city, in order to hear the new service book read, which was just a copy of the English liturgy.

No sooner had the dean begun the service, than Janet Geddes took up the stool on which she sat, and at one stroke knocked him down in the reading desk, calling aloud at the same time, "Out, fye, you false thief, do you say mass at my lug." As much as if she had said, "Go out, for shame, you false thief, do you intend to say mass in my hearing." Ward, speaking of this transaction, says,

How Janet Geddes, that shrewd quean,  
Pelted for reading it, the dean.

The whole congregation was in an uproar; the dean was carried out almost dead, the bishop of Edinburgh had his robes torn, and would have been murdered, had not a nobleman present taken him into his coach; with great difficulty the chancellor made his escape, the judges were insulted, and the prayer-book was burnt by the populace at the



Cross. It was attempted to be read at one more of the churches of Edinburgh, but met with the same fate.

The country was now in an uproar, all ranks of people assembled, and the chancellor Spotswood went up to London with an account of these things to the king. The king ordered the prayer-book to be discontinued, and sent down the duke of Hamilton to a general assembly to be held at Glasgow.—In Scotland there are sixty-eight presbyters, each of which sends three ministers and two elders to the general assembly, and the universities send five, so that the whole number amounts to four hundred and sixty-five. The author of this has perused the records of that assembly, and finds that nine out of ten of the ministers, were such as had been long disaffected to episcopacy, and the elders were noblemen and gentlemen of high rank, who hated the bishops. From such men the episcopal clergy had every thing to fear, and the Presbyterians every thing to hope. They met at Glasgow, and Henderson, one of the most learned Presbyterian ministers, was chosen president, or, as they call him, moderator. The duke of Hamilton recommended unanimity and moderation, telling him at the same time, that the king would grant every reasonable request so as they did not attempt to injure the established church; but they had higher objects in view, and therefore, the first thing they did was, to summon all the bishops to appear before them.

It was not to be supposed that the bishops would obey such an order, and therefore they proceeded to excommunicate the whole of them, declaring at the same time, that their order was contradictory to the word of God, and to the constitution of the church of Scotland. Such proceedings being contrary to law as it then stood, because their proceedings looked with impudence in the face of several acts of parliament; duke Hamilton came to the assembly, and in the king's name dissolved them, declaring that it would be high treason for them to sit any longer. He might as well have declared it to be high treason in them, either to eat or drink, for they had the populace on their side, whose consciences they domineered over, and whose passions they could turn to what purposes they pleased.

Accordingly, they continued to sit till they had overturned the whole frame of episcopacy, and then marched an army into England to support the Puritans, who had the same views as themselves.—The king was obliged to pacify them, and next year he came to Edinburgh, where he called a parliament, and ratified all their proceedings. But soon after this, the English having taken up arms, the king erected the royal standard at Nottingham, and the civil wars began, of which we shall at present

take no farther notice, than that the Scots had an active hand in them. Their clergy, who disliked the bishops, greedily swallowed their revenues, and reigned like arbitrary tyrants.

The provocation given by the Scottish clergy to Oliver Cromwell, was in all respects unsufferable, and therefore, while they were sitting in their general assembly at Edinburgh, 1652, he sent one colonel Cotterel with two regiments of dragoons who dispersed them, and beat the rogues march behind them, till they were out of the west-gate of that city.—During the reign of the protector, they were prohibited from meeting, except in their presbyteries and synods, for Cromwell knew how to deal with those like himself. At the restoration, presbytery was abolished and established again at the revolution, as we have noticed before; but we must now proceed to take notice of other particulars relating to this church, which at present makes such a distinguishing figure in the island of Great Britain, for the erudition of its clergy, and their faithful discharge of their duty.

We come now in the third place, to consider the various forms of worship that have taken place in the church of Scotland since the Reformation, down to the present time. The revolutions, indeed, are neither great nor numerous, but still they command our attention. It cannot be supposed, that in the infant state of the reformed church of Scotland, that the form of worship could be regular, and yet notwithstanding this, we find that natural principles, and a regard to some parts of divine revelation, induced the Scottish reformers to follow almost entirely the ancient practices as observed before the time of the emperor Constantine the Great. We have a form, in what is commonly called John Knox's liturgy, but that did not remain long. It was adapted for the readers, and it died with them. They began by reading the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, with the Creed, and then there was a prayer before sermon, which always concluded with the Lord's Prayer. This form seems to have continued till 1580, when Presbytery was established, and then things took a different turn.

Before that time, there were but few sermons preached in Scotland, for the clergy were so ignorant that they knew but little of the sacred scriptures; some of them were enthusiasts, and others were men who had no learning at all, and a third sort were those who had formerly been Romish priests. From such a medley, little good could have been expected, and the divisions that took place in the country, and which in a manner unhinged the basis of morality, induced the people to forget all those obligations they were under to themselves, to their neighbours, and to God. The worship in that

church was performed sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and confusion in the state occasioned confusion in the church.

When Presbytery took place in the church of Scotland 1580, although conducted by a parcel of insolent, bigotted, unlearned zealots, who knew nothing of toleration, with respect to matters of conscience, yet the leaders had the good sense to point out an uniform practice of religious worship. They ordered that the public service of the church should be conducted in the following manner:

While the people were assembling in the church, the reader, or, as they call him, the precentor, read two or three chapters out of the Old or New Testament, and in the choice of these, they were left to their own discretion. The congregation being assembled, the minister came into the pulpit, and repeated a short prayer, after which he read the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, but the people made no responses. This part of the ceremony being over, the minister delivered a discourse, which had some relation to the subject matter of the sermon that was to follow, and then he prayed for the general state of the world and of the nation. The text was then read, and the sermon preached, after which a psalm was sung, and a prayer followed, the service for the time being concluded by the general blessing. It is certain, that such a form of worship was very plain and simple, and in many respects consistent with the nature of the ancient church, and both the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians complied with it, without making any objections till the Westminster assembly 1645. That form of worship varied in some measure from the other that had gone before but in few things of a material nature.

These were times of popularity, when the prejudices of the common people run high, and when the clergy were willing to keep them in good humour. The Scottish clergy had at that time an unlimited power over the consciences of their people, and they endeavoured to introduce an external form of worship, which differed no more from the old, than that of a temporary compliance with temporary superstition. The clergy of Scotland, however, did not all at once embrace this change in their form of worship, but some of the zealots carried it to the other extreme. Instead of that rational form of worship which had taken place before, they introduced many innovations, which even exceeded all those laid down in their common directory for public worship. It is true, that this innovation was contrived by the general assembly of divines at Westminster, and there are many things in it very rational, and consistent with the practice of the primitive church, but still many of the preachers did not conform themselves to it. In all respects, and

under every occurrence, where the circumstances of the times gave them an opportunity, they varied from the prescribed form. Thus some of them used the Lord's Prayer at the conclusion of their devotions, and others did not. Some of them, instead of reading the scriptures, made long discourses to their people, and during the whole space of time that took place from the death of Charles I. till the restoration they never prayed for the civil government, though that duty is enjoined in their directory; for what man could ever dispute the force of that duty, unless he was deprived of reason.

The directory for the church of Scotland is composed in words to the following import, and although they do not admit of any forms, yet we shall find that they have something formal. That directory is here set down, and we shall have occasion to take notice afterwards, how far it was complied with at the revolution, and how it is attended to in that country at present.

When the congregation is to meet for public worship, the people having before prepared their hearts thereunto, ought all to come, and join therein; not absenting themselves from public ordinances, through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the assembly not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, take their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or another.

The congregation being assembled, the minister after solemnly calling them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord, in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear, and in their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near him; with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work, and humbly beseeching him for pardon, assistance, and acceptance in the whole service then to be performed; and for a blessing on that particular portion of his word then to be read; and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The public worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it; forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading, or citing; and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any person present, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and all other indecent behaviour, which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves or others in the service of God.

If any through necessity be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themselves

to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the assembly in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Reading of the word in the congregation, being part of the public worship of God, wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and subjection to him, and one means sanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the pastors and teachers.

Howbeit, such as attend the ministry, may occasionally both read the word, and exercise their gift in preaching to the congregation, if allowed by the Presbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha, shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient that ordinarily one chapter of each testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters are short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requisite, that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the fervent reading of such scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for the edification of his hearers; as the book of Psalms and such like.

When the minister who readeth, shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had to the time, that neither preaching or other ordinances be straitened, or rendered tedious; which rule is to be observed in all other public performances.

Besides the public reading of the holy scriptures, every person that can read, is to be exhorted to read the scriptures privately, and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age or otherwise, are also to be exhorted to learn to read, and to have a bible.

After reading of the word, and singing of the psalm, the minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sincerity before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin with shame and holy confusion of face: and to call upon the Lord to this effect.

To acknowledge our great sinfulness: first, by reason of original sin, which beside the guilt that makes us liable to everlasting damnation, is the seed of all other sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of the soul and body, doth defile our best actions, and were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace, would break forth in innumerable transgressions, and the greatest rebellions against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And next by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many ways accessory.

Which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of the holy, just and good law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined, and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously against the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of his own holy spirit to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, forbearance, and long suffering, but standing out against many invitations, and offers of grace in the gospel, not endeavouring as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives.

To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness, or not endeavouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness, in the power thereof; and that the best of us have not so stedfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought, and to mourn over such other sins as the congregation is particularly guilty of; notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and Reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenants, and other special obligations to the contrary.

To acknowledge and confess, that as we are convinced of our guilt, so out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners, and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where are weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope



of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that only one oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ at the right hand of his father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of God, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins, and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

That the Lord would vouchsafe to send abroad his love unto our hearts by the Holy Ghost, seal unto us by the same spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation, comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirit, and bind up the broken hearted; and as for secure and presumptuous sinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, to pray for sanctification by his spirit; the mortification of sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over us, the quickening of our dead spirits with the life of God in Christ, grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation, and callings towards God and men, strength against temptations, the sanctified use of blessings and crosses, and perseverance in faith, and obedience unto the end.

To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Anti-Christ, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad, from the tyranny of the Anti-Christian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk: for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches: especially upon the churches and kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant, and for our plantations in the remote parts of the world; more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove heresy, schism, profaneness, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of grace, heal all our breaches and divisions, and preserve us from the breach of our solemn covenant.

To pray for all in authority, especially for the king's majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil council, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole church, and of all his kingdoms; for the preservation of the queen, the religious education of the prince, and the rest of the royal seed; for a blessing upon the high court of parliament, (when sitting in any of these kingdoms respectively:) the nobility, the subordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry and all the commonality; for all pastors and teachers, that God would fill them with his spirit, make them exemplary sober, peaceable, just, holy, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful in their ministry; and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all his people pastors according to his own heart; for the universities, and all schools, and seminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in learning and piety; for the particular city or congregation, that God would pour out a blessing upon the ministry of the word, sacraments, and discipline, upon the civil government, and all the several families and persons therein; for mercy to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress; for seasonable weather and fruitful seasons, as the time require; for averting the judgments that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and such like.

And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church, and the acceptance of our persons through the merits and mediation of our great high priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our souls to have fellowship with God in the reverent and conscionable use of his holy ordinance; and, to that purpose to pray earnestly for his grace and effectual assistance to the satisfaction of his holy sabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to ourselves and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches and excellency of the gospel this day celebrated and enjoined.

And, because we have been unprofitable hearers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning, to pray that the Lord who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in

him of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as nothing in comparison of him: and that we, tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is we may be also, and enjoy the fullness of those joys and pleasures, which are at his right hand for evermore.

More particularly, that God would in a special manner furnish his servant, now called to dispense the bread of life unto his household, with wisdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion in evidence and demonstration of the spirit and power and that the Lord would circumscribe the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with meekness, the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls, make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and saving hearing; that so Christ may be so formed in them, and live in them, that all their thought may be brought into captivity, to the obedience of Christ, and their heart established in every good word and work for ever.

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary public prayers; yet so, as the minister may defer, as in prudence he shall think meet, some part of these petitions, till after his sermon, to offer up to God some of the thanksgivings, hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his sermon.

Preaching of the word, being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed, according to the rules for ordination, that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the oriental languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity, by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the holy scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of believers, and by the illumination of God's spirit, and other gifts of edification, which, together with reading and studying of the word, he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and approve in his private preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his sermon is to be

some text of scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion; or suitable to some special occasion emergent; or he may go on in some chapter, psalm, or book of the scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place of general sentence of scripture.

If the text be long, as in histories and parables it sometimes must be, let him give a brief sum of it; if short, a paraphrase thereof, if necessary: in both looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine, which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burthen the memory of the hearers in the beginning, with too many members of division, nor to trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, first, that the matter be the truth of God: secondly, that it be a truth contained in, or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence: thirdly, that he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places of scripture confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pithy, than many, and if need be, somewhat insisted upon and applied to the purpose in hand.

The arguments and reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations of what kind soever, ought to be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from scripture, reason or prejudice of the learners, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or answering vain or wicked cavils, which, as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to rest in general doctrine, although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special use, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man, will be

very unpleasant: yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and if that any unbeliever or ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrines, he may, when convenient, confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of scripture, or from the nature of that common place of divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily; but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly, and endeavour to satisfy their judgments and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he sees cause, to teach also the means that help to the performance of them.

In debatement, reprehension, and the public admonition, which require special wisdom, let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also shew the danger his hearers are in, to be overtaken and surprised by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particularly against some special troubles and terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial, which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the holy scripture, whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong, that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such uses, as by his residence, and conversing with his flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and among these, such as may most draw their souls to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended as being found by experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the people's understandings and memories.

But the servant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry.

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of non-effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of sounds and words, sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical, or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully, looking at the honour of Christ, the conversion, edification and salvation of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest in their sins.

4. Wisely, framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing with it his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all such gesture, vice and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good. And,

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teaches is the truth of Christ; and walking before his flock as an example to them in private; earnestly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overseer; so shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold comforts of his labours, even in his life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more ministers in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more especially apply himself to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

The sermon being ended, the minister is

To give thanks for the great love of God, in sending his son Jesus Christ unto us: For the communi-



entation of his holy spirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed therein,—as viz. election, adoption, justification, sanctification, and hope of glory; for the admirable goodness of God, in freeing the land from anti-christian darkness and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances; for the Reformation of religion; for the covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

To pray for the continuance of the gospel, and all ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty.

To turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. To intreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptance of our spiritual sacrifice, through the merits and mediation of our great high-priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ.

And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the church.

And whereas at the administration of the sacraments, the holding public fasts and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings; it is requisite to express somewhat in our public prayers, as at all times, it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the churches, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom: Every minister herein is to apply himself in his prayer, before or after his sermon to those occasions; but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him in piety and wisdom, to discharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a psalm be sung, if with convenience it may be done. After which, unless some other ordinance of Christ that concerneth the congregation at that time be to follow, let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.

Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use and ends of this sacrament:—Shewing

That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal: That the water in baptism representeth and signifieth, both the blood of Christ, which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual, and the sanctifying virtue of the spirit of Christ, against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful

nature: That baptizing or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood, and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ; that the promise is made to believers and their seed, and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, interest in the covenant and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the church under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before. That the son of God admitted little children into his presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, for of such is the kingdom of God; that children by baptism are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers, and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh. That they are Christians and covenanted holy before baptism, and therefore are they baptised. That the inward grace and virtue of baptism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered, and that the fruit and power thereof, reacheth to the whole course of our life; and that outward baptism is not so necessary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not condemn or neglect the ordinances of Christ when and where it may be had.

In these or the like instruments the minister is to use his own liberty, and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

To look back to their baptism; to repent of their sins against their covenants with God; to stir up their faith, to improve and make the right use of their baptism, and of the covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls.

He is to exhort the parent,

To consider the great mercy of God to him and his child; to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himself and his child, if he be negligent; requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty.

This being done, prayer is also to be joined with the word of institution, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use, and the minister is to pray to the following effect:—

That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers

without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances, would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless his own ordinance of baptism at this time; that he would join the inward baptism of his spirit with the outward baptism of water; make this baptism to the infant a seal of adoption, remission of sin, regeneration and eternal life, and of all the other promises of the covenant of grace; that the child may be formed into the likeness of the death and resurrection of Christ, and that the body of sin being destroyed in him, he may serve God in newness of life all his days.

Then the minister is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to say, calling the child by his name,

I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As he pronounces these words, he is to baptise the child with water; which for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks and pray, to this or the like purpose:

Acknowledging, with all thankfulness, that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of his love in Christ: that in his truth and special providence, he daily bringeth some into the bosom of his church, to be partakers of inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of his dear son, for the continuance and increase of his church.

And praying, that the Lord would still continue, and daily confirm, more and more, this his unspeakable favour: that he would receive the infant now baptised, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with the favour that he sheweth to his people, that if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would be pleased to receive him up into glory; and if he live and attain the years of discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by his word and spirit, and make his baptism effectual to him, and so uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world, and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The communion, or supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: but how often, may be considered and determined, by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and

edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered we judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Where this sacrament cannot with conveniency be frequently administered, it is requisite that public warning be given the sabbath day before the administration thereof; and that either then, or on some day of that week, something concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof be taught, that by the diligent use of all means sanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feast.

When the day is come for administration, the minister having ended his sermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation; expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this sacrament, together with the ends and use thereof, setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby, in this our pilgrimage and warfare. How necessary it is that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: how great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

Next, he is in the name of Christ on the one part, to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table, shewing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself; and on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace, than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table, assuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshment, and strength, to their weak and wearied souls.

After this exhortation, warning, and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it; the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him, the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him and given, it may be distributed amongst the communicants: the wine also in large cups; having first in a few words shewed, that those elements otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer.

Let the words of institution be read out of the evangelists, or out of the first epistle of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, chap. 11. ver. 23. "For I have received of the Lord," &c. to the 27th ver.

which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing of the bread and wine, be to this effect:

With humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us; and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies, to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ and all his benefits are applied and sealed up unto us, which notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

To profess that there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life.

Earnestly pray to God the father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his spirit in us, and so to sanctify these elements both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us.

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable affections answerable to such an holy action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The elements being not sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say in these expressions, or other the like used by Christ or his apostle upon this occasion:

According to the holy institution, command and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks, I break it and give it unto you. Then the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to the communicants: Take ye, eat ye, this is the body of Christ which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of him.

In like manner, the minister is to take the cup, and say in these expressions, or other the like, used by Christ, or the apostle, upon the same occasion:

According to the institution, command and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup, and give it unto you (here he giveth it unto the commu-

nunicants): This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many: Drink ye all of it.

After all have communicated, the minister may in a few words put them in mind of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament, and exhort them to walk worthy of it.

The minister is to give solemn thanks to God, for his rich mercy and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them in that sacrament, and to intreat for pardon for the effects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of his good spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation.

The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered.

The Lord's day ought to be so remembered before hand, as that all worldly business or ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be an holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet of that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every person or family by prayer, for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry, and by such holy exercises as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

That all the people meet timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship; and not depart till the blessing is pronounced.

That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meeting of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons, especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard, and catechising of them, holy conferences, praying for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, rich relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight.

Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and



of public interest in every common-wealth, yet because such as marry are to marry to the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the word of God at their entering into such a new condition, and of the blessing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they such as are not within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity, nor prohibited by the word of God. And the parties are to be of years of discretion, fit to make their own choice, and upon good grounds to give their mutual consent.

Before the solemnizing of marriage between any persons, their purpose of marriage shall be published by the minister three several sabbath days in the congregation, at the place or places of their most useful and constant abode respectively. And of this publication, the minister, who is to join them in marriage, shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the marriage.

Before the publication of such their purpose, if the parties be under age, the consent of the parents or others under whose power they are, in case the parents be dead, is to be made known to the church officers of that congregation to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceeding of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first marriage. And in after marriages of either of those parties, they shall be exhorted not to contract marriage, without first acquainting the parents with it if with conveniency it may be done, endeavouring to obtain their consent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free consent, nor deny them their own consent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of marriage hath been thus published, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the minister having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to solemnize it in the place appointed by authority for public worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year except on a day of public humiliation, and we advise that it be not on the Lord's day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister is to pray for a blessing upon them to this effect:—

Acknowledging our sins whereby we have made ourselves less than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all our comforts earnestly in the name of Christ to intreat the Lord, whose presence and favour is the happiness of every condition, and sweetens every relation, to be their

portion, to own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the honourable estate of marriage, the covenant of their God. And that as he hath brought them together by his providence, he would sanctify them by his spirit, giving them a new frame of heart, fit for their new estate; enriching them with all graces, whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares, and resist the temptations, which accompany that condition as becometh Christians.

The prayer being ended, it is proper that the minister do briefly declare unto them out of the scripture—

The institution, use, and ends of marriage, with the conjugal duties, which in all faithfulness they are to perform to each other, exhorting them to study the holy word of God, that they may learn to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage cares and troubles, sanctifying God's name in a thankful, sober, and holy use of all conjugal comforts, praying much with and for one another, watching over and provoking each other to love and good works, and live together as the heirs of the grace of life.

After solemnly charging of the persons to be married before that great God, who searcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause by precontract or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage; that they now discover it. The minister, if no impediment be acknowledged, shall cause first, the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these or the like words:—

I N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say these words:—

I N. do take thee N. to be my married husband, and do in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then without any further ceremony the minister shall in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God's ordinance, and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect:—

That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant mercy, in and through Jesus Christ.

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

It is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in public, but privately, and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove and comfort them, upon all seasonable occasions, so far as his time, strength, and personal safety will permit.

He is to admonish them in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpose they are often to confer with their minister about the estate of their souls: and, in times of sickness to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably before their strength and understanding fail them.

Times of sickness and affliction, are special opportunities put into his hands by God, to minister a word in season to weary souls: because, then the consciences of men are, or should be more awakened, to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and, *satan* also takes advantage then to load them with more sore and heavy temptations. Therefore the minister being sent for, and repairing to the sick, is to apply himself with all tenderness and love, to administer some other spiritual good to his soul, to this effect:

He may, from the consideration of the present sick, instruct him out of the scripture, that diseases come not by chance or by distempers of body only, but by the wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God to every particular person smitten by them. And that whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exercises of his grace, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he suspects him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity of those graces; as also the covenant of grace, and Christ the Son of God, the mediator of and concerning remission of sins by faith in him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt, or temptation, that is upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him

of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them, of the filth and pollution which the soul contracts by them, and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them; and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered; to awaken his conscience, and rouse him out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that being lost in himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he has endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to serve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the sufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in him.

It may be also useful to shew him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because sin, the sting of death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himself entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: So that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom such are such, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Advice also may be given to beware of an ill grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for mercy in the sole merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged himself never to cast off them, who in truth and sincerity come unto him.—Care also must be taken, that the sick person be not cast down into despair, by such a severe representation of the wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollified by a reasonable propounding of Christ and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the sick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the minister, desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect:

Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual, the miserable condition of all by nature as being children of wrath, and under the curse, acknowledging that all diseases sicknesses, death, and

hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof: imploring God's mercy for the sick person through the blood of Christ, beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him his holy spirit to create and strengthen faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidence of his love, to arm against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end.

That if God shall please to add to his days, he would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance, and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

And if God hath determined to finish his days by the present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and all-sufficient Redeemer.

The minister shall admonish him also, as there shall be cause, to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniences, to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satisfaction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, the minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for sickness, death and judgment, and all the days of their appointed time, so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony.

And because the customs of kneeling down and praying by, or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages in the place where it lays, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious: and for that, praying, reading, and singing both in going to, and at the grave have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit we judge, if very convenient, that the Christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion; and that the minister as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or differences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased whilst he was living.

When some great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, public solemn fasting, which is to continue the whole day, is a duty that God expecteth from the nation, or people.

A religious fast requires total abstinence not only from all food, unless bodily weakness do manifestly disble from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken yet very sparingly to support nature when ready to faint; but also from all worldly labour, discourses and thoughts, from all bodily delights, although at other times lawful, rich apparel, ornaments and such like, during the fast, and much more from whatever is, in the nature or use, scandalous or offensive; as garnish, attire, lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex, which we recommend to all ministers in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other times, so especially at a fast without respect of persons, as here shall be occasion.

Before the public meetings, each family and person apart, are privately to use all religious care; to prepare their hearts to such a solemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in public reading, and preaching of the word, with singing of psalms fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty; but especially in prayer to this or the like effect:

Giving glory to the great majesty of God, the creator, preserver and supreme ruler of all the world, the better to affect us thereby with a holy reverence, and awe of him. Acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the church



and nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before him. Humbly confessing of sins of all sorts, with their several aggravations: justifying God's righteous judgments, as being far less than our sins do deserve: yet humbly and earnestly imploring his mercy and grace for ourselves, the church and nation, for our king and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, according as the present exigence requireth, with more special importunity and enlargement than at other times. Applying by faith the promises and goodness of God for pardon, help, and deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deserved, and for obtaining blessings which we need and expect, together with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto the Lord.

In all these, the ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts upon serious, and through premeditation of them, that both themselves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby: especially with sorrow for their sins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister's observation and experience tell him are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the public duties, the minister is in his own and the people's name, to engage his and their own hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is amiss among them, and more particularly such sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new obedience than ever before.

He is also to admonish the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day and of their whole life, in re-inforcing upon themselves and their families in private, all those godly affections and resolutions which they professed in public, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find that God hath smelt a sweet savour in Christ for their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jesus Christ.

Beside solemn and general fasts enjoined by authority, we judge that at other times congregations may keep days of fasting, as divine providence shall administer to them special occasions. And also that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for fasting or other public duties of worship.

When any such day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation, after private preparations, being assembled, the minister is to begin with a word of exhortation to stir up the people to this duty for which they are met, and with a short prayer for God's assistance and blessing, as at other conventions for public worship, according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it and more affected with it.

And because singing of psalms is of all others the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent psalm or psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading some portion of the word, suitable to the present business.

Then let the minister who is to preach, proceed to further exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the work; after which let him preach upon some text of scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The sermon ended, let him only pray as at other times after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the church, the king, and state, if before the sermon they were omitted, but enlarge himself in due and solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks; with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they have some convenient time for their repast and refreshing.

But the minister, before their dismissal, is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing, and to take care their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and

rejoicing may render them more cheerful, enlarged further to celebrate his praise in the midst of the congregation, when they return into it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the public meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor, and in like manner upon the day of public humiliation, that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testifications of Christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family.

In singing of psalms, the voice is to be tuneable and gravely ordered: But the chief care must be, to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm-book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the other ruling officers do read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

Thus we have here a complete directory for public worship, and when all the circumstances are considered, an unconcerned person will be surprised that such a composition should be drawn up by a body of men, differing in many sentiments concerning the externals of religion, but all agreeing in the essentials. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that this directory comes nearer to the primitive form, than any of those in the reformed churches abroad; but this leads us to take notice, in the third place, of their various confessions of faith, from time to time.

The church of Scotland, at the Reformation 1560, had no regular confession of faith, nor articles of religion, but as to fundamental points, they were like the rest of the Protestant world. That is, they held all those sentiments as genuine, that were embraced by the church of Geneva, and in the church of England, except so far as the articles of that church relate to church government.

In 1561, Mr. Knox and some other divines, drew

up a confession of faith, which continued to be the uniform standard of doctrine of the church of Scotland, till 1645, and this system, containing forty-three articles was constantly subscribed both by Episcopallians and Presbyterians. In all these articles, where the subject matter is disputable, the Scottish reformers have conducted themselves with great modesty, and much more so than the Westminster divines. In their account of predestination, they speak with the same moderation as the church of England; and although the whole is consistent with the doctrine of St. Austin, yet it is not carried to an extravagant height, nor are dogmatical assertions made use of.

This system of religion was so well esteemed, that no fault was found with it by the people of Scotland till the famous Westminster assembly, when some of the members, who were violent in their tempers and high in their notions, objected to it as favouring the Arminian scheme, which was really false, there not being one article in it but what every Calvinist might subscribe. This ancient Protestant confession of faith is but little known in the present age, except by those who are curious in searching into such matters. It is, however, a noble composition, and is worthy of those men, who although but little acquainted with human learning, yet had the fear of God, and the love of true religion implanted in their hearts.

There is one thing very remarkable, namely, that when episcopacy was established 1662, not one word was mentioned concerning a system of articles. Perhaps there never was such a blunder committed before. An established church without a system, is like a body without a soul. And yet this want of articles in the episcopal church of Scotland was never called in question till 1682, when the test act was proposed, and carried through parliament, by the influence of the duke of York. This infamous act was expressed in words to the following purport, or import. Every person was to swear that he would support the Protestant religion as by law established. Here was a studied ambiguity, calculated to serve the ends the Roman Catholics had in view; and nothing could have induced the people of Scotland to give their consent to it, had it not been the terrors they were under of coming once more under the severity of Presbyterian discipline.

The oath was taken by some of the nobility, but when it was proposed to the earl of Argyll, he asked, what was the religion by law established? The bishops of Scotland were at that time poor, ignorant, worthless men; but this question put them to what they had never done before, namely, the blush. It was then proposed in council, that a system should be fixed on, and after many debates, that of 1561 was made choice of. The Presbyte-

rians did not object so much to the form of the old confession, as they did to its moderation, and as for the Episcopalians, many of them treated all sorts of religion with contempt. But this was not all:—There was an ambiguity in the words of the act, which seemed to have been studied by some very artful person. Thus by the words "Protestant religion" it was not said whether it was episcopacy, or presbytery. This seems to have been contrived to irritate all those who were of the presbyterian persuasion; but the snare was laid equally for the virtuous amongst the episcopalians. The act appointing the reformed religion as the establishment of Scotland was never signed by queen Mary, and therefore when it was said, "by law established," the Papists had it still in their power to insinuate that there was no religion but theirs established by law. The sensible part of the Episcopalians saw through the deception, and the oath was rejected by them, while the Presbyterians treated it with abhorrence.

The horrid murders that took place in Scotland, in consequence of this act, are well known to all those who are properly acquainted with the history of that country. But then it should be considered that the duke of York was a merciless tyrant, and the Scottish bishops were mean obsequious wretches. It is true, this system which had been embraced by the church of Scotland under all her forms for at least eighty-five years, was acknowledged by the Episcopalians till the revolution, and by some of them afterwards. But this leads us to consider their second system, which was framed by the assembly of divines at Westminster, was the formula of doctrine for the church of Scotland till the restoration, and has been so ever since the revolution.

This system is a compilation of those doctrines, which were propagated by St. Austin, and embraced by most of the Protestant reformers. The sentiments are striking, and the language is engaging.—It is divided into thirty-three articles, all of which we shall take notice of.

The first article relates to the holy scriptures, and points out the necessity of divine revelation, to bring men to a state of happiness, where the light of natural reason fails. It enumerates all the books of the Old and New Testament; it disclaims all reliance on church authority, or traditions, and allows nothing to be the foundation, or ground work of our faith and obedience, but the truths contained in the sacred scriptures.

The second article asserts the doctrine of the Trinity in unity, a sentiment that most Christians agree in, excepting a few English dissenters. This article is well expressed; and all the positions are supported by such texts of scripture as are incon-  
fictory. And here it may not be improper to

observe, that this article of the Christian faith was never called in question till the middle of the fourth century.

The third article relates to predestination, and here the notion is carried much higher than it is in the seventeenth article of the church of England. It is certain, there are some very unguarded expressions in this article, and others that clearly point out a forced construction put upon scripture. The greatest fault in this article is, that the assertions are too positive and dogmatical. The persons who framed them, seem to have looked upon themselves as infallible, or otherwise they would never have pretended to dictate to their fellow-creatures in matters of no manner of importance.

The fourth article is one of those which is acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the world, unless they are Atheists, or Epicureans. This article asserts, that the world was created by Almighty power, and that all the three persons in the ever blessed Trinity were concerned in it. It is certain, that no object can make itself, no being form its own existence. There is in this article a line drawn between natural and revealed religion, a circumstance too seldom to be met with in modern systems of divinity.

In a regular course, the fifth article relates to Providence. Some parts of this article are rather harsh, and many of the expressions unguarded; but in general there is something noble and grand in the whole. God is here acknowledged to be the sovereign Lord of the creation, and consequently has a right to dispose of his creatures in what manner he pleases. The article concludes by taking notice, the same Providence which takes care of the world, exercises the same care over the church of God.

The sixth article relates to the fall of man, and all the sentiments in this article are expressed with care and precision. There are few people in the world who will deny the existence of original corruption; for common experience points it out.—Why should men be so prone to sin if there is not a contamination in the nature? Why should all the faculties be corrupted, if there was not an original cause? The case is plain and obvious, and agrees with the doctrine of the church of England.

The seventh article relates to the two covenants, namely, those of works and grace. This article asserts, that the covenant of works, was a conditional engagement, entered into by the great Jehovah and our first parents, concerning personal obedience.—The covenant of grace was an engagement entered into by God on the one part, and his son on the other, to redeem our fallen race. The words in this article are stiff and affected, and there are some very ambiguous expressions made use of. This,



however, is not so much to be imputed to the framers of the articles, as to the tempers of those people with whom things were conducted. God in his goodness promotes the interests of his creatures, and he loves that all his subjects should do the same.

The eighth article relates to Christ, as a mediator between God and man. This is one of the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; for what necessity could there have been for Christ's taking our nature upon him, unless it was by his mediation to make up that breach which sin had procured. It is through Christ, as a mediator between offended power and offending sinners, that we must look for acceptance. The papists, although they pray to angels and saints, yet allow Christ to be the Supreme Mediator. Nay, nothing is more common than to hear an Arian mentioning Christ as a mediator, although at the same time he attempts to rob him of his glory.

The ninth article relates to the freedom of the human will, and is much the same as that in the church of England, only that it is more full and expressive. It is grounded on all those passages of sacred scripture, which point out the omnipotence of God; but it is certain that many of these passages relate to the general purposes of God, and not to the condition of individuals. We shall not, however, meddle with the controversy, but leave every reader to judge for himself.

The tenth article follows the ninth of course, and relates to effectual calling, or, as it is commonly expressed, efficacious grace in bringing men to a sense of sin, and a knowledge of the necessity they are under of being justified through the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

The chain of principles in this compendium is so regularly interwoven, that the actual justification of a sinner follows immediately in the eleventh article after effectual calling. And here, in conformity with all the Protestant churches at the Reformation, it is asserted that no man can be justified before God so as to be saved eternally, but through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Certainly it is the safest way for a man to trust for salvation in the righteousness of Christ, rather in any thing done by himself. It is, in the words of the old proverb, "Erring on the safe side." For surely the man who has a low and humble opinion of himself, will be the most ready to do good works; so that if the sentiments concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness should not be true, yet he will be able to obtain salvation on the score of his own merits.

Adoption of course follows, by which is meant, sinners being adopted or admitted as the children of God, and heirs of his glory. The term is borrowed

from the civil law of the Romans, which permitted a man who had no children to make choice of one, whom he called by his own name, and left him his estate. In such cases, no law-suit could be entered into by the collateral relations, the adopted person being to enjoy the whole secure and unmolested.—As this supposed a right of possession among the Romans, as well as a right of disposal, so adoption in a Christian sense imports God's absolute power and freedom to bestow his mercies, favours, and blessings, whenever he pleases.

The thirteenth article is concerning sanctification, which naturally follows adoption. It is certain, that without holiness or good works, all pretensions to justification and adoption are vain. It is, however, a very melancholy consideration, that the most zealous professors of religion are the worst of men. The man who is justified and adopted into the family of God, is holy, humble, meek, charitable, and virtuous; whereas the bold hypocrite who tires heaven with his prayers, and talks to people of his experiences, is only ripening for hell.

The fourteenth article is concerning saving faith; and here the doctrine of the appropriation has been held forth as a leading principle. It is certain, that this was in general the notion embraced by the reformers throughout Europe, and it follows exactly the doctrine of St. Austin. In the church, before the time of Austin, faith was considered as a firm belief that Christ was what he is represented in scripture; namely, the second person in the ever-blessed Trinity, God and man; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, and that he arose again and ascended into heaven. To believe this, was all that was required of the ancient Christians, only that they were to depart from all sorts of iniquity. St. Austin, however, introduced the notion, that there was a necessity for the appropriating act, and in this he has been followed by the reformers. Mr. Hervey defines the appropriating act in the following words, "Christ is mine, grace is mine, pardon is mine, and why? because I feel sanctifying operations in my heart." Perhaps Mr. Hervey was right, for surely the man who feels within himself an inclination to do good, must have the grace of God in his heart. By those, however, of enlarged sentiments, faith has been logically defined in the following words:—

1. Faith is the belief of something being true, in consequence of a firm persuasion that the person who related the fact could not tell a lie.
2. But God is the author of Divine Revelation.
3. Therefore, to believe the Old and New Testament to be true, is saving faith.

The fifteenth article is concerning repentance, which must always make a part of religion, where men believe themselves to be sinners. There are

no Christians that we know of, who deny the doctrine of repentance, only that some whom we shall have occasion to mention afterwards, believe that it flows from the freedom of the human will, whereas the article before us asserts, that it is effected by divine grace. The Arminians say, that repentance goes before faith, and the Calvinists insist that it follows after.

The sixteenth article is concerning good works, which is what may be called an excrescence. We have already considered the article on sanctification, and in the name of common sense, do not good works flowing from faith in Christ Jesus become sanctification. What is sanctification, is it not the effect of every duty flowing from evangelical principles? The church of England has treated of good works and sanctification as one and the same, and we will freely acknowledge, that to separate them is little better than insanity. We must acknowledge, however, that the hypocrite makes use of the word sanctification, while the true Christian glories in good works without trusting in them.

The seventeenth article relates to the final perseverance of the saints, which is one of the grand articles in that system which St. Austin taught, and which was reduced into a system by Calvin. It is certain, that when we consider the state of human nature, the pride of men, and their ill-grounded expectations, this article will appear to us clogged with dangerous consequences. Thus the person who believes he cannot fall from grace, is apt to be so vain in his own conceit as to neglect moral duties. Perhaps this is the greatest error in modern religion, and we can almost venture to affirm, that it has laid the foundation for crimes. While men are on their guard, God will be with them; while they indulge themselves in security, they will be in danger.

The eighteenth article is little more in words than a repetition of the last. It is on the assurance of salvation. Whatever men may believe, whatever they may embrace as their own private sentiments, they ought to be extremely cautious how they make them public to others. Ask a man whether he is sure of salvation, and perhaps the boldest professor will decline answering in the affirmative.

The nineteenth article relates to the law of God, and this is plain and expressive. It distinguishes the law of God into two different parts, as first, that made with, or given to Adam, which has commonly been called the moral law, though with great impropriety. Secondly, the ceremonial law, by which through sacrifices and other significant types, the whole gospel dispensation was pointed out.—Thirdly, the fundamental law of the Romans, which related to the security of civil property, as well as the preservation of life; and lastly, the

law of Christ which comprehends all that is useful in any of the others.

The twentieth article is concerning liberty of conscience; and here we are sorry to observe that there is a studied ambiguity runs through the whole of it. It is remarkable, that above forty years after the Reformation, the Protestants should have retained intolerant principles. To consider this article in a superficial light, it would seem that the framers of it had been friends to ecclesiastical and civil liberty, but a person who is acquainted with reason, cannot be deceived with such flimsy pretences. The whole article has been drawn up by a very artful person, who seems to have been no stranger to the school of Loyola.

The twenty-first article relates to the Christian sabbath, or Lord's day, and it is certain, that this was a duty observed by the primitive church, except by such as were slaves to heathen masters. In this article the sentiments are clearly expressed, and point out all those duties which the sincere Christian should practise. This much is certain, that if the religious observation of the sabbath was more attended to than it is, it might be of great service to the world in general. There is something that has a heavenly appearance, in men setting apart some of their time for religious duties. One day in seven is observed by the Mahometans, one by the Jews, and one by the Christians.

Article twenty-second relates to oaths or vows, and here the authors have adhered very strictly to the scriptural sense. It is certain, that the form of swearing in England does not carry along with it, that solemn dread which should be upon the minds of the people. But here the duty is explained in a clear, comprehensive; expressive manner.

The twenty-third article relating to the civil magistrate, is very ambiguously expressed. This much is certain, that the framers of the article delivered sentiments which contradicted their own practice. They were, at that time, in a state of rebellion, and yet they here expressed themselves as loyal subjects.

The twenty-fourth article relates to marriage, and when we consider every thing in it, we shall find, that it is, in all respects, consistent with the moral law of nature, and the gospel of Christ. There are some strong invectives against people despising the marriage state, and perhaps it would be much better for the people in the present age were they to attend more to this sentiment.

The twenty-fifth article relates to the universal church, and this is much the same in substance, as the article on that subject in the church of England. It disclaims all pretensions to infallibility, and declares the pope of Rome to be anti-christ. It asserts



that Christ is the head of the church, in opposition to all those whom they call Erastians, who give that power to the civil magistrate.

The twenty-sixth article concerns the communion of saints as united to Jesus Christ their living head. This is an important article of the Christian faith, and in it that doctrine is clearly expressed. It is certain, that all believers on this earth may be said to be in a state of communion, like children of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance. As they all partake of the same effects of the death of Christ, and are all to enjoy his presence for ever, so there is nothing more necessary than that they should be united.

The twenty-seventh article relates to the sacraments, and although the sentiments of the person who framed it are the same with those of the church of England, yet the Westminster divines have explained themselves with greater precision. Like the church of England, they here declare that there are but two sacraments, and that they are only visible signs of inward invisible grace.

Article twenty-eight is on baptism, and here these divines have kept in the middle between the two extremes. The article asserts, that it is a great sin to delay baptism, and much more so to despise it; but abhorring the popish notions, as well as those embraced by some Protestant churches, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation.

The twenty-ninth article is on the Lord's supper, and the same sentiments are retained in it as in the church of England, only that there is no ambiguity, the whole being expressed in the clearest manner.

The thirtieth article relates to church censures, which will be taken more notice of when we come to treat of the discipline of the church of Scotland.

The thirty-first article relates to synods, or councils, and here it is necessary to remark, that although the Puritans condemned the twentieth article of the church of England, which gives power to the church to appoint rites and ceremonies, yet here we find the same sentiment advanced, and indeed, in a much more ambiguous manner, than in the church of England.

The thirty-second article relates to the state of men after death, and the resurrection. There are two things necessary to be attended to in this article.

The first of which is, that the framers of it disclaim the notion that the souls of people sleep from the time of their death till the resurrection. This notion is at present embraced by many of the English dissenters, who seem to be glutted with liberty and fond of novelty.

The second thing in this article, is the common

opinion, that the souls of the righteous go into heaven at death, and the souls of wicked men into hell. It is very surprising, that any man who has read Luke xvi. should ever run away with such an absurd notion, that human souls either go to heaven or hell at death. The express words in that chapter assert, that there are two states, one for the righteous, and the other for the wicked.

The heathens, as appears from the sixth book of Virgil, thought thus, and Christ speaks of such a separate state, as afforded an opportunity for the happy and miserable to see each other. This was the sense of the primitive church; for as Christ had taken our nature upon him, and as he was not glorified himself till he ascended into heaven, consequently our happiness will not be complete till our bodies and souls are united.

The thirty-third and last article is concerning the general judgment. This is an article of natural religion, and is strongly enforced by divine revelation; the natural principle on which it stands, is the inequality of the distribution of justice and mercy in this world. Our notions of God are, that he is just, and that he will reward virtue and punish vice. Now, as vice often reigns triumphant, while virtue is depressed, it is consistent with the divine attributes, that God should appoint a day for a general retribution. However, concerning this article, divine revelation has not left us in the dark; for Christ himself has assured us, that he will come in glory to give to every one according to his works. And Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, speaking on this subject in the court of Areopagus, said, "He hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness." Acts xvii. 32.

Such are the articles contained in that formulary drawn up by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and at present embraced by the church of Scotland. It is certain, that it contains a complete and methodical system of Austin's opinions and Calvin's doctrines. It is equally certain, that there are sentiments in it which were not known in the Christian church, till the fourth century. With respect to the civil power, it has a studied; or rather a forced ambiguity, but this must be ascribed to the spirit and temper of that age when it was compiled. When this system was drawn up, a copy fairly engrossed on vellum, was deposited in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster; where the members of both houses gave their assent to it; for the parliament was at that time without a king. The parliament of Scotland ratified this confession 1649, but it was abolished at the restoration. In 1690, it was established as the fundamental articles of religion in the church of Scotland; and, at present, every professor in their universities, every probationer, and every minister, previous to his ordination,



must subscribe to it. It is not, however, imposed on the civil magistrates, nor in Scotland are there any sacramental tests.

The church of Scotland has two catechisms, both drawn up in the same manner, only that the one is a composition to be read, the other is a simple catechism to be got by heart. Both these catechisms are divided into a more regular plan than any perhaps in the universe. They consist only of three parts, namely, first, what the scriptures teach us to believe concerning God; secondly, an account of that duty which God requires of men; and, lastly, an illustration of all that the churches should attend to in this life.

The shorter catechism of the church of Scotland, is one of the most beautiful compendiums of Calvinistical divinity that ever was written. The sentiments are striking, the language is nervous, though adapted to the meanest capacities, and the doctrines are such as in general may be supported by scripture. The questions are drawn up in such an easy manner, that the weakest capacity may return the answer in an easy manner; and they are so connected together, that they seem to resemble the links of a chain; for remove the answer to one of the questions, and you discompose the whole.

Having said thus much concerning the fundamental articles of their religion, we shall now endeavour to lay before the reader the present state of their church in all its different parts.

And first, with respect to its government.

The church of Scotland is at present, and has been ever since the revolution, governed in the following manner:

In every parish there is at least one minister, and sometimes two, but where there are two, they are equal in power; for no individual minister in the church of Scotland has authority over another. In every parish, besides the minister, there are a few reputable men chosen, whom they call elders. The number of these men are according to the extent of the parish, and they are solemnly ordained for life. Their business is to visit the sick, and pray with them in the absence of the minister; to take care that parents bring up their children in a proper manner; to inquire into all acts of immorality, and make a report thereof to the kirk session.

The kirk session is composed of the minister and those elders, and they meet at least once every week, and in country places most commonly on Sundays after the service is over. They inquire into every complaint against any of the parishioners, and if it is for fornication or adultery, they inflict the following censures upon them.

There is in every parish church a seat erected in a most conspicuous part, where the offender must sit three several Sundays, and receive as many re-

bukes from the minister; but from this sentence the offender may appeal to the presbytery, of which we shall speak afterwards.

The lowest order of officers in the church of Scotland are their deacons. These men, like the elders, are in number according to the extent of the parish. They are always reputable housekeepers, and their duty is to inquire into the state of the poor, to administer to them the alms of the congregation, but they are not permitted to sit in any church judicatures.

The presbytery is composed of the ministers of a certain district, which, according to the situation of the country, may be from ten to sixteen parishes.—From each parish an elder goes as well as the minister, and they meet once every six weeks. They hear all appeals from the church session, and they elect ministers to represent themselves in the general assembly.

An appeal from the presbytery lies to the synod, which is composed of the whole members of three or four presbyteries, and they meet twice in the year, and review the proceedings of the presbyteries. In both these meetings the president, or, as they call him, moderator, is always chosen from among the ministers. He proposes the questions and collects the votes; and both in presbyteries and synods attorneys are allowed to plead.

Above all these is the general assembly, which, properly speaking, may be called the parliament of the church of Scotland. This council is composed of three hundred and forty-five members, being ministers and elders, together with commissioners from the universities. They have, ever since the revolution, met at Edinburgh, in the last week of May, and the king sends down a commissioner to represent his person. When the commissioner arrives at Edinburgh, he walks in procession to the high church, where a sermon is preached by the moderator, or president for the last year. Divine service being over, the assembly meets in an aisle belonging to the church, where there is a throne covered with crimson velvet. The commissioner takes his seat on the throne, and three steps below him is the president for the last year, with the clerk, who is always a minister, at a table before him. The commissioner, who is, during his office, styled his grace, receives the commission from the bag-bearer, and delivers it to the moderator, who reaches it to the clerk.

The clerk reads the commission first in Latin, and then in English. It is always to the following import. It begins with a declaration of his majesty's love and regard for the church of Scotland; an acknowledgment of the favours his family are under to that church; and this is followed by an exhortation, that they will promote the interest of virtue

and morality, that they will send able teachers among the poor Highlanders, that they may be brought up in the fear of God, as useful members of society. The commission being read and recorded, two candidates are named to be moderator, and the majority of votes carries the election. The new moderator then goes up to the chair, and constitutes the assembly by prayer.

As soon as prayer is over, the high commissioner delivers a speech from the throne, concerning the state of the nation, and recommends to them peace and unanimity, and rejoices in having been honoured to represent his majesty's person in such a learned and reverend assembly. After this he withdraws, and the first thing done is to draw up an address to his majesty, which is given to the commissioner, who transmits it to the secretary of state. The next thing done by them is to grant a warrant on the exchequer to pay one thousand pounds towards supporting the charity schools in the Highlands, and then they proceed to chuse their committees, which, in general, is the business of the first day.

Next day they enter upon such business as was left unfinished the preceding year, and every member has leave to speak to the question proposed.— Council, who must all be advocates, are permitted to plead in all matters of dispute; so that what a learned author says is true, namely, that the general assembly of the church of Scotland is the school of eloquence.

The commissioner may come as often as he pleases to the assembly, but he must not interfere in their debates, nor has he so much as a vote. The business before the assembly is either by appeals or original actions, which are prosecuted by summons. The appeals are of various sorts, and such as perhaps may have been carried from the kirk session through the presbytery and synod.

The original actions are of a more important nature, and for the most part relate to the settlement of ministers. From the Reformation to the year 1649, the patrons of parishes presented ministers to vacant churches, but from that time to the restoration, they were elected by the people.

From the restoration to the revolution, the right of patronage returned to its old form, but at the revolution, when presbytery was established, 1690, the right of patronages was abolished. At the union, 1707, it was enacted, that the revolution settlement should continue; but the whigs, having by their ambition, pride, and avarice, forfeited all claims to the royal favour, queen Anne, in 1710, changed her ministry, and made choice of such persons as were then called high churchmen.

These men hated the church and people of Scotland, not only on account of the simplicity of their religion, but likewise because they were endeavour-

ing to do all they could towards suppressing popery, and bringing the present family to the throne. In order, therefore, to please the Jacobite party, and provoke the members of the church of Scotland, a bill was brought into parliament to restore the right of patronages. Some of the Scottish members opposed this bill, well knowing the fatal consequences that would attend it, by provoking the people and dishonouring religion. Others, however, had more interesting views; and as for the English members, they gave themselves no concern about it, so that the act passed with very little opposition.

It is impossible to describe the discontent that took place among all ranks of people in Scotland, when this act took place, and, notwithstanding, it must be mentioned to the honour of the Scottish nobility, that it was many years before they availed themselves of this privilege. In time, however, they did, and it has occasioned much mischief. But the conduct of the church of Scotland on these occasions has been really praise-worthy. The patron must present the probationer to the presbyteries within six months, and if they find that he is not qualified, they will reject him. On the other hand, when they do find him qualified, but at the same time likely to be obnoxious to the people, so as to render his ministry ineffectual, they do all they can to persuade the patron to send another, who is likely to be more useful. Nay, in some cases, the presbyters will remonstrate, and refuse to proceed to the ordination, and this brings many appeals before the general assembly, but from their decision there is no appeal.

Besides the general assembly, there is another court, which may be called the privy council of the church of Scotland, because it is composed of a few deputies, who prepare business for the next assembly, though they can make no acts of their own, but only draw up papers, and inquire whether the presbyteries have obeyed the orders of the assembly. This court is called the commission of the assembly, and meets at Edinburgh as often as they please, for they have no fixed times. They consist chiefly of such as are most celebrated for their learning, wisdom, piety, and such other qualities as may enable them to discharge all those duties incumbent upon them, as the fathers and guardians of the established church.

The young clergy in Scotland have few tempting objects before them, besides that pleasing one, namely, to seek to win the hearts of their people. When the young gentlemen have finished their studies at the university, they are examined by the presbyters of the bounds where they were born, and it is done in the following manner:

The candidate having considered, a theses, or head in divinity, delivers in a critical explanation of it, and answers all the objections usually made against

it. He then delivers in Latin a critical discourse on one of the Hebrew psalms; after which, on the next day, he delivers a discourse in English, in the form of a sermon, both critical and practical. These examinations take up several days, and on the last of these comes the grand questionary trial, in which every minister has a right to ask what questions he pleases; and if satisfactory answers are given, the young student receives a licence to preach in any church in Scotland to which he may be invited; but he is not to administer the sacraments till he is ordained, nor is he to be ordained till he obtains a parish living.

When a minister dies, or is removed from one church to another, the presbytery meet in the bounds where the church is in, and appoint one of themselves to go and preach once to the people, and he affixes a paper on the church door, declaring it vacant. If no person is presented by the patron in six months, then the right falls to the presbytery; but in such cases they always give up their right to the people. When one of these probationers is presented or elected, he must attend the next meeting of the presbytery, where he undergoes a second examination, and performs the same exercises as before. He must likewise bring a certificate of his moral conduct, and then one of the presbytery goes with him to the church door, and reads a paper which he fixes up, intimating, that if any person can, within forty-two days, mention any thing against him, they are to come and prove it, otherwise they will proceed to his ordination. If no objection is made, then the presbytery meet at the parish church where the probationer is to be ordained.

One of the ministers preaches a sermon on the nature and duty of the ministerial office, and another delivers a discourse on the necessity and regularity of ordination. The candidate then repeats his confession of faith, which consists of his notions concerning the chief heads in divinity. He then declares before them, that he will not deliver any thing that is contrary to the Westminster confession of faith; and subscribes it, as an oath, in a book kept for that purpose.

Then one of the ministers prays, and the candidate kneeling down in the middle of the congregation, all the members of the presbytery lay their hands upon his head, the moderator acquainting him, that he is ordained to the work of the ministry, after which they all give him the right-hand of fellowship as a brother. This part of the ceremony is followed by the congregation singing an hymn or psalm, after which the moderator or president goes up to the pulpit, and delivers a discourse to the new ordained minister, exhorting him to consider what a charge he has taken upon him; to be tender and affectionate to his people, not plaguing and perplex-

ing them with new doctrines, but inculcating the solid truths of the gospel; and, by his own example, to teach them as much as by his doctrine. To be careful to instruct the youth; to visit the aged and infirm; to be careful of what company he keeps lest he should bring a blemish upon his character.— He is to consider himself as if he was married to his people, that like an affectionate father, a tender husband, or a faithful shepherd, to behave in all lawful things, to every one, that he may bring up his people in the fear and worship of God, so as to prepare them for everlasting happiness. He is to teach him further, that he is to live in peace and harmony with his brethren the clergy, and pay a proper obedience to all the ordinances of the church.

On the other hand, he is to exhort the people to consider their pastor as one placed over them by divine Providence, according to the plan of the gospel, and that they are to attend to his ministry as if he had been one sent from God. And this is not a presumptuous expression; for whatever is done according to what is enjoined in the word of God, may justly be said to come from God.

Thus every minister under the New Testament, if regularly ordained, though perhaps in various forms, comes from God; and let his conduct afterwards be ever so bad, yet this does not affect the graces, that God will bestow in consequence of his ministry, to those persons who never imagined him to be an hypocrite. The people are to be told, that it is their duty to receive his instructions with cordiality, to be meek and humble, not to enter into any disputes with him; but to consider him not only as a man of the same passions with themselves, but likewise as one who is to give an account of his conduct at the judgment-seat of Christ.

The next thing to be considered in the church of Scotland is her worship; and we have already taken notice that it has varied little since the Reformation till the revolution. Although there were many changes in the government of the church of Scotland from the Reformation till the Westminster assembly 1645, yet there were no changes in the worship till that time; for the mad attempt to establish the liturgy, was momentary in its own nature, but dreadful in its consequences. We have already treated of the manner in which the people of Scotland worshipped God in public till the revolution, and since that time no changes of a material nature have taken place; for although they have not a liturgy, yet it may justly be said of them, that things are done decently and in order.

The service always begins with singing, and sometimes the minister reads the psalm before it is sang; but in some congregations it is read by the clerk, whom, according to the ancient form, they call the precentor.



The psalm being over, the minister desires the people to join with him in prayer and supplication. This prayer seldom exceeds ten minutes, which perhaps is as long as any prayer should be, unless people would tell God idle tales.

The prayer being over, the minister reads part of a chapter, and then makes several reflections on every verse. This they call the lecture, and it generally takes up half an hour. This is perhaps the best method that could have been contrived to instruct people in the Christian religion, and it is owing to this that the people of Scotland know more of religion than any others in the world. In Scotland, it is common for a young minister to begin either with a particular book in the sacred scriptures, and sometimes with the whole New Testament, which he goes over regularly. In general, he meddles no farther with criticism than is necessary to illustrate such passages, and explain such things as the people may be unacquainted with. But the practical reflections exceed every thing that can be imagined in the whole system of the civil establishments of religion; for by these, men are taught to know what use they should make of the scriptures, and by carrying home and repeating them to their children, they train them up as it were in the nursery of grace.

The lecture being over, two or three verses of a psalm are sung, after which the minister prays a few minutes, and then he begins the sermon, which seldom takes up more than half an hour. Their sermons consist of, first, an explication of the context, with the sense of the text itself; secondly, a doctrinal proposition, as drawn from the words themselves; thirdly, an illustration of the doctrine, in a few leading general heads, and then he concludes with a few practical inferences. The sermon being over, the minister prays for the whole state of the world, and then a few verses of a psalm are sung, after which he dismisses the people with the common blessing. This is the service during the forenoon, but in the afternoon it is only one half as long, because there is then no lecture.

In some of the remote parts of the country, where the ministers are more zealous in the discharge of their duty than in great towns, they assemble the people a third time together, during the summer season, and recapitulate to them the heads of all that has been declared to them before, in the preceding part of the day. Then the people are enabled to remember almost every thing they have heard.

We come next to the administration of the sacrament of baptism, which is carried on in the same manner as mentioned in the directory. They have, however, varied a little from the rules of the compendium, in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. We have already seen how it was to be in the directory, but the frequency of its

administration, which, by the constitution of the church of Scotland, was to be only four times in the year, was considered by many of the more zealous of the clergy, after the revolution, as injurious to their order, by taking away some of the solemnity, which they looked upon as inseparably connected with the church order.

During the violent persecution that took place in Scotland, in the reign of Charles II. the Presbyterian ministers were mostly proscribed, and therefore met in mountains, or in woods, and their sermons consisted of violent invectives against the civil government and the bishops. They found that the best way to inflame the passions of the people, was to celebrate the communion as seldom as possible, and somewhat like the Romish processions, to keep the people, as far as related to their consciences, in a state of slavery.

That ancient leaven of superstition was retained by those ministers who composed the first general assembly of the church of Scotland after the revolution. They were men of little knowledge, sour tempers, and a sort of unfeeling apathy distinguished every part of their conduct. They therefore proposed, that the best means to keep the people in subjection, was to make their solemn occasions, as they call them, as frequent as possible. Accordingly, they laid down a new plan for the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which, although never reduced to a law by any of the acts of their assemblies, yet grew into practice, and has been, with very little variations, adhered to ever since in Scotland. The method is this:—

Two Sundays before the sacrament is to be administered, the minister gives notice to the people, and the elders of the congregation are to make a report to them concerning the morality of their conduct, that the sacred ordinances may not be profaned. On the Thursday before the celebration, five or six ministers assemble at the church, and the day is kept as a fast. The inhabitants of many of the neighbouring parishes assemble, and there are sermons preached, not only in the church, but also in a tent in the church-yard, or perhaps in a neighbouring field. It is amazing to think what numbers of people assemble on those occasions, and sometimes, like the procession to Loretto in Italy, they make parties of pleasure.

Friday being a sort of interval, those who live in the parish, and near to it, return home to their own houses, but those who perhaps have come sixteen, or twenty, or thirty miles, procure lodgings either in farm-houses or barns; and here, to use the words of Mr. Sandiman, they sometimes on these occasions increase the number of the human species, for religion will not make people idle.

On Saturday several sermons are preached, both

in the church and in the church-yard, where the tent is erected, and then they retire till Sunday morning. It is then that the great day begins. The minister of the parish goes to the church, and preaches what he calls the action sermon, after which he prepares the people for the communion, by debarring all those from partaking of it, who know of any immorality in their conduct, that they have not made satisfaction for to the church.

A table is covered in the middle isle of the church, and the minister having consecrated the elements, the elders carry them round to the people. Previous to the distribution of the elements, every person who is to communicate, delivers to one of the elders a leaden ticket, which is a token from the minister that he has been examined, and is properly prepared for that holy ordinance. The person who has not got this ticket is rejected, and must immediately depart. As soon as those who have filled the first table, have partaken of the elements, a psalm is sung, and they retire to make room for others.—And thus it frequently happens that there may be ten or more, of these tables served at once. The communicants being all served, there is a sermon preached by the minister of the parish, and the congregation are dismissed from the church.

But this is not all: during the whole time this ceremony is carrying on in the church, sermons are preaching in the tent, in the church-yard, or perhaps in an adjacent field. These sermons sometimes used to continue till midnight, but at present they are much more regular. Monday concludes the ceremony, for on that day two sermons are preached in the church, and as many in the church yard, after which the people retire to their own habitations. It is certain, that this looks more like the popish processions than any thing that bears the name of Christianity, and an attempt was made some years ago to set the practice aside; but it was all in vain, for popular prejudices ran so high in favour of it, that such of the clergy as countenanced the motion, were looked upon as lukewarm, time-serving wretches, who had no regard for the interests of religion, and who, in short, were destitute of real piety.

Education makes a part of religion in Scotland, for both in public and private, means are used to promote it. Thus, the first thing they learn is the shorter catechism, and this they repeat not only at home to their parents, but also at school, where the master prays with them mornings and evenings.—On every Sunday morning before the service begins two boys stand up in the gallery, and a third in the clerk's desk. Him in the desk asks the boy on the left hand, the first question in the catechism, who having answered it, he turns to the other on the right, and desires him to prove the answer from

scripture, who does it. They have printed catechisms with these proofs, and they are obliged to get them carefully by heart. In three Sundays they go over the catechism in this manner, and then three other boys take their places.

There is another part of their education that ought to be attended to by every one who would form a just notion of the church of Scotland. And that is, that every man and woman servant, as well as the boys and girls, are obliged to repeat, when they come home, the text upon which the minister preached, and such as begin to grow up, must, when they come home, repeat the points or heads upon which the minister preached, and as much more as they can remember.

Before the family sit down to supper, the master takes his place, and asks the questions in the catechism of his children and servants. That being over, every one is ordered to bring in his bible, when the master in a few words, prays for a blessing on what they are going about to perform.—After this they sing a psalm, and one of the young persons reads a chapter in the bible; sometimes two or more are read, and the family-worship ends by the master praying with his people, who all kneel down in a decent and reverend manner.

These devotions are performed every evening, but the catechism never is asked on these occasions, except on Sundays. In many parts of the country, family worship is performed in the mornings as well as in the evenings; and here let us calmly consider, whether this does not exceed any thing that we read of in other nations. There is another thing which contribute much towards keeping up the life and power of religion in Scotland, and that is the conduct of the clergy, who being always with their people, they visit them from house to house, pray with them, and exhort them to mind religion, to take care of their families, to be tender to their servants, and to live peaceably with their neighbours. And all this is done in such a particular manner, that they are almost adored. They never interfere with their people's innocent amusement, but they do not join with them in such things, well knowing, as Mr. Pennant says, "The least degree of levity sinks the clerical character into contempt."

In their funerals in Scotland, the people, like those in England, bury their dead either in churches or in church-yards; and it may be proper to observe, that at baptisms and marriages they pay no fees, except a mere trifle to have their names registered in the parish books. This indeed is the practice in all other Protestant churches, except England, where it is often extremely difficult for the couple to get married, or get their children baptized, because of the exorbitant fees. For funerals, the people of

Scotland pay no fees, except for registering the name, and a small matter to the grave digger.

In their funerals, the clergy never attend, unless invited, and they neither read prayers, nor do they make a discourse at the grave, as is done among Dissenters in England. The corpse is carried in a plain decent manner to the grave, and interred without any other ceremony besides that of the men just taking off their hats when they body is let down into the grave. In most parts of the country, the mourners return home to the house where their friend died, spend the evening in eating, drinking, and smoking, and this they call the *Dergey*, which answers to the dirge among the ancient Greeks. At some of these funeral solemnities, the lower order get drunk and quarrel, perhaps about the merits of the deceased, about religious sentiments, or something of politics; but this is no more than is common to human nature.

It has been a custom with them, from the most early ages, to sit up and drink in the room where the deceased lies, from his death to his interment; and although they are not so ridiculous as the Irish in these practices, yet there can be no doubt but both were borrowed from their heathen ancestors. There are but few parts of Scotland where the women are permitted to accompany the corpse to the grave; but if it is in the country parts, they all come to the door when the corpse is carried out, and stand in a mournful condition till the bearers have carried it out of sight. They used formerly to wrap them in clean linen, and they are not now restrained from that practice, but they have got much into the English fashion, and the greatest number of them, particularly the gentry and people of fashion, bury in flannel.

When one of their gentry dies, circular letters, written in the following manner, are sent to the relations of the deceased, desiring their presence at the funeral, which is generally complied with.

"SIR,

Your presence is desired here on Monday next, to accompany the funeral of my late spouse, M. B. from this to the place of her interment in the church-yard of M, and you will oblige

Your friend and servant, C. B."

Saturday, September 11, 1778.

To Mr. H——y, at L.

All the other letters differ in nothing more than this, except in the qualities of the persons.

In some of the market towns in Scotland, when a person dies, and is to be buried, the sexton of the parish goes round with a hand bell, and repeats the following words:—

"Dear brethren, I let you to wit that our neighbour, X——y lieth dead at his house in B. street, and as he is to be interred to-morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, your company is desired at the funeral."

Such are the particulars that relate to the church of Scotland. If there are faults in any part of its establishment, perhaps they are as few as in any other Protestant church in the world; and to look for perfection among men, would be to expect what never happened in the world. It is certain, that errors crept into the Christian church long before the death of the apostles, or why should those holy men have taken notice of them in their writings. There is not one of the epistles but what mentions some of these errors, and when we consider what troubles took place in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, and for many years after, it will appear almost a miracle that their church should at present be so well governed as it is. It has all those means of grace that can be necessary, in order to bring men into a state of salvation; and if it differs from other churches in some points of discipline, it is certain that many of these bear more to the primitive form. Sir Kenelem Digby, who was actually a Roman Catholic, used to tell the Laudian party, in the reign of Charles I. "That if they wanted to form their church on the model of the ages, they must take the example from Scotland."

Before we dismiss this article relating the church of Scotland, we must take notice of two or three sects of people who have sprung from it, and are at present very numerous in that country.





## ACCOUNT OF THE SECEDERS.

WE have already mentioned some of those mischiefs which took place in Scotland concerning the patronage act, but as the people of England are but little acquainted with them, we shall here lay them before the reader. The nobility and gentry, who had the right of presentation, did not avail themselves of those emoluments or privileges arising from the act, till more than twenty years after it passes. The first who set them the example was one from whom it was least expected. This person was the great John, duke of Argyle, a nobleman whose ancestors had been for a long series of years strongly attached to the Presbyterians, and for whose opposition to the measures carried on by Charles II. two of his ancestors were publicly beheaded. That duke was, in 1732, ill enough advised to present one Mr. Rammie to the parish of Mukart, of which he was the patron. The presbytery refused to ordain him, upon which an appeal was brought before the general assembly, and a select body of their own members was sent to perform the ordination. This exasperated the people so much, that not above one family would go to the church.

In the mean time, those members of the presbytery who had refused to ordain him, were called to a severe account. Four of them were summoned before the general assembly, and refusing to acknowledge that they had acted in a disobedient manner, they were deposed, and their churches declared vacant. The year following, four more of them were deposed; and, in general, the country was in a state of discontent. Those people who adhered to their discarded ministers, formed themselves into societies, and, at last it was agreed, that they should set up a separate communion from the established church. As they had no churches, nor meeting, they preached for some time in the fields; and as their characters were popular, they soon procured a vast number of followers, especially among the lower ranks of the people.

It is certain that these men were not destitute of abilities, at least they were useful preachers, according to the Calvinistical system. Some of their printed discourses would do honour to clergymen, who had far greater opportunities of improving themselves than ever they had; but in some things they were weak, and in others they were proud and bigotted. They had assumed a sourness of temper

inconsistent with the Christian religion, and something equally unfeeling with that of a stoic. They were either weak or vain enough to believe, that in consequence of that popularity they had acquired among the people, they could bring about a revolution in the church and state, in the same manner as their ancestors of old had done, when they were assisted by the nobility, whom, in their infant years, they had trained up in principles of rebellion. But alas! the nobility had become their enemies, they saw into their duplicity, and therefore they left them to the whole vengeance of the civil power.

Here was an infatuation without a legal remedy, and men who had received the benefit of a liberal education were weak enough to imagine that they could produce effects without being in possession of those causes from which they naturally flow. They had many consultations with their people, and it was some time before they could form a proper plan in order to reduce their machinations to practice. They hated the Episcopalians, who were at that time very numerous in Scotland, and they equally abhorred the civil power, for not doing what was not in its power, without acting contrary to law. It was an easy matter to inflame the passions of the people, but it was not so easy to trample upon a mild benevolent government. Perhaps an evil spirit possessed them; for they went like madmen up and down the country, preaching to their thousands and ten thousands.

It is well known that when the English and Scotch Presbyterians agreed to oppose king Charles I. they professed a great deal of loyalty; but this loyalty was to be in consequence of the king's complying with all their demands, and conferring upon them all those emoluments which formerly belonged to the bishops and other dignified clergy. This induced them to enter into an engagement which they called the solemn league and covenant, but the best title that can be given it is, a bond of rebellion. It was an association to overthrow the established church, and abridge the power of the civil magistrate; and yet it was carried on under such specious pretences of loyalty, that we are apt to imagine that what has been often said is true, that there were some Jesuits among them.

The following is an exact copy of that famous covenant.

We noblemen, barons, knights, citizens, burgeses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God, living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms where every one's private condition is included: and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion and professors thereof in places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies. We have now at last, after other means of supplication, remonstrances, protestations and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion, from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant:—Wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies. The reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity of religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechizing, that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith and love, that the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, and chapters, arch-deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever

shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, least we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: And that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. We shall, with the same sincerity, reality and constancy in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also, with a faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from the people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and has been lately concluded, and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the preceding article.

6. We shall also, according to our place and calling in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves up to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king, but that all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and that what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make

known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins, and provocations against God and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof: We profess and declare before God and the world our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace; and this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and common-wealths.

It is well known, that under that mild government which has taken place since the revolution, no body of men whatever could have publicly sworn this bond or covenant, without either subjecting themselves to all the penalties inflicted by the riot act, or even to high treason. Their ministers were popular, but they were, at the same time, crafty. They knew how to accommodate their self-interest to the enthusiastic madness of the people's passions; and, at the same time, they had the art to screen themselves from the sword of the civil magistrate.—Every pretender to high and exalted attainments in religion, is an artful politician; and it frequently happens that very insignificant creatures, who have acquired an ascendancy over the consciences of the people, can plan out schemes that would do honour to the genius of a Machiavel.

Thus we find, that when these discarded ministers could not, without making a solemn procession to the place of execution, swear to observe the solemn

league and covenant, they contrived (to use the words of Sandiman) to make an image like it. The same artful writer says, that it is as much like the original, as a child ever was like its father. This new covenant is a sort of bond of union among them, that they will do every thing to support the church of Scotland, and, as far as lies in their power, endeavour to bring about a reformation. It is certain, that had it been drawn up in the most learned school of the Jesuits, it could not have been more ambiguously expressed. Thousands of meanings might be put upon the words, and people of any denomination might swallow it without choking themselves, as they did, when they took the test in that country.

This covenant being thus framed, it was considered as meritorious to subscribe it, as if they had depended for salvation upon it. By this time the weak deluded people had built meetings with thatched roofs, for the artful preachers, who demanded from each of them a small sum of money for the benefit of their ministry.

The next thing to be done was to renew their covenant, as they call it; and for this purpose many thousands of mad brained people assembled at most of their meetings, where there were generally above a dozen of ministers; for by this time, their numbers were increased by some young probationers having joined them, who could not get places in the established church. The popularity of their discourses had a vast effect on vulgar minds, and they reigned triumphant over the consciences of the people.

It is impossible to conceive how these people spread themselves over many parts of Scotland, within a few years. Wherever there was an improper minister among those of the establishment, one of their preachers received an invitation, and a new meeting was built for him. As only a few of the regular probationers chose to join them, so they set up an academy to teach a few of their sons; and it may justly be said, that they knew just as much of learning as to despise it. They were utterly unacquainted with history, or any of that sort of knowledge which enlarges the human mind, and makes man an ornament to society. They were actually taught to despise such learning, and perhaps had one of them been seen reading the best poem in the world, he would either have been excommunicated, or have stood, as Allen Ramsey says,

“With a hot face before the holy band.”

The meaning is, he would have been obliged to mount the black stool of repentance. As for reading of plays or novels, though ever so innocent, it would have been as bad as holding a correspondence



with the devil. They were not permitted to read a book written by a church of England divine; and, as for bishops, their names were never mentioned but with contempt, and as men who were at war with Christ Jesus. But if they had not learning, they had zeal, and a large share of assurance. For any of them to smile was reckoned indecent, but to laugh was abominable. The more gloomy countenances they put on, the more they were esteemed, and they sung their sermons in a long drawing strain.

Such were the first preachers whom the Seceders brought up, and we can assure the reader, that the picture here drawn is far from being too highly coloured. They began their ministry by inspiring the people with a violent hatred to the ministers of the established church, so that in many parts, when the ministers went round to visit their parishes, these people, who had joined the new religion, shut their doors upon them. None of them would employ servants who went to the parish church, if they could procure any other; but when they were forced to employ some, they made their lives miserable by disputing concerning religion.

The next thing to be done, was to prepare the people for swearing the covenant, and this was laborious work for the ministers indeed. Their houses could not contain the vast numbers of people that came to them to be examined concerning their knowledge of this son of the solemn league, so that they were obliged to take them into the meetings.—There they explained to them the nature of the oath they were to take, and they pointed out the necessity they had been under to make a new covenant, as it would have been dangerous in them to swear the first till a more favourable opportunity, so that it was only a temporary covenant. The whole of the candidates having been examined, such as the minister and his elders approved of, received tickets, as a certificate of their qualifications, and these they were to give back when they came to swear the covenant.

The day for this ceremony being fixed, ten or a dozen of their ministers repaired to the place, where there were two tents erected in the fields, besides the service in the congregation within the meeting. After sermon was over in the meeting, there was a vast deal of formalities, all those who had not tickets were commanded to separate, and hear sermons at the tents. These sermons consisted of indecent and violent invectives against the established church, and forced allegorical constructions of such passages in the Old Testament as related to the temporal state of the Jews, which had no more to do with their new made covenant, than the Alcoran of the Turks, or the man in the moon.

In the mean time, the names of all the candidates for swearing were called over, and they were com-

manded to hold up their right hands, which they did after they had delivered their tickets. It happened very unfortunately, for some of those who had been rejected, thrust themselves in among the ticket-men and women, so eager were they to swear to the son of the solemn league. These were thrust out, which frequently created much confusion, and kept the ceremony back a considerable time. However, as there were a couple of sermons going forward in the tents, they had no more to do than to repair thither.

All the malignants, which is a most dreadful word amongst them, being driven out of the meeting, the minister held a scroll in his hand, and read the covenant to them, which being done, he asked the people, who were still holding up their hands, whether they would subscribe it, which they all eagerly did, and afterwards there was a sermon of two or three hours in length, a prayer of about an hour long, and one of the psalms, that contains the word covenant was sung. The subscribed roll was kept in the meeting, and if by any mischievous accident a subscriber went to the parish church, got a girl with child, was found at a dancing bout, or in an ale-house, his name was first erased out, and then he was excommunicated. Those who retained their attachment to the covenant, were perhaps as fully persuaded of their own salvation, as a Romish devotee is when he comes from the confessor's chair.

No person was to have his child baptized, nor be admitted to the communion, till he had first sworn and subscribed the covenant. It was the test of their faith as well as their obedience; and it was the first question asked when these people met together, "Have you taken the covenant?" The rebellion broke out soon after, and it must be acknowledged, that these people gave many striking instances of their loyalty. Whatever might have been their madness in other things, they were no strangers to that sort of conduct which would entitle them to the favour of government. They knew what their ancestors had suffered from the Stuarts, and they had no reason to expect any mercy had a popish prince been placed on the throne of Britain. This made them exert themselves to the utmost, to keep their people in a state of loyalty. Nay, many of them took up arms; and when the city of Glasgow raised a regiment of seven hundred men, one half of these were Seceders, who behaved gallantly at the battle of Falkirk, and would certainly have defeated the rebels, had not the dragoons ran away in a cowardly manner.

Such was the condition of these people when the rebellion was suppressed, and then they quarrelled among themselves. The reason was this:

One Campbell a fiery hot-headed man, pretended,

that no members who were burgesses, or freemen of corporations, should be admitted to take the covenant; because, when these burgesses take up their freedoms, they swear to maintain the religion as by law established. On the other hand, although their cunning prevented them from swearing to extirpate the established religion, yet they knew it meant so as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. There was certainly some sense and reason too in what this man said, and it appears that he had too much honesty to approve of a mental reservation.

In consequence of this, a division took place among them, and the numbers on each side were nearly equal. Young men who had served their apprenticeships in corporations, were loth to be deprived of their freedoms, nor did they know where to seek for a living. In most of the towns in Scotland, when a young woman marries a non-freeman, she can convey the freedom to her husband, if her father was free. This, to some young women, was as good as a marriage portion; but here was an attempt to set the whole aside. Both parties thought themselves under a necessity of swearing, but they differed about the mode. The tempers of the ministers were too fiery to be reconciled, and an antipathy against each other took place, equal to that between cats and mice. They consequently divided themselves into two parties, the one called Burghers, and the other Anti-burghers; both of which we shall here consider in their proper places.

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### *Of the Burghers.*

Those who were called Burghers, where the most moderate, but not the most numerous. They were however, very subtle; and the distinction they made concerning the nature of the two oaths, would have done honour to the school of Loyola.

They asserted, that to swear to support the religion as by law established, was to support the Presbyterian religion as it had been established by the parliament of Scotland in the year 1640, after the famous Glasgow assembly 1678, and to adhere to the solemn league covenant; but as at the revolution the solemn league had not been recognized or acknowledged, and as the patronage act had set aside one of the articles of the union, consequently the then established religion was not according to law; so that when burgesses took their oaths in their corporations to maintain their established church, how could they mean the then church of Scotland, which was not legally established, but only that which was overthrown at the restoration.

The sense was neither more nor less than this;

they might swear one thing and mean another. Now it is well known, that all oaths should be expressed in words free from ambiguity, or a double meaning.

The oath that the persons took who were made free in corporations, was clear. They were to maintain the religion as by law established. In the same manner that the burgher-ministers taught their people to take this oath, a papist might take it in England. Every Roman Catholic in this country believes, that his religion was established by law, because it was once so; and the papists have here the advantage over the Presbyterians, who are called burghers. For the popish religion was actually established by the consent of parliament, long before the Norman conquest; whereas, if we include the solemn league and covenant, with the abolition of the rights of patrons to present to ecclesiastical benefices we shall find that the Presbyterian religion, in the manner contended for by the Seceders, was not established in Scotland till 1640, when there was no king, but only a junto of both houses of parliament.

However, the burghers continued to admit those to swear the covenant who had taken the corporation oaths, and still put their own jesuitical meaning upon it. They were followed by such of the members of corporations as made choice of them for preachers; and these were followed, or imitated, by many who knew nothing of the nature of an oath. The Burghers were most numerous in the towns, the Anti-burghers in the country. But a vast revolution had taken place in the notions of the Burghers.

As the others carried things into the wildest extremes, so the Burghers inclined towards moderation. They became gradually more and more so, and they receded from the mode of imposing their covenant, except to those who denied to swear it, which is now done in private. They think there is no sin in hearing a minister of the established church of Scotland preach, so as there is no errors in his doctrine; by which is meant, he is a sound Calvinist: nay (and wonderful it is to relate) they will actually go and hear a Methodist preach without being censured.

This will appear the more surprising, when it is considered, that the late Mr. Whitefield wanted to cultivate a friendship with the Seceders before they split in parties, but they would have nothing to do with him, unless he would acknowledge himself to be a guilty sinner, for having been ordained by an anti-christian bishop, namely, Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, and for preaching in the parish churches of Scotland. At present, the numbers of the Burghers are daily dwindling away, and probably they will die with the present generation. Heats in religion are like fevers in the human body, and the patient is soon killed or cured.

*Of the Anti-Burghers.*

We have already observed, that the Burghers were more moderate than the Anti-Burghers, and we shall now lay before the reader the difference of spirit that took place between them.

The first thing done by the Anti-Burghers was, to excommunicate the Burghers, which they did in as solemn a manner as they had formerly sworn the covenant. One Mr. Ralph Erskine, a very popular preacher, who was one of the second four deposed by the general assembly, took part with the Burghers, and the greatest part of his congregation adhered to him. This man had two sons, both ministers among the Seceders, and they had taken the same side with the Anti-Burghers. Like their father, they were both popular, and probably, notwithstanding their different sentiments, yet they had a paternal regard for him. But be that as it will, their brethren, the Anti-Burgher ministers resolved to make the same trial as the inquisitors do when they send the nearest relations to apprehend the accused person, and tells him that he must conquer nature by grace.

These two young men were pitched upon to excommunicate their own father. If there was a necessity for excommunication taking place, it would have been more decent to have come from the mouth of a stranger than a son; but wherever the externals of religion are contended for without the internals, cruelty takes place in the heart. The young ministers were obliged to comply, and seemed cheerful when they did so. The form of these excommunications is as follows:

A day is appointed for a fast, and a tent erected in the fields, where several inflammatory sermons are preached to crowds of poor working people, who have left their employments to be witness of the solemn scene. The case of these people leaving their lawful employments, and some of them traveling twenty or thirty miles to hear inflammatory discourses, which, so far from being consistent with the gospel, are sufficient to take their minds away from it, leads us to mention the following anecdote by way of digression.

In the memorials of Mr. John Livingston, a famous minister in Scotland, during the last century, there is a singular relation concerning one Euphan McCullan in the parish of Kinneuchar in Fifeshire. It was thus:

"Euphan McCullan in the parish of Kinneuchar, a poor woman but rich in faith. I have heard the lady Culross tell the following things of her. That she seldom or ever prayed but what she got a positive answer. That she one time desired her to pray for the temporal state of her family, and when

she enquired what answer she got, Euphan said the answer was, "He that provides not for his own house, has denied the faith." Whereat the lady said, "Now you have killed me, for I go to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my family." Euphan replied, "Madam, if you are guilty in that sort, you have reason to be humbled for it; but it was not said in that sense to me, for the Lord said, "He that provides not for his own, is worse than an infidel. Will not I provide for her and her house, seeing she is mine?"

This passage affords matter of very serious reflection. The irreverent familiarity in the address to the deity—the great God of heaven and earth, is indeed horrible. What is there here but the dregs of popish credulity? How can Protestants object to the visions of St. Clara, St. Bridget, and St. Terressa, and yet justify the visions of Euphan McCullan. See lord Hale's Remarks, page 255.

But to return to the subject:

After sermon there is a long prayer, and then the preacher, who is to repeat the excommunication, goes up into the pulpit, and for the most part orders the hundred and ninth psalm to be sung, in which so many dreadful curses are imprecated on the enemies of God. Where they find the enemies of God mentioned, they apply it to the enemies of the church under the gospel; whereas it relates only to those heathen nations who fought against the Jews.

The psalm being ended, the minister prays for a blessing upon the curse he is going to pronounce, and then all the people standing up, he reads the crime the offender is guilty of, and then says, "For these and for all other acts of disobedience to the church, I being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having power and authority from him, do, in his name and by his authority, excommunicate and cast out of the true church of God, A. B. and deliver him up to satan to be tormented in the flesh, that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord." He concludes, by praying that God would ratify, seal, and confirm the sentence he has pronounced.

These are pretty words, perhaps the reader may say, to be pronounced by a son against his father. But the most remarkable thing in the words is, that satan, the grand adversary of mankind, is here made a minister of the gospel; he has the excommunicated person put under his tuition, and by tormenting his flesh he is to bring him to a sense of the dreadful sin of differing with another in opinion.

It was imagined the Burghers would have retained the compliment and excommunicated in their turn, but they did not, only that on the excommunication days they preached in their own churches against the Anti-burghers. Some may imagine they did this to keep their people together, but whatever might be in that, there was no manner of necessity for it;



because at that time they were so exasperated against each other, that they would have continued without sermons a whole year, rather than go into each other's meetings. However, at present, the Burghers are as great Latitudinarians as the Methodists are in England.

On the other hand, the Anti-burghers still continue to take the covenant, and like the Roman Catholics, to hate all those who differ from them in opinion. They are as severe in their discipline as ever, and not long since, a poor taylor, who was clerk to one of their meetings, was silenced from singing a single stave, merely because he went one working day into another meeting.

Sometime ago, a report was made to one of their ministers in Scotland, who is at present the chief leader of the party, that two young men of his congregation had been admitted into the society of free-masons.

The minister, imagining he had now an opportunity of disclosing to the public all the secrets of free-masonry, which frighten so many people, sent for the young men to his own house. When they came, they were threatened, under the penalty of church censures, that they would reveal to him the secrets of free-masonry. Their answer was, they could not do it, but if he pleased they would make him a mason and then he would know all.

Not so enraged were the Scribes and Pharisees, when Jesus made them condemn themselves by their own words, nor so enraged was the consul when Polycarp set all his torments at defiance, as the Anti-burgher minister was when the young men gave him such an answer. He raged like a madman, and told them they should be excommunicated. He was as good as his word; but the young men appealed to their synod, which is the highest court the Seceders have. This made things worse, for it occasioned the excommunication of all the free-masons in Scotland that belonged to them; and all these turning to the Burghers, who readily admitted them, became a valuable acquisition to the latter. Many other instances of their superstition might be mentioned, but we shall only relate the following.

It was the custom formerly in Scotland, and is so still in many parts, for the women to fan the chaff from the corn before it is ground into meal. This was tedious, but it was an ancient custom. An ingenious artist made a machine that stood in the inside of the mill, having flat thin boards to go round by means of a connection with the wheel.

A miller near Edinburgh had one of them made, and this man being a Seceder, the same minister who had the dispute with the free-masons, happening to call at the miller's, he looked at the machine. It displeased him much, and he told him to take it

down, for those who were so new fangled as to set up such machines, would in time follow the wolf in sheep's clothing, meaning Mr. Whitfield. The miller stood amazed to think what connection his farmers could have with religion, and refused to pull them down. Upon that he was excommunicated and went to the Burghers. They have but one meeting in London, and so wedded are they to their ancient opinions and practices, that although they have no more occasion for it than a cart has for a third wheel, yet once every year they must have a minister sent up to them from Scotland to assist their own pastor in administering the sacrament. As none of them in Scotland will be married by the established clergy, the ceremony is performed by their own ministers, so it is generally supposed that when the minister comes up from Scotland, he marries such as desire it privately. It would not be prudent in their own minister, because he might bring himself into trouble, but as the other is to set off for Scotland, so he is out of all manner of danger. However, they do not consider that these marriages are illegal, for disputes might arise if a law suit was depending between one of them, concerning a will made in favour of one of their children, and the opposite party, who had been born in legal wedlock.

Supposing the judges should order both parties to produce a certificate of their marriage, where would the Anti-burghers be found. The man would then reflect on the injury he had done to the child, and the child himself would have cause to remember it ever after. Some of them go down to Scotland and get married, but those are few in number; for the greatest number of them are working men, and few of them can bear the expence. On the other hand, the Burghers are so regardless about these things, that they are married in the churches.

No people in the world have a stronger hatred to the Methodists than the Anti-burghers. The minister had a scuffle with the miller, and afterwards wrote a book, wherein he endeavoured to prove, first, that Mr. Whitfield's doctrine was diabolical. Secondly, that it was a horrid sin for any one to hear him preach. Thirdly, that the justice of God would overtake him. In this work is the following remarkable passage:—

“As for the gentleman himself, while he is under a ruinous delusion, and thereby led out into the horrid path we have been describing, which, besides all its other dreadful tendencies, is calculated for gathering upon him his own blood and the blood of multitudes; thus his condition loudly requires the pity of all who know him. And I know no way wherein to shew it, then by avoiding his company, that he may be made ashamed of his conduct. In this manner it is that we are called to the ex-

ercise of love to his person, and a desire for his recovery."

*An account of the Presbytery of relief.*

THE third and last sort of Presbyteries, who arose in Scotland in consequence of the patronage act, have called themselves the Presbytery of relief.

To understand this term rightly, it is necessary to observe, that the people in Scotland have, ever since the Reformation, loved those doctrines which point out salvation as only to be obtained through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Now it has unfortunately happened, that many of the young preachers presented by the patrons, were of different sentiments; and some of them went so far as to point out to their hearers all those doctrines as true, which commonly go under the name of Arminianism. This was too good a name for them to assume, for Arminianism never denied the imputation of Christ's righteousness, only that it allowed there was a freedom in the human will. Whereas, their young preachers in Scotland, often preached whole sermons without mentioning the name of Christ as a mediator. This was shocking to those people who had been brought up in the principles of their own confession of faith and catechisms; but they did not chuse to join the Seceders.

It was taken that a club of young divines met at a house in Edinburgh, to ridicule the doctrines of Calvin; and certain it is, that one of them, who was no more than a probationer, and a schoolmaster, had his licence taken from him, for publishing a pamphlet on that subject. In answer to this pamphlet, one Dr. Weatherspoon, minister at Paisley, about six miles from Glasgow, published an essay, entitled, "The Ecclesiastical Characteristics." In this treatise he endeavoured to prove, that most of the clergy of Scotland taught nothing but downright Heathenism, or, as they call it, morality. For this he was called before the synod of Glasgow; but having no proof of his being the author, the case was dismissed. As Weatherspoon was continually quarrelling with his people, and as they had instituted a law-suit against him for defamation, he went over to America, where he was made president of the college of New Jersey, and is at present one of the members of the congress.

However, he did not leave Scotland till he had laid a plan for a schism in that church. He collected together as many of the popular clergy who had poor livings as he could, and told them, that if they would leave their churches without joining the Seceders, they would find a powerful assistance from

many of the people. They would build them meetings and their livings would be doubled.

Accordingly, many left their churches and had some meetings built for them. It was some time before they could fix upon what name they should assume, and therefore, as they were to give relief to those people who were plagued by the moral preachers, they took upon themselves the name of the Presbytery of Relief.

This circumstance did not take place till within these twenty years, but the ministers did not find their account in it. Their moderation was equal to that of the established church and to the Burghers, which did not suit the tempers of the people. There were some other circumstances much against them, one of which was, that most of their meetings were built in populous towns, where none of the moral preachers had been settled. The people found nothing new, and therefore many of them returned home to their own churches. Another circumstance was, that one of them deserted his flock, and settled at the head of a populous congregation in London, because the salary was four times as much as they could allow him.

It is certain, the clergy cannot live without money any more than other men, but they ought to examine from what motives they leave a poor for a rich congregation. It is a maxim among the laity, that a clergyman never leaves a rich benefice to go to a smaller one, and undoubtedly it is in general true, as it is with all other professions, and yet we have known instances to the contrary, both among the clergy and laity. However, when a body of poor people are indulgent to their pastor, he ought not to leave them.

But with respect to these people, or rather to their clergy, they are but few in number, and they hold a synod on every year. Their form of discipline is weak, and they are followed only for their popularity. Like the Seceders, they visited their people from house to house, and do all they can to keep them in their interest. They are industrious in the discharge of their pastoral office, but they now have academies, like the Seceders who are more numerous, for the education of young men for the ministry. As their reasons for separating from the church of Scotland were the most trifling that could be imagined, so they have not many friends among the better sort of people; and as they do not deal much in invective or abuse, they are considered as lukewarm by the vulgar.

Many of them have left their first principles, and are daily returning back to the established church. Some of their preachers have made attempts to join the established church again, and obtain livings, but an everlasting door is shut against them. In a word,

they will only exist a few years longer, for few men are sooner bankrupt than those who carry on the wholesale trade in religion. When the motives that at first induced man to change his religion are once found to be insincere, he is despised by all parties, and, in general, converts are but little esteemed. Upon the whole, we shall conclude this article by observing, that all these parties which have sprung from the established church of Scotland, swear the same articles of religion, teach the children the same catechism, and observe the same form of worship, so that there is no difference but in the covenant.

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### *Account of the Cameronians, or Mountaineers.*

This sect of religious people did not take their rise from any of the causes already mentioned. They existed long before the revolution. One Mr. Cameron, a Presbyterian minister, having made his escape from the battle of Bothwell-bridge, 1679, fled towards the south, and being followed by about three hundred men of his own sentiments, they once more renewed the covenant, and began their march, having first read a proclamation, setting forth that the king had no right to the throne, because he had taken the covenant, and afterwards ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner; that they were determined to turn out the bishops, and have them punished, as the Amalakites were of old by the divine command; that they were to restore the kingdom of Christ in Scotland, and once more to revive it to its ancient glory. They meant, that they would overthrow the government both in church and state, and put all those to death who differed from them in religious sentiments.

These mad brained people, who had been driven by oppression to desperation, vainly imagined, that they would be joined by the country people as they went eastward; but alas! instead of meeting with new reinforcements, Sir John Graham, afterwards Lord Dundee, came up with them at a place called Aird's Moss, where they were mad enough to attempt opposing the king's forces. They shot two or three of the dragons, who had not so much as fired upon them, and then Sir John ordered his men to attack them. Cameron, their leader, was killed, with about thirty more, and most of the others were taken prisoners, and the ringleaders were executed at Edinburgh in almost barbarous manner, among whom was one Mr. Hackstone, a young gentleman, who assisted in the murder of Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to the colonies in America.

From this time till the revolution, some of these madmen assembled on the mountains, from which circumstance they were called Mountaineers, and

sometimes Cameronians. When king James published the indulgence for liberty of conscience, they would not accept of it, but followed one Mr. James Renwick, a young probationer, who was afterwards hanged at Edinburgh a few months before the revolution.

When the revolution took place, they would not acknowledge it, because the covenant was not restored, and because king William would not abolish episcopacy in England. They continued to preach on the mountains for many years after the revolution, although they were at liberty to build meetings. At the union, they abused government so much, that some of them were imprisoned, and others set in the pillory. One of them being asked in the court of justice by what authority he abused government, pulled out his bible from his pocket, and told the judges that it was by the authority of that book which he believed their lordships had never read. They hated the present family on the throne as much as they did the Stuarts, and being a sort of fifth monarchy men, would acknowledge no king but Jesus. Some of the established clergy, who had little learning and less knowledge, took part with them, and one more impudent than the rest, told his hearers that king George I. had no more right to the crown than a moor-cock.

This man escaped the vengeance of the civil power, but he was despised and excommunicated. He died some years after at Edinburgh, and always was called the moor-cock. In latter times, these people had private meetings in different parts of the south of Scotland, and many scandalous stories were told concerning them, some of which perhaps were not true.

These people are much dwindled away, there being but only a handful of them left, but they still retain their old sentiments. They are Calvinists with respect to the terms of acceptance, but their notions concerning ecclesiastical and civil power are abominable. They marry their own people, and baptize their children. They have still no meetings but in private houses, and they discard, all those who differ from them. They admit of no toleration, and if they had power, probably they would make a very bad use of it.

They are in general treated with much contempt, and sometimes they deserve it. Some of their members joined to the Seceders, and for that were sent to the devil, by a warrant of excommunication. Their meetings are as private in Scotland as those of the Roman Catholics, and they are of such unsocial tempers, that few sober, sensible persons will keep company with them. Their worship is the same as that observed in the church of Scotland, but in their sermons they are continually abusing the clergy and the government. They are, however, too insignificant to be brought to punishment for their insolence.



## ACCOUNT OF THE GLASSITES, COMMONLY CALLED THE SANDEMANIANS.

THESE people did not take their rise in Scotland, in consequence of the patronage act, for they disclaim every connection with all the established churches in the world, but of this we shall take notice afterwards, when we come to speak of their principles. In the mean time, having read all the books published by them, and conversed with many of their leaders, we shall lay before the reader a faithful account of them, for although some persons who are but little acquainted with history and less with divinity, may be disposed to laugh at their simplicity of worship and government, yet many good things will be found amongst them.

In the year 1727, Mr. John Glass, minister of a parish church near Dundee in Scotland, published a book entitled, "The testimony of the King of Martyrs." His chief design in that work was to prove, that as Christ's kingdom was not in this world, so it could no where receive a civil establishment. That it might be persecuted or tolerated according to the will of princes, but all those bearing the name of Christian ministers, who accepted of civil emoluments from the state, were unacquainted with the gospel, and enemies to Christ's kingdom.

These notions alarmed the clergy of Scotland, in the same manner as Dr. Hoadly's sermon had alarmed the clergy in England. They did not know what might be the consequence, for had the principle advanced by this man once been established, the crown might have seized on their revenues and left them and their families to starve. It is certain, that statesmen are not always the most pious Christians, and there have been times when such a favourable circumstance would have been made a bad use of. However, this man although an excellent reasoner, was too obscure to create much division or defection among his brethren, had not their public judicators called him forth from his retirement, and made him conspicuous on the theatre of the world.

He was summoned before the presbytery, and made a most able defence, and because they could not answer him, they deposed him. He appealed to the synod, where he defended himself still more ably, but the clergy were his most bitter enemies. He was obliged to appeal to the general assembly, who were very unwilling to lose a man who was

esteemed in his parish, and an honour to the church. They reversed the decrees of the presbytery and synod, restored Mr. Glass to his ministry, and ordered the cause to be brought on before themselves in the first instance.

In the mean time, the sober persons who were members of the assembly, were willing to let the affair drop; for as Mr. Glass's ministry was confined to his own parish, and as in his general doctrine he taught nothing inconsistent with the fundamental articles of their own religion, they could not see any danger in it. To this they added the character of the man, which was fair and respectable.

The affair came on again before the general assembly, about two years after, and the arguments took up four days. Some of the members, especially the elders, were men of high rank, and amongst these was the famous Duncan Forbes, lord advocate of Scotland. Besides the lord advocate, there were several other gentlemen and noblemen of high rank, members of the assembly, who pleaded strongly in favour of Mr. Glass. They represented that his opinions were only of a speculative nature, nor had they any immoral or irreligious tendency. They insisted further, that to depose a man of Mr. Glass's knowledge and approved virtue, would be to do an injury to the church of Scotland.

These worthy members were seconded by some of the most respectable of the clergy, and by all the commissioners from the universities. They said that they could not see any hurt in the doctrines taught by Mr. Glass, for, with respect to the grand article, namely, the atonement made by Christ to reconcile us to his father's love, he was of the same sentiments with themselves. They added, that to proceed in such a summary manner against him, would be acting inconsistent with their characters as representatives of the church of Scotland; and therefore they begged, that every sober member of the assembly would drop all thoughts of the prosecution.

However, this moderate party was strongly opposed by those of more violent tempers, particularly because Mr. Glass had made an attempt to rob them of their popularity without seeking any to himself. Here we may learn that both parties were bad politicians, for men may court popularity while they seem to despise it, and they may set up themselves

as the idols of the people, while they pretend, or rather affect, to be clothed with humility. There are some secret springs of human actions which the judgment day alone can reveal.

It is certain, that had the majority of the assembly proceeded on principles of moderation, they might have kept a worthy minister in the church, who was beloved by his people, and esteemed by all who knew him; but the intolerant principles of some were such, that when the question was put, it went against him by a great majority. Accordingly he was deposed, and another minister put in his room. This was much complained of by the people of Scotland in general, but there was no appeal from the act of the general assembly.

In the next general assembly a motion was made to reverse this decree, and the former act was rescinded; for it was ordered that Mr. Glass might offer himself a candidate for any church that became vacant. This privilege, however, he did not avail himself of, for he gathered together a few people, and proposed to them a new plan of religion. This plan of religion came, perhaps, as near to the primitive church as any we have mentioned. But this leads us to consider the principles upon which this new, or rather old religion, was conducted. By old religion we mean its affinity with the primitive church, by new religion we consider its revival.

It is certain, that Mr. Glass's notions were not popular, but still he procured some followers.—Good sense pays no regard to popularity, but vanity courts all.

The principal heads of that religion laid down by Mr. Glass were, that,

First, there can be no civil establishments of religion consistent with the plan laid down in the gospel.

Secondly, that human learning is of no manner of service to Christianity, but that every man, let him be ever so ignorant, may take upon him that office.

Thirdly, that no Christian congregation can be properly constituted unless there are a plurality of ministers.

Fourthly, that there is not an instance in the whole of the New Testament, wherein individual ministers administered the sacrament, without some to assist them.

Fifthly, that no person who calls himself a Christian, can eat blood.

Sixthly, that in all accusations against the moral characters of members of the congregation, there was to be no appeal.

Seventhly, that when the accused person was excommunicated, he was to be hated by all the people with whom he had formerly any connection.

Eighthly, they were, at the time of their admission into the congregation, to declare, that the religion they formerly embraced, was no less than hypocrisy.

Ninthly, at the time of their admission, they were to kiss all the women and men in the congregation.

Tenthly, they were to be obedient to all the orders of the church, and they were not to be absent without shewing a very reasonable excuse.

Lastly, they were not to take part in any political disputes, but in all things to be obedient to the laws of the country, so as they did not interfere with the dictates of their consciences. They were to attend to the words of Christ, render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

Let Caesar's dues be ever paid,

To Caesar and his throne;

But consciences and souls were made,

To be the Lord's alone.

These are the fundamental principles laid down by Mr. Glass, and like the founder of all new religions, he soon found himself followed by some persons, who, perhaps were instigated thereto by vanity. It is certain, that their religion was not much relished by the people of Scotland, and yet there are times and circumstances which give a sanction to every thing. But we shall now consider them in a more enlarged point of view. We are the more ready to do this, because but few people in England know any thing of these people. We shall therefore go on to give an account of their discipline, doctrine, and worship, and leave the reader to draw from it what conclusions he pleases. In this account it will be found, that nothing has been said to injure them; and while we attend to history, we hope that no man will condemn us as being guilty of partiality.

Before we mention the peculiarities of these people, we shall take notice of that grand distinguishing mark which is little known to the people of our country in general, and exclaimed severely against by those who are the greatest pretenders to religion.

Their faith, or general articles concerning the leading principles of religion, are the same as the most rigid Calvinists, except in one point. They believe in eternal election and reprobation, and carry these notions to a great, and perhaps too great an height. But they deny final perseverance, and assert that no man can tell whether he will be saved or not. They look upon what the Calvinists call the act of approbation to be great presumption arising from spiritual pride, and as for the conversion of the Methodists, they call it blasphemy.

They define faith to be a firm belief of every thing related concerning Christ, and particularly his resurrection; and they believe further, that this faith leads men to all sorts of good works, but they are not to imagine, that they know themselves to be the children of God.

They are to attend to the apostle's words not be high-minded, but fear. To be continually on their guard, lest they should fall into any snare; but they are not to make an ostentatious display of religion, and as for what the Methodists call experience, and which is so called by some other churches, they are to look upon it as a sure mark of a child of the devil.

In every congregation, they have a plurality of ministers, whom they call elders, and indeed they may have as many as they please, because they pay them no money. They are tradesmen of all degrees and ranks, and it is matter of fact, that we have heard a chimney-sweeper preach amongst them.

They have also several deacons, whose business it is to watch over all secular affairs of the church, and visit the members from house to house, to watch as spies upon their conduct, and above all things to take care to observe whether they keep company with any of the Methodists, or with such of the Dissenters as profess to any sort of experience in the things of God.

If the wife of an elder or a deacon should die, he may marry again, but he must no longer be a church officer. This practice they ground upon the words of St. Paul to Timothy, where he says that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, and so of the deacons. Certainly this is one of the most forced constructions that ever was put upon a text since the New Testament was written. For certainly the apostle can never mean any thing more, than that the ministers of the gospel should have but one wife at a time. As for their appealing to the primitive church, where they tell us that no mention is ever made of a bishop or deacon having any more than one wife, it no way applies to their case, for the following reason:

When a single man was ordained a bishop or deacon in the primitive church, he seldom married afterwards, because compassion for the fair sex and children he might probably have had, led him to believe he must soon suffer a violent death which frequently happened. He did not despise marriage, nor did he distrust God, but he adhered to the exhortation of St. Paul; he that marryeth doth well, but he that marryeth not doth better; and this is certainly the sense of the words, which allude to the afflicted state of the church at that time.

Again, when married men were appointed deacons or bishops, and their wives died, for the same reasons

they seldom married again, though there was no precept to the contrary. These people we are treating of, have had several learned men among them, but none of them seems to have been much acquainted with church history.

When a person desires to be admitted into their congregation, the deacons and sometimes the other members, go and converse with him not concerning his moral character, but merely his faith, and if he makes use of one unguarded expression, he is cast out, that is, he is left as one who has too much religion to be admitted amongst them. They are amazingly jealous of all the Methodists, and all those who believe in appropriations, and they would rather wish to find the candidate whistling a merry tune, than singing a psalm.

When the candidate is approved of, he comes to the meeting where every member is at liberty to put what question he pleases to him, and then it is put to the vote, whether he shall be admitted or not. This is done by holding up their hands; but if one should be of a different opinion when their names are called over, then that man, who is of a different opinion, is excommunicated; for these people admit of no differences in opinion, saying that this man must be an unbeliever, or otherwise he would not have voted against the church.

In examining these candidates, there are several curious questions put to them. And here it is necessary to observe, that most of those who have been admitted amongst them, were such as believed in the appropriation. It is against this famous article that they level the whole force of their spiritual thunders.

Some of these questions are as follows:

Have you ever been at the tabernacle? And how often? Have you ever been a dabbler in religion? Was you ever converted? These questions are answered in the affirmative; but here the candidate says, I imagined so, though I find all to be delusion. Did not you think yourself in the straight road to heaven, in consequence of your experience work at the tabernacle? I did so. And what do you think of this experience work now? I look upon it as a delusion, and that all those who are believers in it are deceived.

He then proceeds to ask him several other questions, such as whether he approves of eating of blood, and his answer must be in the negatives, or he is rejected. This notion of theirs is founded on the apostolical injunction, in 1 Cor. 15, but the late lord Barrington in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, has made it appear that this injunction was never intended to reach any further than the apostolic age, being only of a temporary nature, not to offend the Jewish converts. The Sandemanians, however, ask the question; Why then is it joined with fornication? The



reason (says lord Barrington) is, that fornication was not reckoned as a sin among the Gentiles, but rather esteemed as a virtue. Nay, to such an extravagant degree was lewdness carried, that it actually became a part of their temple service.

They had places in their temples, where the priests retired in private with their women, and this was reckoned very honourable. It was therefore the more necessary to caution the Christian converts against this, because they had been so long accustomed to such practices. Thus they were to refrain from eating things offered to idols, lest it should offend their Christian brethren; from things strangled, and from blood, lest it should offend the Jews; and from fornication, not only as a crime forbidden in the gospel, but also as contrary to natural religion. See Barrington's *Miscellanea Sacra*, Vol. II. page 16.

The last of the questions generally proposed to him, is concerning infant baptism; for they have the same enmity to the Anabaptists as to the Methodists. The reason they assign for baptizing infants, is, that all the human race are in a passive state, that they can do nothing for themselves; and therefore to pretend that people could be qualified for baptism was to set up the doctrine of merit. This, however, is a mistake, for the Calvinistical Anabaptists disclaim any such notion; they say, that as there is not an instance in the New Testament of a child being baptized, so it was never commanded in the primitive church, nor were any baptized till they were properly instructed. They mention this only as a speculative opinion, not as a dogmatical assertion.

When the candidate is approved of, the elders kiss him and then the deacons. After that, the names of the people, men and women, are called over, and the new admitted member kisses every one, man or woman, old or young, rich or poor. Perhaps our readers may consider that this must be a very merry ceremony, but we can assure them, that it is conducted with great decorum and decency, being done in the meeting where every person is free to come. The kissing affair being over, he receives an exhortation, and the congregation is dismissed.

We must not leave this part of the subject, without making a few remarks on this ceremony, of which these people are as tenacious as they are of the greatest precepts in the gospel.

Throughout the whole historical part of the Old Testament, we read of the people kissing each other in a way of friendship when they met in the streets, or in the fields; and it is related, that Joab took Abner by the beard and kissed him, while, with his right hand, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are many parts of Europe where the men kiss

each other when they meet, and it has been the practice of the eastern nations from the earliest ages of time. It was the practice in the Anglo-Saxon time, when the Danes invaded this country, and these barbarians used frequently to stab those whom they saluted. From this horrid practice arose the word used in England, when people desiring their neighbours to drink to them, say, "I'll pledge you." That is, you shall give me security, or I will take security of you, that you will not injure me. So far we have considered it in a civil light, let us now consider it in the sense the Sandemanians use it, namely, as a religious duty.

They ground their practise on the words of the apostle to the Romans, "Salute one another with a holy kiss," that is, with a friendly kiss, or a kiss of charity. Now the epistle was writing to people who had been formerly Heathens, but were then converted to the faith in Christ. As the practice of kissing each other continued both among the Jews and Gentiles, so it appears that St. Paul had nothing further in view than to point out to them, that whenever they met and kissed each other, it should be done in a charitable, friendly manner. That the action itself being an indication of love and friendship, so there should be no deceit in the heart.

That this was what he had in view, will appear the more evident, when we consider, that the apostle never says kiss each other in your churches, where indeed no salutations took place; for all was composure and decorum. The most ignorant person knows, that when we meet our friends, we shake hands as it is commonly called, and therefore the precept itself relates to no more than common forms of civility.

The next thing to be considered is, in what manner they excommunicate their people; and we can assure our readers that he must be a very artful man who is able to live as a member of one of their congregations one single year. They profess to have all things in common; and yet when any of their members become rather uncommonly free in his demands, they part with him. From this we may learn, that words or professions in religion are one thing, and reality another.

As their deacons are constantly on the watch, so when they find a brother offending, they go and tell him of it, and if he freely acknowledges his error, and promises amendment, then no person is to take any further notice of it. If he persists in what he is accused of, the deacon takes two or three more, and if they can persuade him, then it goes no further, nor is it made public to any but themselves. But if he still persists in his obstinacy, it is mentioned publicly in the church, and he is sent for, and if he either refuses to come, or when he does come, to

satisfy the church that he was not in an error, then the elders put the vote to the people, whether he should not be excommunicated, to which, when they have all given their assent, one of the elders prays that the offender may be delivered over to satan to be tormented in the flesh, until he is brought again into the church. Upon that, all the congregation turn from him with a sort of supercilious contempt or disdain, as if he was unworthy of their company, and they are strictly commanded, that whenever they meet with him, they will not speak to him; they will not wish him any happiness, nor will they do any thing whatever to serve him. They are the most inveterate enemies in the world to those who have been cast out of their congregations; and many of their members openly declare, that those who were cast out of the church, should have no compassion shewn them. This is perhaps what may be called religious barbarity, of which there is a little too much in the world.

It is a maxim with these people, that if a member has been once excommunicated, he may be re-admitted upon condition of his repentance, but he must first undergo a very severe penance. They must come constantly to the meeting, and they must bear all the scoffs and scorn of the members, without seeming to be displeased. Like the Inquisitors in Spain, and the Seceders in Scotland, he is to conquer nature by grace. And indeed it requires a good deal of grace to bear all the affronts he receives. When he is re-admitted, he receives a sharp rebuke for his backsliding from the truth, and a caution to be on his guard for the future.

If a member is excommunicated a second time, he can never be admitted again, and then he generally becomes a Deist, if not worse. We knew a rich man, who is still alive, and was excommunicated the first time, because he had dropped some expressions that seemed to militate against infant baptism. He was re-admitted, but being loth to part with his money when demands were made upon it, under pretence of supplying the wants of the poor, he was again excommunicated, and knowing that no further favours would be shewn him, he took a room in an ale-house, where he preached the Sunday evenings to a rabble, who only laughed at him, and then gave himself up to all manner of debauchery. Nothing was more common than to hear him over his cups, singing the words of the poet:—

I was a fanatical preacher,  
And turn'd up my eyes when I pray'd;  
But my hearers half starv'd their teacher;  
For they believ'd not a word that I said.

Another was excommunicated a second time, for

refusing to play at blindman's-buff on Sunday after service was over, in the meeting, and that man turn'd first Antinomian, then Deist, and at last died, perhaps, (if it be possible) an Atheist. Such are the effects of people's dabbling in religion.

That our readers may understand what is meant by playing at blindman's-buff, we must explain it to him historically.

Mr. James Hervey, in 1755, published his *Theron and Aspasio*, one of the most agreeable systems in Calvinism that ever was written. And it may be said of this author, that his works have been read and esteemed by Protestants of all denominations; for whatever might be his particular sentiments concerning disputed points, yet the beautiful manner of writing, his fine descriptions of nature, and above all the fervent piety to be found in every line, made his works esteemed by all lovers of true religion.

However, one Mr. Robert Sandiman, a merchant at Perth, and one of the people called Glassites, in Scotland, wrote a book entitled *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, which offended the Calvinistical Dissenters in London. A correspondence was entered into between Sandiman and some of the Dissenting ministers, and the consequence was, that Sandiman himself went up there and established a meeting. As the Dissenters generally put on an austere countenance when they come out of their meetings, and as the Methodists are fond of talking concerning religion, Mr. Sandiman went to the opposite extreme, and ordered, that his followers, on every Sunday after service, should light the candles, and play at blindman's-buff. The meeting house where this was performed was in Beech-lane, and multitudes of people, from idle curiosity, went to see it. It became an object of ridicule, and they found themselves under the necessity of dropping it. It seems to have been done from political motives, to ridicule the sour austerity of the Independents, but it did not answer the end, for these people are the same as ever.

That men should set up such diversions in places set apart for public worship, is really amazing, and we firmly believe, that had it not been for their metaphysical notions, all the rakes in London would have joined them, in order to have an opportunity of playing with the women. There was something in the practice like that of the Adamites of old, but for the honour of the Sandemianians this practice is now set aside.

We now come to their form of worship, which is plain and simple, though not without some austerities, and other formalities, that have but little connection with Christianity.

On Sunday morning, they meet so early as nine o'clock, and the elders being seated in a place much

resembling a manger, one of them calls upon a particular person in the congregation to pray. This person is followed by two or three more, who all pray in the same manner. Then they sing a psalm, or, as they call it, a religious song, and one of the deacons prays. After this, a person appointed for that purpose, reads three or four chapters out of both Testaments; and such is the superstition of these people, that in their ordinary course of reading, they read with the same pleasure the chapters that contain nothing but names, as they would any chapter in the New Testament.

The reading being over, another song is sung, and then one of the elders delivers a discourse to the people. As these elders are in general men of no learning, and as all sorts of reading are prohibited among these people, except the bible, we need not be at a loss to consider the complexion of their sermons. They use no method, but deliver a discourse, which might do as well without a text as with one. It is certain, that as their discourses are the effusions of ignorance and pride, so they are calculated to keep the people in the same unhappy state. They must not exhort the people to any duty, for were they to do so they would be excommunicated. The whole consists of a dissertation on what they call the truth, and it is delivered in such a manner that the most profound metaphysician cannot understand it. Their discourses are certainly the least calculated to promote piety of any in the world, except those of another sect, whom we shall have occasion to mention afterwards.

The afternoon service is the same as that of the forenoon, but in the interval of worship another ceremony takes place. For this practice the Sandemanians have been much ridiculed, though from the following investigation, it will appear, that there may be weakness in it without wickedness. It has, indeed, no concern with the essentials of religion, but then it must, or at least should be, observed, that all of them who set up new systems of divinity, pay more regard to the externals than the internals.

We read much in church history concerning the love feasts, or feasts of charity of the ancient Christians. That they took some virtials to their churches is certain, and the poor fed at the expence of the rich. There was a temporary necessity for this, because many of the Christian converts were slaves, consequently they could not go to the place of meeting without leave of their cruel masters.—Those who are acquainted with the Roman history, know well that slaves under the Roman government were slaves indeed. It was a great favour, and but seldom granted to these poor creatures, to attend the Christian assembly, and when they did so, there is reason to believe, that when they returned home, no food was allowed them. It was therefore necessary,

that those who were in affluent circumstances should have compassion on them, and supply them with those necessities which their cruel masters denied them.

The practice, therefore, was, for the primitive Christians to carry food along with them to the church, part of which they eat, and gave the rest to the poor. This seems to have continued till the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great, after which, according to the rules of common sense, it ceased to be in use.

This short sketch we have given of these things, is, in all probability, consistent with the truth; and we can appeal to the greatest historian in the world, whether one assertion has been made of, that is not, in one sense or other, confirmed by the first fathers of the Christian church. It was considered in this light through the middle ages of Christianity, and in that sense it was considered at the Reformation. And this leads us to consider the practice of the Sandemanians.

At noon, when divine service is over with those people, they have a feast in their meeting. On the Saturday before, the deacons go to a butcher's, and buy as much meat as they think will be necessary, and this is dressed in a kitchen adjoining to the meeting. In that kitchen they feast, or in other words, have a plain dinner with small beer. The meat is purchased at the expence of the rich, and the poor dine gratis. As soon as dinner is over, the different members adjoin to public houses, where they call for what they please, and then return to the meeting. We shall make no further animadversions on this subject, than to declare that it is an idle unnecessary ceremony. Those ancient Christians were in a continual state of persecution, their love for the brethren was strong, and they did every thing they could to supply their wants.

On the other hand, the Sandemanians are not in such circumstances; they enjoy the blessings of a free government; and they are at liberty to go home to their own houses without molestations. And yet, notwithstanding their slavish attachments to a ridiculous, though temporary institution, has induced them in this, as in most other things, to make it as singular, by embracing the shadow, like the dog in the fable, when perhaps they lost the substance.—Those who are fond of trifles in religion, seldom or ever know any thing of the vital parts. The man who loves religion, pays little regard to the exteriors, while he finds that the heart is renewed, and the conduct changed.

The Sandemanians are not numerous, either in England or Scotland, for they have so many ceremonies, that people are afraid to have any thing to do with them. To this may be added, that they fleece every rich member, in order to support the



poor. The young man in the gospel, did not like to sell his possessions, and people, who are dealers in religion, are not willing to part with their money. When salvation can be obtained without money, there are generally a great number of religious people; but when money is required, they generally drop off. Strange that such circumstances should take place, but what can be strange in human nature? Nothing, indeed, to those who are acquainted with it.

These people, according to the primitive practice, celebrate the communion every Sunday, and it is done in a plain decent manner. We shall conclude our account of them, which has been delivered in a candid manner, by inserting the following hymn, drawn up in a few verses, written by one of their preachers on his death-bed.

When to my sight thou God appears,  
I'm filled with sudden fear,  
Thy justice with uplifted arms,  
O'erwhelms me with despair.  
The formal signs of grace no more,  
Relieve my troubled heart,  
And past experiences of love,  
Add torture to my smart.  
What shall I say? My prayers and tears  
Are impious in thy sight!  
I am remov'd as far from thee

As darkness from the light.  
Is there no room for mercy left?  
Is grace for ever gone?  
I'll mind the years of thy right-hand,  
And wonders thou hast done.  
How to be one with sons of men,  
Immanuel did not scorn;  
And how from Mary's virgin womb,  
The holy child was born.  
I'll mind the greatness of that love,  
Which in his breast did burn,  
When all the wrath of God for sin,  
Upon his soul did turn.  
And did the father's dearest son,  
Go mourning to the grave?  
And did he die for sin, that grace  
Might dying sinners save.  
See from the grave the prince of peace,  
In glory bright appears,  
No further proof of hope I'll seek,  
This quiets all my fears;  
This beam of hope within the cloud,  
Sure token is of grace;  
Where wrath did frown, now mercy smiles—  
In lovely Jesu's face:  
This sign of grace relieves my heart,  
'Tis ease for all my pain,  
I will not blush to see my God,  
Because the lamb was slain.

## ACCOUNT OF THE DISSENTERS.

**I**N treating of the people called Dissenters in England, we are brought into a large wide extended field. We have prejudices to combat with, we have to do with men of opposite sentiments, and yet we think it is in our power to conduct the whole upon the principles of reason and religion. There are three objects which are to be in view:

First, the reasons why the Dissenters left the established church.

Secondly, how far the Dissenters continued in one body.

Lastly, what is the condition of the Dissenters at present.

These must be brought into one point of view, and they must be treated historically. For this purpose we shall begin with the history of these people; and the reader may be assured, that truth shall dictate what we say, and candour shall direct our pen.

When the Reformation took place in England, most of the Protestant divines were enemies to the ceremonies, and it was the wish of all sober-serious persons that they should be abolished. However, the disposition of queen Elizabeth, was quite to the contrary. This created a great deal of disturbance: for those who did not approve of the established religion, became obnoxious to government. Those people, who opposed government, entered into cabals, they had private meetings together, and there were severe prohibitions issued out against them. Still, however, the contagion took deep root, and the more these people were oppressed, the more they increased. They were called Puritans because they aimed at a purer reformation; but the worst of all was, they wanted to reform the church without reforming themselves.

They were great enemies to all public vices, but at the same time they sought to aggrandize their

own power. They had little ceremony, but much cunning. They ingratiated themselves with the ladies, whose passions are easily played upon, and by a conduct of that nature they procured a sort of temporary subsistence. This was the time when lectureships were first established, and thus a set of men were allowed to preach in the churches, without being obliged to comply with the ceremonies. Shocking that the church of England could not procure afternoon preachers, but the queen would never allow it.

It is in a manner impossible to describe what these people, who were in derision called Puritans, suffered. They were fined and imprisoned, and such as denied the queen's supremacy were executed as traitors. Grindal archbishop of Canterbury, was a man of great moderation, and did all he could to moderate the rigour of the act of uniformity, but she was inexorable. The queen inherited the obstinate spirit of her father, and therefore, when she once fixed her mind upon a thing, it was impossible to turn it.

Saunders, archbishop of York, and Horne, bishop of Winchester, were of the same moderate sentiments, and superior in moderation to all these was Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. These were men whose names will ever be revered, for their moderation. They had been sufferers during the reign of queen Mary, and for their own safety had fled to Switzerland. There they and many of their brethren were kindly entertained by the famous Bullinger, and they kept up a correspondence with him as long as they lived. In many of the letters that passed, they professed a dislike to the ceremonies and habits, and wished that they could be removed.

From these letters, of which Dr. Burnet has given us some extracts, we learn, that many of the greatest men at the Reformation were Puritans. That is, they did not think the church properly reformed, and as the queen had it in her power to call a new parliament to settle these disputes, so nothing was more reasonable than that she should have done it; but the queen dictated to all her parliaments.

About the year 1568, a society of people met together at Rygate in Surry, and having a minister along with them, they formed themselves into a congregation, after the model of that at Geneva. They met privately, but Parker, who was archbishop of Canterbury before Grindal, and who had received many favours from the Protestants abroad, became a most violent persecutor. Strange, that a man who had been obliged to leave his native country on the score of religion should become a cruel persecutor of Protestants, who only differed from him in a few trifling matters.

The truth is, to use the words of good Dr. Secker, our reformers, when they left popery, brought per-

secution along with them. They formed all their notions of church government on the theocracy of the Jews, and they vainly and ignorantly imagined, that all people should be of the same mind. Strange infatuation! but not more so than true.

Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal, was as violent a persecutor as Parker, and therefore there is no wonder that the Puritans increased in number almost every day. By a prescriptive right, the university of Cambridge has authority to send out four preachers to any part of England, who may be chosen lecturers, and serve the duties of their office without a licence from the bishop. These men made many converts among the clergy, and before Whitgift died, two-thirds of the people were Puritans. A severe act was made, enforcing the act of uniformity; prisons were filled with delinquents, and many families were ruined.

Aylmer, bishop of London, who had suffered under queen Mary, became a most violent persecutor of the Puritans, and it is amazing to think what numbers of pamphlets were written in ridicule of this persecuting bishop. There is at present a large collection of them in the British Museum, and some of them have very laughable titles. We have really perused several of them, and one of the titles is, "Have you any more Work for the Cooper?"—Aylmer was the son of a cooper in Essex.

Another is entitled, "Foxes and Firebrands," in allusion to Sampson and the Foxes. In this pamphlet there is, as in most of the others, something inflammatory indeed. It was written by one Bell, or Beale, (for he is called by both names) and the poignancy of the satire strikes to the heart. It was levelled against the bishops, particularly Whitgift and Aylmer; and Ward, the papist, having laid hold of a copy of it, played away in his usual manner upon the Protestants.

How Whitgift's hamper'd by a fell,  
Hot-headed Puritan, call'd Bell;  
How he and bishops, nine or ten,  
Their grievances tell to the queen;  
She kindly promises redress,  
But first comes death to summons Bess:  
In the other world she meets with dad,  
Eager to know what news she had;  
After some thund'ring discourses,  
Both vanish in a cloud of curses.

Thus, from these lines we may find what pleasure it gives to the Roman Catholics to see Protestants destroy each other; what Protestants can condemn the Roman Inquisition, while he sets up one himself. It is certainly true, that a little before the queen died, she had formed a scheme to put every Puritan in the nation to death. She was then in her dotage,

and the state of her mind on her death-bed was such as the most miserable creature in the world would not wish for.

In the year 1608, James VI. king of Scotland, ascended the throne of England by succession, being the great grandson of Henry VII. by his eldest daughter the princess Margaret, married in 1503, to James IV. of Scotland.

In our account of the church of Scotland, we have already taken notice of the numerous provocations which James VI. received from the Presbyterians, and he left his native country with a fixed hatred against them. With this circumstance, however, the English Puritans seem to have been unacquainted, for they had great hopes of James, and the king willing to shew his moderation, as well as to display his parts in theology, having ordered a conference to be held at Hampton Court, 1604, Reynolds, a man of sense, with four other divines, attended for the Puritans; but these were to be opposed by all the bishops. It must be acknowledged, that it was indecent in the king's being present, because it took away the freedom of debate, and his majesty himself browbeated the Puritans.

Indeed this was only a mock assembly, for what could the poor Puritans do when they were browbeaten by their sovereign, who ought to have been absent. The Puritans had no more notion of a toleration than the churchmen, but they wanted a dispensation from the use of the habits and ceremonies. This, however, the king would not comply with; for so grossly had he been insulted by the Scottish Presbyterian ministers, that he thought there could be no loyalty where there was no bishops. "No bishop, no king," was a common expression with James.

The Puritans having lost all hopes of success, had recourse to methods so artful, that we may conclude, that there are not a more dangerous set of men in the world than clerical combinations, who are longing for those emoluments which their factious dispositions deprive them of, and to which they have no title by merit.

Their first scheme was to ingratiate themselves with the ladies, and it is well known what powerful influence a popular preacher can, at any time, have upon female minds. They were readily admitted

into the houses of the nobility and gentry, and however strange it may appear, yet nothing is more true than that poor obscure preachers actually influenced the elections for members of parliament. To use the old saying, "They moved heaven and earth to get Puritans returned to serve in parliament," and as they were employed to instruct the young noblemen and gentlemen, so they brought them up in principles of rebellion, which at last overturned the constitution both in church and state.

From the Hampton-court Conference, till the year 1640, there was not a single election for a member of parliament, but what was influenced by the Puritan ministers. They took a severe revenge on James, for not complying with their request; for they got their pupils to oppose all his measures in parliament, to distract his councils, and render him odious to his subjects.

They had studied that sort of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and inflame the passions; but when we peruse one of their sermons, we find them to be very poor compositions. There is a critical review of some of their works written by the late Dr. Doddridge, in manuscript, which the author of this work has perused, but where it is now he cannot say, though perhaps it may be in the Dissenters' library.

At last, the long wished-for period arrived, when those Puritans were to come out of their places of concealment, to strip off the borrowed mask, and appear in their real colours. Their brethren in Scotland had set them the example, and they joined cordially together, till they overturned episcopacy in Scotland as well as in England, and on the ruins of the former established the Presbyterian religion, on the ruins of the latter nothing at all; so from the year 1640 till 1660, it may be justly said, that England contained almost all the religions in the world.

Having thus brought the history of the Puritans down to their splitting into parties, and sharing the church livings among them, we shall now treat of every denomination separately, that the reader may be able to form a proper notion of them. And we shall begin with that sect which is not the most numerous, yet looks upon itself as the most respectable.





## ACCOUNT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS,

THE Presbyterians may be divided into the four following classes: first, Calvinists;—secondly, Arminians;—thirdly, Arians;—and, lastly, Socinians.

### *Calvinistical Presbyterians.*

We have already taken notice of all those who are Calvinists in other parts of the world, and also in Scotland, we must now consider such as come under that name among the English Presbyterians. They are, indeed, but few in number, but what remains of them are very respectable. Till the latter end of the reign of king William, all the Dissenters were Calvinists, but now they are divided, as we shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards.

The Calvinists among the English Presbyterians, have, properly speaking, no discipline at all. They have no Presbyteries, no synods, but only meetings of their ministers, when and where they please.—When a minister dies, they send an invitation either to a young student, or to one who is settled in a smaller charge, and if they approve of him, they elect him as their pastor. Every member of the congregation has a vote, but still there is as little freedom in these elections, as there is for members of parliament; for the rich order the poor to vote in whatever manner they please.

When the day is fixed for the ordination, a great number of people assemble, and the ceremony is begun with prayer. After that some suitable chapters of scripture are read. This is followed by a general prayer for the state of the world, and the nations. A psalm is then sung, and the sermon follows. The sermon is always on the nature of the clerical office, its origin, necessity and utility. The presiding minister after another psalm has been sung, mounts the pulpit and delivers a discourse, which generally turns upon the nature of the pastoral office, but more particularly on the then state of the church, the time when it was first established, its succession of ministers, the character of the last, and the success that attended him in the discharge of his duty. All this is done in order to stimulate the other, to abide in the practice of his duty, and the people to revere their pastor.

The candidate then delivers his confession of faith, but he is not obliged to subscribe to any articles whatever. This is exactly the primitive custom, and that is the reason why we have so many creeds, their being at least four hundred extant in the writings of the fathers.

As these young men, who are to be ordained, are in sentiment Calvinists, so their confessions are consistent therewith.

After his confession is read and approved of by the ministers and people, he kneels down and is ordained by imposition of hands. A psalm is then sung, and then all the ministers present give him the right hand of fellowship. One of the ministers then goes up into the pulpit, and delivers a charge both to the newly ordained minister and the people; and this much in the same manner as in the church of Scotland, only that the English charges are seldom so much to the purpose.

When they admit a member, they are very different from the Sandemanians, and much more so from Christ and his apostles. Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; and the Sandemanians do not chuse, if they can avoid it, to admit any into their communions, but such as are of the most abandoned characters. Christ came with offers of salvation to a sinful world; but it is probable, that the Sandemanians look out for immoral people, that they may have an opportunity of shewing their power in excommunicating them as soon as possible.

The Calvinist Presbyterians, however, admit none but righteous people among them. Sinners may come and hear, but none but saints can go to the communion. The candidate is examined privately by the minister and elders, of whom they have generally two or three, and next Sunday after sermon, the minister tells the congregation, that such a person has been examined as to his knowledge in the sacred scriptures, and the Christian religion; that they have enquired into his moral character, and that they now propose to the church, whether he should not be admitted a member. This is put to the vote and generally carried.

These people must have a high notion of church fellowship, to put themselves to all this trouble for almost nothing. There is no new privilege they

can obtain, but that of going to the communion.—They are not like the primitive Christians, who considered each other as brethren; and they are not like the Friends, vulgarly called Quakers, who never suffer their poor to wait. But the Calvinistical Presbyterians act with their poor as the university did with Dean Swift, that is, *Spiralia Gratia*, or special grace. It is true, money is collected for the poor, or at least under that pretence; but the sole distribution of it is left to the discretion of the minister, and he gives to whom he pleases. This is not church fellowship; for in all congregations, there should not be one person in want, while the rest of the members are enjoying affluence.

This is one of the greatest dishonours to religion that ever yet took place in the world. It makes the poor really to doubt the truth of the sacred scriptures, and it brings the rich under the denomination of those against whom Christ promised a woe, because of their manifold offences. This is a melancholy consideration, but we may see instances of it every day; and we know that human bodies, endowed with rational souls, are such compositions, that no advices, no instructions, no exhortations, will have any force, if charity and compassion to the poor are neglected.

They seldom or ever proceed against delinquents, unless their crimes are of a glaring nature, and then they excommunicate them; but not as the Seceders or the Sandemanians do, for they send them a summons to attend on some weekly meeting, where they tell them the nature of their guilt, and if they promise repentance, or profess it, they are forgiven. But if they remain obstinate, they give them a written paper, signed by the minister and elders, intimating, that they are no longer members. If the offending brothers refuse to come to the meeting, they send them notice by a post letter.

In their worship they are not much unlike the primitive Christians. They begin with a short prayer, after which, one or more chapters are read, but they make no remarks on them, as they do in Scotland, so that their people are but very little acquainted with religion. The reading being over, they sing a psalm, which is followed by the general prayer, and that by another psalm.

Then follows the sermon, which is read out of a manuscript, which they put within the leaves of their bible. The sermon is seldom much less than an hour in length, and generally tedious. When they administer the communion, the minister stands in a square pew before the pulpit, and the people come as near to him as possible. The elders carry the bread and wine to them, after which, an hymn is sung, and the ceremony concludes with prayer. The communion is, for the most part, administered in

the afternoon, after sermon is over; but for this practice there is no other rule but custom.

In baptizing their children, they are much the same as in the church of Scotland, for the minister performs the ceremony either in their meetings or at the parents' houses. There are no other particulars relating to them worth mentioning, only that they have several academies for the education of their young men for the ministry. Their preachers are more popular than some of the other Dissenters, but their numbers are now very small.

### *Account of the Arminian Presbyterians.*

The Arminian Presbyterians are very numerous, which leads us to give an account of the people who come under that denomination.

We have already had occasion, and that frequently, to mention, that with respect to the terms of acceptance with God, all the reformers were of the same opinion as St. Austin. This will appear evident to every one who peruses Luther on the Galatians, Calvin's institution, the thirty-nine articles of religion in the church of England, and the old Scottish confession of faith. It is inconsistent with the impartiality we have hitherto adhered to, to give our own opinions on the subject. From the death of the apostles, there are near one hundred years obscured, by something worse, if possible, than Egyptian darkness. If there were any writings among the Christians, they are now lost to us; and as for the epistles that go under the name of Ignatius, they are undoubtedly spurious.

This, however, is certain, that from the time of Clemens Romanus, down to the time of St. Austin, all the writings we have are against him. Whether there were any who held the same doctrines before, is utterly unknown to us. The argument strikes two ways, and indeed, with equal force.

First, it is remarkable, that although there were many writers before St. Austin, yet not one of them embraces the same sentiments with him. Secondly, had his doctrine been new, is it not natural to believe that he would have been powerfully opposed. And yet we read of no one person who did oppose him, except the famous Pelagius. In this state of uncertainty, we leave the reader to judge for himself, and proceed to lay before the reader, some account of Arminius himself.

James Arminius was born at Haerlem in Holland, 1580, his father being a very reputable man in that place. From his most early youth, he discovered such a sweetness of temper, that he became the admiration of all who knew him. About seventeen,

having made great progress in grammar learning, he was sent to the university of Geneva, where he studied divinity, church history, and criticism. He read over all the Greek fathers, and imbibed their sentiments. When fatigued with study he walked out into a grove of trees, near the side of the lake, which has ever since been called Arminius's Walk.

Having taken his degrees, he left the university, with the character of a pious young gentleman, and an excellent scholar. Indeed, there can be but little doubts remaining concerning his extensive knowledge, when at only the age of twenty-five he was appointed by the states-general, professor of divinity in their university of Leyden. He began his lectures with discourses on the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where it is supposed the strength of the Calvinistical argument lays.

It was now that Arminius began to teach publicly those sentiments which he had long embraced.—The force of conviction from the perusal of the Greek fathers led him to it; and it is an established maxim, that what men believe to be true they will teach.

His sentiments have always been reduced to the following points :

First, that by predestination is meant, God's eternal purpose to send the gospel to whom he pleases, and in that sense, he understood the words, God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. By hardening people he understood, that God would withhold from them the blessings promised to believers by the promulgation of the gospel.

Secondly, he asserted, that in conformity with the Greek church, God had given every man power to turn from sin to righteousness, and, in that sense he understood those words, Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life. And again, all those expressions in the bible, upon which exhortations are founded; for as he said, what occasion for exhortation to men to perform any duties, if they have not the power to do it.

Thirdly, that as for the sin of our first parents, it runs along with us, and is implanted, but not imputed, otherwise (said he) how can it happen, that some are sanctified from the womb.

Fourthly, that the death of Christ was a sacrifice sufficient to make an atonement for the sins of the whole world. He gave himself a ransom for all.—He did not assert, that by the death of Christ all mankind would be saved, because many of them would not embrace the offered conditions; but he had taught; that the sacrifice itself was sufficient to make a complete atonement. In this he has been followed by the pious and ingenious Dr. Watts, who says,

He came to make the blessing flow,  
Far as the curse is found.

Lastly, in conformity with the ancient Greek church, he asserted, that there was no such thing as final perseverance, for men might at any time fall off from grace. In this sense he understood the words, Be not high-minded, but fear, and let him who standeth take heed lest he fall. And again, that that parable of Christ's, where, speaking of an apostate, he says, The last end of that man shall be worse than the first. And he likewise adverted to all those passages where there is an intimation of falling off from grace.

The apparent novelty of these doctrines, at a time when men's minds were not properly settled concerning religious disputes, because they had not been hitherto contradicted, created much confusion.

James I. of England, who pretended to have much knowledge in theological controversies, wrote a severe letter to the States-general, in which he inserted, that Arminius should be burnt alive.—Perhaps this sentence might have been put in execution, had not Arminius died soon after. His sentiments, however, did not die with him; for many learned men in Holland embraced them, among whom was Episcopius (it should be bishop) and the famous Grotius, celebrated all over Europe for his treatise on the laws of peace and war. Political interests took place with polemical disputes, and James I. of England, though a man of learning, like a true pedagogue, influenced the Protestant princes to call (what is vulgarly called), a general council. Just as if the gospel of Christ Jesus, which is so clearly revealed in the New Testament, could be better illustrated by a parcel of priests with gowns and cassocks. This council, or rather synod (for so it was called) met at Dort, 1617, and there were several commissioners from all the Protestant states in Europe. They met in the church of Dort, where we have seen paintings of the most celebrated amongst them, particularly the famous bishop Hall.

As the assembly was composed of partial men, it was no difficult matter to get the opinions of Arminius condemned. They were condemned, and those who professed them were thrown into prison, among whom was the famous Grotius, who made his escape, and was afterwards taken into the service of Christina, queen of Sweden.

But notwithstanding all the rigour made use of by James, and the other Protestant princes in Europe, Arminianism grew and flourished. All the Lutherans embraced it; and this much is certain, that at the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, there was not a divine in the established church of any note, who



did not preach the same doctrines. It has for many years become as it were universal in the church of England, and it is to be found in many parts of Scotland; but this leads us to consider in what manner the English Presbyterians first embraced it, together with its causes and consequences.

About the year 1691, just after the toleration act took place, some books were published concerning Antinomian principles; for before that time, the generality of the English Dissenters were Calvinists. This provoked one Dr. Williams, a man of vast fortune, some learning, but no eloquence, to write a book, entitled, "Gospel Truth Stated." In this work he deviated from many of his brethren, who, in their writings, had made salvation an absolute thing, whereas he made it conditional, depending on faith. He said, that repentance must come before faith; whereas the Calvinists had always asserted, that there could be no repentance without faith.—This man was undoubtedly a moderate Calvinist, or, in other words, a strict Arminian. But from this time a schism took place among the Protestant Dissenters in England. The most learned among them inclined to Dr. Williams' notions, and what is rather remarkable, they improved upon them. Every year they became more and more loose in their doctrines, till at last their sermons were little better than systems of deism. They seemed, as they still do, to take a pleasure in teaching their people just what they may read in Seneca, or Epictetus, without so much as adhering to any thing in the gospel. The consequence has been, that they are forsaken by their people, and left in distress. They have nothing now left them but to preach against government, and as most of their hearers are rebels, this procures them a scanty subsistence. The ministers are still numerous, but the hearers are few; for their dull tedious discourses will not go down with the generality of people.

They are undoubtedly very impolitic in one part of their conduct; for although they know that it is consistent with human nature to court popularity, yet they affect to despise it. The consequence is, they have few hearers left, except such as are enemies to the government. Indeed, it may justly be said of them, that in order to starve themselves and their families, they have embraced all the sentiments of the Arians and Socinians, and the truths of the gospel are rather nauseous to them. But we shall have occasion to mention another sect of Dissenters still more erroneous than they. In all their public offices these people are the same as those we have already described.

#### *Account of the Arian Presbyterians.*

We have already, in the course of this work,

taken notice of the origin of those people called Arians, who sprung up at Alexandria about the middle of the fourth century. Little notice has been taken of them by the writers of the middle ages; but at the Reformation some persons actually declared themselves to be of these sentiments.

This, indeed, is not much to be wondered at, when we consider the unsettled state of the times, the agitations into which men's minds were thrown by a change from the grossest superstition to rational religion, and the religious disputes which naturally took place in consequence of agitated arguments concerning the worst of all subjects, namely, polemical divinity.

However, after the Reformation was established in those nations which embraced it, we find but very little account of the Arians for more than a century. In 1616, two of them were burnt alive at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, on the abominable act of Henry IV. and the Puritans in New England, burnt about three or four more, during the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Persecution, during the reign of Charles II. kept the English Dissenters in one mind; but no sooner did the revolution take place, and men were allowed that liberty which is the inherent right of every rational creature, than they abused it to licentiousness.

About the year 1720, one Mr. Pearce, a Dissenting minister at Exeter, who had written a learned treatise in defence of his brethren, began to broach some new doctrines concerning the Trinity, which created much confusion, and many of the ministers, who were very numerous in those parts, entered into an association, to prefer a bill of indictment against Mr. Pearce, for denying the doctrines of the Trinity. This was such an instance of madness as cannot be paralleled in church history, but to the everlasting honour of the grand jury, the bill was returned Ignoramus. These doctrines, however, spread far and wide, and within a few years many of the Presbyterians embraced them; and, indeed, it may be added, that those amongst them who would wish to shelter themselves under the name of Arminians, are now become Arians.

There are now some things necessary to be taken notice of in treating of the Arian Presbyterians, and the rather so because there were Arian in England some years before they declared themselves to be of those sentiments. If a man goes into one of their congregations, unless he is of a particular genius, he will not know what they mean. A friend of the author has heard some of them, for a whole hour together, hold out the glory of Christ, and, at the conclusion, declare that he was no more than a created being.

Their congregations are numerous throughout

England, but the hearers are so few, that they are not able to support the minister. Their sermons are, in general, to the ignorant, very ambiguous, but to those who know any thing of Christianity, they are worse than heathenism. Most of their congregations begin to drop off, and there is no wonder, for those who love the New Testament, love Jesus Christ as a saviour. But it would seem, that these Arian Presbyterians, in order to support their wild romantic notions, did every thing in their power to drive their people away from their assemblies. The author of this has actually heard one or more of their ministers, spend the whole of their sermons in endeavouring to make it appear, that Christ was not an object of worship. That he was a mere man whom God had created, but they, at the same time, allowed him to be a mediator between God and sinners.

How this can be reconciled to all the accounts we have of the Divine Redeemer, we leave the reader to judge. We may justly say, that if Christ was not God, and one with the father, our faith is vain, and we have believed in vain. Let us only consider, how different from this the sentiments of the most pious men have been in all ages and nations; and it was esteemed the peculiar glory of Protestants, to look upon Christ as their Saviour.

And here is the very strength of the argument; for if our sins were committed against an infinite being, consequently none but one of an equal nature, could make an atonement for them.

All the hopes that a sinner can have, must be through the mediation of Christ, and those who despise that mediation, cannot expect the divine mercy. All blessings were first promised to Christ in his human nature, and these were to be transmitted by him to all his faithful followers.

Some of the Arian Presbyterians have compiled a new liturgy, which is perhaps, the worst composition that ever was read by men. In the midst of their prayers, we find them denying the divinity of Christ, and they seem to dwell with pleasure on the subject. But we must not stop here. Be not surprised reader. They have actually made a new Bible.

One of their teachers, celebrated for mangling the works of some of the greatest divines, actually took it into his head to collect into one book, all those texts of scripture that suited his purpose, and recommended unto his people not to read any other. If this was not making a new bible, it will be difficult to say what is.

It is observed by the pious Mr. Henry, that the way of sin is downwards, that is, as soon as men leave the truth, and the way where they could find rest to their souls, they continue sinking as it were

downwards into darkness and error. Of this the following specimen of the errors of the Arian Presbyterians may suffice.

Some of their preachers have boldly asserted, that the soul of man dies with the body, which shews, that they are what the Epicurians were among the heathens, and the Sadducees among the Jews. It is a lamentable truth, that several people, in consequence of reading those writings, have given themselves up to all sorts of debauchery.

Some others of their preachers have asserted, that the soul sleeps, from death, till the general resurrection. This is an ancient heresy, for we read of a sect of people commonly called soul sleepers, who appeared in Egypt, in Syria, before the time of Constantine the Great.

There is a third sort, at the head of whom is a divine, famous for his knowledge in politics, who asserts, by eternal punishment is meant, eternal annihilation. They say, that after the last judgment is over, and the righteous acquitted by their Lord, the wicked will be condemned and burnt to ashes with the earth. Now these people must be materialists, for how could the fire burn the soul.

We have mentioned these things not from motives of ill-nature, but compassion, and to shew that there is no end to error. What man who has read the writings of those Dissenters who died about four-score years ago, such as Bates, Howe, Baxter, and many others, would imagine that they could be succeeded by men who are greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Deists are, nay, who actually deny one of the leading principles of natural religion, namely,—the immortality of the soul. A very intelligent person, who is now a Dissenting minister, once observed to us, that ever since the publication of Dr. Williams's book on Gospel Truth, the English Presbyterians have been successively plunging as it were into errors; and as they have made a new bible, so they may, in time recommend a new God.

It is, however, melancholy to consider what distraction they have driven the people into. Those who used formerly to go regularly to their meetings, and heard the gospel preached, seldom go now to any place of worship at all.

There is, however, this advantage attends them and their ministry, namely, that they cannot do much harm, for the largest meeting they have has only a few hearers. Two of their chief preachers in London, preached away both their congregations, and both meetings were advertised to be let. Most of their ministers are very needy, and it is but a few years since the Calvinistical Presbyterians made a collection to supply the wants of one of them.—How strong must the hatred these men have to the

divinity of Christ be, when they will suffer all these hardships, rather than inculcate those truths that were taught by their ancestors.

But still there are exceptions. About twenty years ago, a noble lord, equally famous for his knowledge in politics and heresy, fixed his eyes upon such clergymen, whether Dissenters or others, who denied the divinity of Christ. Of those there were three brothers, all Arian Presbyterian ministers. His lordship sent one of these to study physic, and the other two he presented to livings in the church of England. Thus for the sake of livings, the men who denied the divinity of Christ, could not only subscribe the thirty-nine articles, but even read the Athanasian Creed.

In all their ceremonies of worship, they observe the same forms which we have already mentioned, except those who read their printed liturgy, but that is only in a few places. Some of them read a prayer in manuscript, and their sermons are all written. They have no discipline nor government, and in their congregations, the people seem cold and insensible, while the preacher is delivering his moral harangue, or depreciating the glories of Christ Jesus. No new members are added, therefore there will be probably none left after the present generation.

We shall conclude this article by observing, that such people as belong to them, never instruct their children in any catechisms, so that they are shockingly ignorant. They do not so much as know those very points by which their religion is distinguished. The cold lifeless manner in which the minister preaches, makes them despise all religion, or at least not to regard any.

#### *Account of the Socinian Presbyterians.*

Solomon, the wisest prince that ever lived in the world, says, there were four things he could not understand, namely,—the way of a ship in the sea; the way of an eagle in the air; the way of the comies on the rocks; and the way of a man with a maid. But what would that great prince have said had he lived in our time, to see such variety of forms and sentiments in religion as we have amongst us, and all these bearing the names of Christians and Protestants. Perhaps he would have said, as he did on another occasion, “God hath made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions.”

There is nothing has contributed more towards the propagation of popery in this country, than the various sects we are divided into. The first thing a Romish priest advances in conversation with such

Protestants as he intends to convert, is our difference in religion. He tells the person, that the Roman Catholics are all united, whereas, the Protestant religion is like a dreadful monster with a great number of heads. But he does not stop here.

He tells him, that one sect denies the divinity of Christ; another that of the Holy Ghost; a third the immortality of the soul; a fourth the resurrection of the body; a fifth the eternity of hell torments, &c. &c. &c.

This is the way they make converts, as they call them; and it is told by themselves, that within these twenty years, they have drawn over to their communion above twenty thousand Protestants, many of whom were Dissenters. And this is not much to be wondered at, when we consider, what a thing it is for weak minds to be distracted about religious opinions. These poor unfortunate people, no sooner embraced popery, than they imagined themselves delivered, as it were, from Egyptian bondage.

A few years ago, a young Presbyterian minister turned Roman Catholic, and was ordained a priest. He was so zealous, that he was sent on the mission to Scotland, where he had been brought up, and actually boasted of his having made some hundreds of converts.

A few years ago, a Socinian minister in London, preached away all his congregation; and one of them, a person of sense and great abilities, turned Roman Catholic. That man is still alive, and boasts that there is seldom a week in which he does not gain some proselytes. But to proceed with our subject.

Faustus Socinus, from whom these people take their name, was a physician of some repute at Sienna in Italy, about the time of the Reformation. The profligacy of the court, and the corruption of the church of Rome, convinced him, that Christianity was not to be found there. And as he had been taught to believe in the unity of the church, so he imagined that Christianity was not to be found among the Protestants, because they were divided into many parties.

However, as nothing could please him that he saw or heard, he resolved to make a new religion to suit his own fancy.

He taught, like the Arians, that to believe in the divinity of Christ, was to destroy the unity of the godhead; adding, that if there were three persons, there might be three hundred, or any number whatever. He said, that the texts made use of to prove the divinity of Christ, ought to be understood in a different sense.

The Arians admit, that Christ existed before the world was created; but the Socinians say, he had no existence till his body was formed in the womb of the virgin. As for the incarnation of Christ,



they think that it is not to be considered as miraculous; and they maintain, that it cannot be proved from the sacred scriptures. They say, that had it been necessary to believe in the incarnation, the bible would have mentioned it. One would think these people had never read the bible, for the incarnation was prophesied in the Old Testament, and it is related at large in the New.

About four years ago, a Socinian minister wrote a pamphlet to prove that the virgin spoken of in Isaiah, was not the Virgin Mary, and that the child to be born was Hezekiah. In answer to this, Mr. Sharp wrote a learned tract, and he was seconded by a pious German divine, now at Hesse-Cassel. One would have thought this was sufficient to have refuted the Socinian, but he had recourse to a method, which had it not been taken notice of, might have soon deprived us both of the Old and New Testament.

Mr. Sharp had observed, that the very words of the prophet relating to Christ's incarnation, are, by Matthew the evangelist, applied to Christ in chapter I. and II. Upon that the Socinian wrote a pamphlet, attempting to prove that those two chapters are spurious, and forged by some of the ancient fathers.

He was going to have proceeded in the same manner with the first two chapters of St. Luke's gospel, but Mr. Sharp answered him in such a masterly manner, that probably he will be silent for ever.

They teach, that man was of his own nature mortal, even before the fall, and was never endowed with original righteousness, consequently there can be no original sin by the fall of Adam. That we have a power to do good or evil whenever we please. That knows nothing of what is to happen, even to-morrow. That the cause of predestination is not in God, but in man. That God predestinates no one in particular to be saved. That he might have forgiven sin without Christ's death; for as he is the universal Lord, so he might do with his creatures as he pleased; he might give up his right to punish.

They add further, that as Christ was a mortal man, so it was necessary that he should die; and this, say they, shews he was not God, because God cannot die. That the death and all the sufferings of Christ were for no other purpose, than to shew an example for people to imitate. That Christ made no atonement for sin, nor was his death of any great service to mankind. That God hath exalted Christ in heaven somewhat above the saints, but still he is a dependent being. That baptism is an indifferent thing, and may either be used or not. That the torments of hell mean no more than that the soul and body shall be both annihilated. We

shall not mention the dreadful consequences which might be drawn from these principles, because it might injure many persons in the present age, whose minds we hope, are well established in the faith.

They say that every sort of discipline is no more than ecclesiastical policy, and certainly so it is, but they have none. That pastors are all equal, and to them with the elders belong the government of the church.

The pastoral function consists in preaching, praying, visiting the sick, and administering the sacraments. They admit of no more sacraments than two, viz. Baptism, and the Lord's supper.

A sacrament say they, is an oath, or an engagement to perform something; and when they partake of the communion, they sit round a table, like the Calvinists, there being no difference between them in that particular.

The Socinians are charged with measuring their faith by the narrow bounds of their reason. God (say they) never commanded, that man can believe what cannot be comprehended. That we are created with an understanding fit to conceive, and we should reject what we cannot comprehend.

And here we would ask, if any man could ever yet comprehend God. "Canst thou by searching (says Job) find out God, canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" Plato, a heathen, said, speaking of God, "Truth is his body, and light is his shadow." Simonides, a Sicilian philosopher, being asked by his king Dionysius, what God was, asked some time to consider of an answer, but at last returned for answer, that the more he considered the more he was lost in admiration, at the boundless nature of the subject.

Toland and Tindal, attempting to write in defence of Socinianism, became professed deists, and wrote against the Christian religion.

Mr. Whiston, who was himself an Arian, being one day in conversation with Chubb, who was a Socinian, he (Whiston) told him it would not be long before he embraced deism, and he did so.

It is certain, that those who reject mysteries, must, at the same time, reject divine revelation; and here we may say, with a great man, "Nothing is more reasonable than to believe that to be true which is above reason; what notion can a man form of the soul, any more than that it is a living active principle, which he feels within himself, but cannot in any manner comprehend."

The Socinians often speak very disrespectfully of Christ, particularly in their sermons, and always treat of a future state, as but very imperfectly revealed. They are apparently happy, that God has not made the gospel dispensation clearer than it is, and yet they will not believe what is revealed.

Dr. Blair, an author and a divine, justly admired by his brethren, the ministers of the church of Scotland, has made some fine remarks concerning the notions of the Socinians. It appears (says the Dr.) to be the plan of the Deity, in all his dispensations to mix light with darkness, evidence with uncertainty. Whatever the reason of this providence be, the fact is undeniable.

God is described in the Old Testament, as a God that hideth himself. Clouds and darkness are said to surround him. His way is in the sea, and his path in the great waters, his footsteps are not known. Both the works and the ways of God are full of mystery. In the ordinary course of his government, innumerable events occur, which perplex us to the utmost. There is a certain limit to all our enquiries in religion, beyond which, if we attempt to proceed, we are lost in a maze of inexticable difficulties. Even that revelation which affords such material instruction to man concerning his duty and his happiness, leaves many doubts unresolved. See Blair's Sermons, ser. iv. p. 290.

It is certain, that if men could comprehend every thing revealed; if they could see the veil drawn aside, and the mystery of God's moral government unfolded, there would be an amazing change, but it would be for the worst. Men would neglect those duties they owe to society, to their country, their families and themselves. Human life would procure no object sufficient to rouse the mind to a state of activity, nor to urge the hand of industry. Nay, it has been supposed, perhaps with good reason, that were men to behold the glories of a future state, they would deprive themselves of its blessings by rushing upon their own destruction.

It has pleased our God to conceal many things from us, that we may give evidence of our humility and our confidence in him. To set up reason as the boundary of our religion, is an attempt to make ourselves greater than the glorious angels in heaven. For the apostle, speaking of the work of man's redemption, says, "Which things the angels desire to look into." Which implies, it was then too great for them, and will remain so till Christ has finished his mediatorial office.

How different from these sentiments are those of the humble believer? How often does he exclaim with joy,

Thy mercies still thou dost impart,  
With every added day,  
Above the rest, O give an heart,  
Its tribute still to pay.  
Th' angelic host for ever pure,  
My late returns shall bless;  
Nor sin nor sorrow ever more,  
Conspire against my rest.  
Those false suggestions, flesh and blood,  
Did interpose below.  
Shall then be clear'd and understood,  
And unmix'd friendship flow.

We have said the more concerning the Socinians, because they are, with respect to the Presbyterian clergy, the most numerous in England, but many of them have not above a dozen of hearers. In their worship they are the same as the Arians, and for the most part they are very similar; they have already preached away most of their hearers, and probably there will be but few left soon.

## ACCOUNT OF THE INDEPENDENTS.

IT is remarkable, that in treating of the different sects among the Protestant Dissenters in England, we generally find them divided and subdivided into parties. To what can this be owing, says the unbeliever in Christ? Can there be any truth in the religion of those people, who are daily projecting new schemes, and changing these as often as their capricious humours direct them? Here let the deist not triumph; for we could make it appear, that there are more differences among those people, who call themselves Freethinkers. Thus, Toland was an enemy to all those sentiments that distinguish Chris-

tians from other people in the world. Tindal was of a quite different opinion. Blount denied the immortality of the soul and shot himself. Bolingbroke was a professed debauchee, and faintly attempted to overthrow the Scripture History. We have only mentioned these few instances, in order to shew, that there are no people in the world more inconsistent than the writers among the deists, when they ridicule the differences among Protestants.

These differences among Protestant Dissenters are so trifling, that they seldom affect the essentials of religion; and people ought to bear with each

other, and be tenderly obliging, without affording an opportunity for either the papists or deists to triumph over their weakness.

The Independents, as they are now in England, may be divided into two sects, namely, the regulars and the irregulars. The regular Independents are those who have been brought up at their academy, and received as much learning as we shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards. The irregular Independents consist of the lower ranks of people, who have for some time attended the preaching of the Methodists, but are seduced away by some of their friends, who happen to have a greater volubility of speech than the others. But of each of these in their order.

### *Account of the Regular Independents.*

These people were called originally Brownists, from the following circumstance:—

Mr. Robert Brown, a Puritan preacher, in the diocese of Norwich, had been much persecuted by the bishops, and frequently thrown into prison.

This Mr. Brown was descended from an ancient and honourable family, in the county of Rutland, and nearly related to the great lord treasurer Cecil. He received his education in Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, but having conceived early prejudices against the ceremonies, he went about the country preaching in private houses. Having had an information lodged against him in the spiritual court, he was degraded from his office, and being then a young man, he went and lived some time privately with his father.

He could not, however, be restrained from preaching and inveighing against the bishops and the ceremonies. For this he was imprisoned no less than thirty-two times, and at last forced to leave the kingdom. Upon this he retired to Middleburgh, in Zealand, with several of his followers, where he formed a church upon his own plan of discipline.— This happened in 1586, but in three years after, 1589, they split into so many parties, that Brown left them and returned to England, where he renounced his principles. After this he became rector of a parish church in Northamptonshire, where he lived an idle and dissolute life, and having assaulted one of his neighbours, he was committed to the gaol of Northampton, where he died, 1630, in the eighty-first year of his age.

The Brownists held the same notion with respect to the terms of acceptance, as the Calvinists, but in their discipline they were uncommonly rigid. They taught, that every congregation was a church inde-

pendent of any other, and this is the reason why they are called Independents.

Some of their reasons for separating from the church of England were, that the laws and the queen's injunctions, had imposed several things that were not in the gospel. That there were several gross errors in the service of the church, which were made necessary for the communion, and imposed accordingly. That if persecution for the sake of conscience was inconsistent with Christianity, the church of England could not be a true one. That the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be mended. That the very pillars of it were rotten, and that there was a necessity for a total reformation.

These people suffered much, along with the other Puritans during the reign of queen Elizabeth, and many suffered death with remarkable constancy for the principles they professed.

In 1593, the Brownists were become so numerous, that Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that there were upwards of twenty thousand of them in the counties of Norfolk and Essex, and in the neighbourhood of London. Those near London being more numerous than any where else, they formed themselves into a congregation, and chose a pastor. They had many learned men among them, particularly Ainsworth, whose exposition of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, is one of the best books in the world. But the congregation was soon dispersed, and fifty-six of the members sent to prison, where some of them perished for want of the necessaries of life.

Hereupon they petitioned the lord treasurer, setting forth the hardships they laboured under, but their petition was rejected. These persecutions obliged many of them to go over to Holland, where they set up themselves in most of the principal towns. In the reign of James I. the persecution carried on against them was greater than before; but these people, although persecuted, split into parties, and did all they could to injure each other.

About the year 1610, they assumed the name of Independents, and one Mr. Robinson, a learned man amongst them, returned to England, and formed a congregation, which met in the Borough of Southwark, where there is a meeting to this day. It is called Deadman's Place, because the Dissenters have a burying ground adjoining to it.

But this little society having been informed against by the bishop's pursuivant in 1632, forty-two of them were apprehended and thrown into prison. Some of these were admitted to bail, but no favour was to be shewn to their pastor; upon which he petitioned the king for leave to depart from England, which was granted him. He, with about thirty of his followers, went over to New



England; and Mr. Canne, who wrote the marginal notes on the Bible, was chosen pastor in his room.

Mr. Canne preached in private houses, but the rage of the persecution drove him and his followers over to Holland, where they established a congregation at Amsterdam.

Mr. Howe was their next minister, who was thrown into prison, where he died. As opposition is the life of argument, so persecution promotes religion, whether true or false. These people increased to an amazing number, and although almost all of them were of different sentiments, yet they were either called Puritans or Brownists.

They continued to meet in Deadman's Place as usual; but one Sunday, whilst they were celebrating divine worship, they were surrounded by the marshal of the King's-bench, and committed to prison.—Next day they were carried before the house of lords, and accused of denying the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with preaching contrary to the statute of uniformity. The house, however, did not proceed against them in a summary manner, but dismissed them with a gentle reprimand. Next day a great many people went to see their meeting, and were so pleased with its simplicity, that they embraced their notions, and became converts.

History addresses itself to a period far more distant than the dreams of wild enthusiasts, or the blasphemies of madmen. She undertakes to hold out truth to public notice, without regard to factions, or any attachment to parties. She is to dress up truth in her native colours, and leave the impartial reader to judge. This is not an easy matter in the midst of contending parties. We are not to be swayed or biassed by inveterate prejudices, any more than partial attachments. So just are the words of the poet.

So from the time we first begin to know,  
We live and learn, and not the wiser grow:  
But he who truth from falsehood would discern,  
Must first disrobe the mind, and all unlearn.  
To disposes the child the mortal lives,  
But death approaches e'er the man arrives:  
Thus truth lies hid, and e'er we can explore  
The glittering gem, our fleeting life is o'er.

We have, however, endeavoured to avoid all these extremes; we have considered that all human beings are liable to err; and sensible of our own weakness, we shall continue our account of these people with impartiality and with tenderness.

In the year 1641, when the Puritans began their grand attempt to overturn the government both in church and state, many of the Independent ministers returned to England; and so unsettled was the state

of affairs at that time, that some of these men were chosen ministers of that famous assembly of divines which met at Westminster, and overturned the whole frame of episcopacy. The Independents were more favoured than the Presbyterians; and as they had no objection against money, they accepted of the grand church livings, while at the same time, they were exclaiming against clerical power.

When the Presbyterians in 1648, petitioned the parliament against the tolerations of the Sectaries, which was seconded by the Scots, the Independents presented a counter-petition from the city, signed by a great number of hands. The parliament upon this, called upon the Presbyterians to prove their *just divinum*; and an assembly of them met for that purpose; but the Independents withdrew, and left them, not chusing to have any hand in the affair.

The army, at this time, was composed of Independents mixed with Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, who, when they found the Presbyterians even in their treaty with the king, insisting upon uniformity, without making the least provision for that liberty of conscience they had been contending for, grew outrageous, and at last buried king, parliament and presbytery, in the ruins of the constitution.

As Oliver Cromwell was an enemy to clerical power, and a friend to universal toleration, they were one of his chief supports during his usurpation. They petitioned him for leave to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world an uniform confession of their faith; for they were become very considerable. Their churches were greatly increased, both in the city and country, and many rich and substantial people had joined them, but they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline, though their brethren in New England had done so ten years before. The protector yielded to their importunity, but did not live to see the effects of it.

About a month after the protector's death, a meeting was held in the Savoy between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and they appointed a committee to draw up a new confession of faith, which differed but little from that of the Westminster confession. At the end of the confession is a chapter of discipline in which they assert, that every society of visible professors agreeing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel is a complete church, and has full power within itself to elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well being of the church. That all ordinations shall take place in consequence of the pastors being elected by the people; and they are to be set apart by fasting and prayer, with the imposition of hands; but even without the imposition of hands, they are to be declared duly ordained; nor shall any person object to their being ministers of

the gospel; for they consider the act of ordination as in its own nature, rather indifferent than binding.

They disallow the power of all stated synods and presbyteries, and all sorts of conventual churches over particular assemblies, but admit, that in cases of difficulty or difference relating to order of doctrine, churches may meet together by their messengers, to give advice, but not to exercise any authority. They say farther, that churches agreeing in the fundamentals of religion, should keep up a communion with their brethren. And it is true that the ministers and rich people do so, but the poor are generally neglected.

At present, the Independents have many meetings in England, but their ministers are for the most part poor. Indeed this is reasonable; for if they have no compassion for those in distress, so it would seem inconsistent with the dictates of common sense, that any people should shew compassion to them.

They have an academy where their young ministers are brought up, but not one of them can be admitted till he has declared that he has been converted. The greatest number of these young men are taken from menial employments, and they are first employed to learn as much Latin as Cæsar of Borgia acquired. They then lay hold of a Greek grammar, and acquire as much knowledge of that ancient language as to be able to read a chapter in St. John's gospel. In Hebrew they go over Robertson's edition of the Psalms, and here their knowledge of languages stops.

During their leisure hours, a minister comes to the academy, and delivers them some lectures on rhetoric and logic, which they are vain enough to call the fine arts. An attempt was made, a few years ago, to introduce amongst them the study of the mathematics, in order to make them reasoners; but their governors could not undertake the making of compasses, lines and circles, so that their young ministers have just as much learning as one would naturally imagine who attends to the nature of things, and considers the constitution of the Christian religion.

The next thing to be considered is their ecclesiastical polity, if it deserves that name. When one of their young men has acquitted himself so well as to be made choice of for a church, about half a dozen of the neighbouring ministers assemble, with a great many of the people. The ordination is conducted in the same form as among the Presbyterians, but the confession differs.

The following confession of faith, delivered by Mr. Thomas Bradbury, in London, July 10, 1707, is almost similar to all that have been delivered since, and may serve as a specimen.

"Forasmuch as, upon these occasions, many have taken in hand to set forth, in order, a declaration of

those things which are most surely believed among us; I desire to make the same good profession before many witnesses, and, according to my measure of the gift of Christ, give a reason of the hope that is in me, with meekness and fear, and especially at this time, when by fasting and prayer, and laying on of hands, I am to be separated for the work whereunto the Lord hath called me; though I be less than the least of all saints, and not worthy of this grace, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.

ART. I. I therefore declare my belief, that the books of the Old and New Testament, which are commonly received amongst us, came not by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and instruction in righteousness.

II. This, through grace, I will always adhere to, as the great rule of my faith and ministry; to this law and testimony I profess to bring every opinion; this I promise, in a dependance upon him who has the residue of the spirit; I apply to these scriptures as the best discovery God hath made of himself in this life; I here learn what God is, and what he doth. This includes both his nature and glorious perfections; it includes both his eternal unity and trinity of persons.

III. I believe that the Lord our God is one Lord, there is none besides him.

IV. I believe there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one. This I would avow as a truth, and humbly adore as a mystery.

V. I believe that this one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is a spirit. The king eternal, immortal, invisible, from everlasting to everlasting, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, but who will take vengeance on his adversaries, and not at all acquit the wicked.

VI. I believe that he created all things, and for his pleasure they are and were created; that his government reaches over the whole creation; that his providence extends to all creatures, and their actions, and that the fore-knowledge of God over-rules the corruptions of men.

VII. I believe that God made a covenant with our first parents, as the common root of all their posterity, and gave them a righteous law, with this establishment, that he that does these things, shall live by them; but in the day that he offended, he should surely die.

VIII. I believe, that by one man's disobedience, our natures are not only guilty but impure, and that we lie dead in trespasses and sins.

IX. I believe that God resolved to glorify himself by redeeming some of the lost race; that he did, from all eternity, predestinate some to the adop-

tion of children, whose names are written in heaven; that this election was free, and it will have a certain issue; that the remnant are saved according to the election of grace, not for the works which they should afterwards do, but according to his own purpose and grace before the world began.

X. I believe that this design will be effectual to the happiness of all those.

XI. I believe that the only method of obtaining this happiness was by appointing one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus; giving a certain number to him, and setting him forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, for the remission of sins, that God might be just, and yet the elect be saved.

XII. I believe the divinity of our great Lord and Redeemer; that he is over all, God blessed for evermore; that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but receives a divine homage. I believe this word was made flesh, and dwelt among us:—this is the mystery of godliness, great without controversy, that God was manifest in the flesh. I believe him to be a teacher come from God: that he was made a priest for ever: that he is the king of saints, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.—In all these capacities he is head of the church, and the Saviour of the body, appointed to be the heir of all things; but more especially lord over them who are given to him.

XIII. I believe he went about doing good, delighting to do the will of him that sent him, by the which will we are sanctified: that he was made a curse for us, suffering in both the parts of his human nature; that he was the Messiah, who should be cut off to finish transgression, and make an end of sin: that there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved.

XIV. I believe when he had by himself purged our sins, he was buried, and lay part of three days and three nights in the belly of the earth.

XV. I believe that God raised him to heaven, moved the pains of death, because it was not possible he should be holden of it. I believe he ascended up on high, is seated on the right hand of God, as the advocate of his people and the judge of the world.

XVI. I believe that whom he predestinated, them he also called, and whom he has called, them he also justifies freely by his grace. The blessedness of this consists in God's imputing righteousness without works. I believe that we lay hold on his mercy by faith, and that not of ourselves, but of the gift of God: that the people of God receive the adoption of sons, and there is a change in the disposition of those who are heirs of the grace of life, owing to free love and to Almighty power. I believe that the ransomed of the Lord grow in grace, and that

he who has begun a good work in them, will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ. No man shall be able to pluck them out of his hands.

XVII. I believe he is to be worshipped with reverence and godly fear. I believe that we are to own this Lord in societies, and that there is a communion with all that in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, both theirs and ours, and that Jesus Christ will be with them to the end of the world.

XVIII. I believe he hath given us several commands and institutions, which we, as Christians, are obliged to perform, one of which is baptism in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, taught us all things whatsoever he has commanded, admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. And by eating bread and drinking wine, in remembrance of him, we are to continue steadfast in doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayer.

XIX. I believe, that in all these parts of worship, one is our master, even Christ; no man having dominion over our faith and liberty.

XX. I believe that the Christian, at his death, enters upon two blessings, a complete purity and satisfying enjoyment, that the spirits of just men are made perfect, see Christ and know him as themselves are known: and that more perfect felicity which will follow the resurrection and universal judgment. For,

XXI. I believe there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust: that Christ hath authority to execute judgment, because he is the son of man: that the angels, who sinned, are delivered into the chains of darkness; both they and the wicked, who know not God, nor obeyed the gospel of his dear son, shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.

The other particulars relating to the regular Independents lead us within the veil, obscurity is enlightened, darkness to the human eye vanishes away before our sight, and we can see them in their native colours.

Their congregations consist of a minister, two deacons, and, in conjunction with them, the whole of the congregation. These form a sort of congregational body, taking upon themselves the same power as a general council. The minister is elected by the people at large, with this reservation, that they can turn them away whenever they please.—This is, perhaps, a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and yet we meet with something like it in ancient ecclesiastical history.

In their discipline they profess to be like the primitive Christians; that is, they will never publish the faults of each other until they are excommunicated. This appears to be as strict a piece of hy-



poetry as ever took place in the world, and we shall give a specimen of it afterwards.

At present, in their form of worship, they differ a little from the Presbyterians, but still, even in that difference, they are not uniform. In all their meetings they begin with a psalm, and then follows a prayer. In some, after the prayer is over, they begin the sermon, which generally lasts an hour; and the minister must take great care not to drop one single word that looks like an exhortation to duty. The whole sermon has some resemblance to a system of divinity, without the conclusion. In some of their churches they sing three times during divine service; but, in general, their sermons are the same, only with this difference, that some of their young ministers have boldly ventured to imitate their ancestors, such as Bates, Howe, and others.

It is necessary to inform the reader concerning this vast difference in the mode of preaching between the present Independents, and those who lived at the time of the revolution.

In 1708, one Mr. Hussey, a minister at Cambridge, published a heavy, tedious volume, to shew that no minister had a right to make any offers of grace or salvation to sinners. This is not original Calvinism, but it is an inference, or consequence deducible from it; at least from that part of it called absolute predestination. For if God has elected one part of mankind, and reprobed the other, what occasion is there for exhortation, seeing man has no power to comply. This is a popular objection of the Arminians, which has already been in a measure refuted. It is not hereby meant to charge the Independents alone with this consequence, as many other sectarists, and even some in our established church, adopt the same opinion.—If we might be allowed to give our advice on so important a subject, we should rather think the express command of our Lord should be more attended to than any of these traditions of men; and if in Ezekiel's days, the dead bones were commanded to live, why should not the same method be taken under the superior brightness and vivifying nature of the gospel dispensation.

There is an apparent inconsistency in establishing the above consequence from a belief in absolute predestination, among a people who, in general, profess to have been converted from the ways of sin, under the Methodists; for this is the case with the modern Independents. It is pretty generally known, that exhortation is their fort, and that they had rather forego systematic divinity than lose an opportunity of earnest exhortation.

When a man or woman desires to be admitted a member, the minister and deacons confer with him, inquire into his character with a strictness and precision which does honour to them. If it is found

such as will bring an honour to religion, as well as an ornament to their congregation, he or she is then told to write out an account of his Christian experience, and of the manner of his conversion.

This account is given to the minister, who having perused it, desires the candidate to be at the meeting on the next Lord's day. When service is over in the afternoon, the minister, with the deacons, and the principal members of the congregation, meet together in a large pew before the clerk's desk, called the table pew, because it is there they administer the Lord's Supper.

The candidate is then called upon, and the minister, pulling the paper out of his pocket, tells the people that he is come to read the Christian experience of A. B. The paper is then read, which generally contains, first, a confession of his original and actual transgressions against God, his deep conviction of guilt on that account, and his hearty desire of embracing that salvation which is revealed in the gospel; he then proceeds to relate the method and manner by which divine grace operated upon his heart; but as these are so various, we cannot fix any particular one, only we believe, that the general way which God takes to bring sinners to the knowledge of himself, is through the instrumentality of the preached word. He then professes his desire to become a member of that particular church, and assigns his reason for it, which is generally this, that he cannot any longer conscientiously abstain from obeying the positive command of Christ, which is binding upon all Christians, viz. the participation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is a general rule, not only with the Independents, but with most other sectarists, not to admit any one to their communion, until they have undergone some examination of this nature.

As soon as the paper is read, the candidate is desired to retire into the vestry, and while he is there, a consultation is held among the minister and members of the church; they then determine whether in the judgment of charity his experience is genuine, and such as will entitle him to church fellowship; added to which, they also judge of his character and conduct in the world; if these correspond with their sentiments of propriety, the candidate is made acquainted therewith, the minister gives him the right hand of fellowship, and he is from that moment a member of the church. It is generally contrived that the day of admission is upon a Lord's day, when the sacrament is administered, and then the new admitted member immediately communicates with the church.

Should the candidate be objected to, either from some inconsistency in his moral conduct, or should the account of his experience not correspond with the tenor of gospel conversion, he is exhorted to

Continue some time longer under the ordinances; to be diligent in his attendance on Lord's days, and to be very circumspect in his behaviour. After a longer or shorter trial, he is admitted or totally rejected.

As for the present state of the regular Independents, it rather resembles a standing pool, whereas formerly it was as a rapid current. They have some rich people amongst them, and many poor; they consist chiefly of old members, and their additional converts are not very numerous. They are rather in a declining than a prosperous state: we hope this is not a sign of a decay of religion and virtue in the world, but that people in general see less necessity than formerly for dissenting from the established church of England.

### *Irregular Independents.*

It is not from any ill natured prejudice, nor any thing like malevolence that we call these people by such a name. This would be very unbecoming those who are candidates for the public favour; impartiality alone, and nothing less can captivate men of reason, and obtain their good opinion. The author did not rightly know by what name to call them, till being one day in company with a doctor in divinity amongst the regular Independents, the reverend doctor said, "They are our Irregulars."—The reader must not be left in the dark, he must know who these people are, and who are those followers who support their ministry. To understand this rightly, it will be necessary to observe, that soon after the establishment of Methodism in this country, by those first institutors of it, Messrs. Whitfield and Wesley, many of the preachers in their separate connections, thinking they had equal abilities with the rest of their brethren, took meetings, and became Independents themselves. Having been rendered popular by their connection with one or the other of the above reverend gentlemen, and substituting loud declamation in the place of sound reasoning, they soon collected a sufficient number to fill their meeting-houses. We will not say that their congregations were the most respectable, they generally consisted of the unlearned and the poor, and not by any means so reputable as the regular Independent congregations. Their discipline was much the same, but many parts of their conduct different.

We have already observed, that the regular Independents have an education in their academies, but not the best that can be obtained, stopping vastly short of that erudition which in our opinion is necessary to form a Christian minister. But the Irregulars are still at a lower ebb, as they are in

general ignorant of systematic divinity, as well as common education: however, their public harangues are popular; they tend to inflame the passions, and set the affections at work: what wonder if under such influences as these, the judgment should sometimes be misled and the practice be consequently erroneous. It is not our business to enquire by what motives they are actuated, we shall leave that to him, before whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; whose prerogative it is to try the reins and search the hearts of the children of men. But this much is certain, that they have a great number of followers, and yet they have neither system nor discipline. Strange that a religion should exist without these, and yet it is true. Their terms of communion are rather uncertain, any person of good character, and what they in their separate congregations call orthodox principles, may be admitted. Men of business sometimes join them, and it is often proved that they benefit themselves considerably, as it is a general maxim with them to encourage those of their own communities; this is very natural, and we will not blame them for it: self-love prevails amongst mankind in so eminent a degree, that when we encourage others of the same opinion, we are only gratifying this predominant principle.

With respect to their manner of preaching, it would require a more able pen to defend it in every particular; this is a very essential branch of a minister's office, and where it is not properly conducted, the effects will be lamentable. Religion itself, in such congregations, will be disesteemed at least, if not totally neglected. It cannot be expected that a minister without learning should convey much knowledge to the people under his care. These irregular Independents pursue the same method as the regulars, by taking a text, and from thence preaching a discourse, though some people will have it, that they take leave of their text immediately, and that their discourse is as suitable to any other. The discourse is generally unconnected, and not well calculated to impress the minds of the auditory with a becoming reverence and devotion. If they have little or no education, we may be sure that rhetoric has not been studied by them, much less proper gestures or cadences. They do wisely, circumstanced as they are, to ridicule the art of preaching, and explode all manner of attention to propriety of action, of sound and judicious reasoning in the pulpit. We are afraid that the sum total of their harangues amount in general to this, *For et preterea nihil.*

We are willing to hope and believe, that notwithstanding these evident marks of impropriety and indecorum, that they have some real merit, in being frequently the means of reclaiming the vicious, especially among the vulgar; for though they are

thus detected by people who have their eyes open, yet the majority of mankind, who judge of things at first sight, and take every thing for gospel they hear, are fascinated by their preaching, which operates by different ways, in some people, by raising their minds to an exalted pitch of enthusiasm, and by sinking others into desperation. Upon the whole, it is believed that some good is done by them, and that they are a mean used by the hand of providence whose works are altogether marvellous, and who frequently brings good out of apparent evil.

We would recommend it to the ministers who rank themselves under this denomination, to act in a compassionate manner to their hearers, to consider the poor as greater objects of compassion than the rich, to make the truths of the gospel appear in a more amiable light than they do, to cease from declaiming against other parties and professions, evidently better qualified in every point of view, and to make their public dissertations more a matter of study. They would then make a proper improvement of the trust committed to their care, and acquire as much honour as would make amends for all their deficiencies. They would do well to follow the advice and example of the blessed Saviour of men. He knew well the false hopes and fallacious reasonings of the heart of man; how prone men were to form themselves into parties and distinguishing themselves by trifling inventions. In the business of religion and the great concern of souls, all that is short of obedience to God's commands,

and a life of devotedness to his service, is nothing but trick and evasion, froth and folly. Consequently if any man build on such deceitful grounds, and with such slight materials, he must and can expect no other, than that his house should fall upon his head, and he perish in the ruins.

The irregular Independents have, in general, no proper notions of ecclesiastical discipline, nor any idea of systems of divinity. They have no regular plan, every congregation assuming some particularity. They are truly independent in the strictest sense of the word. In the form of their worship they are nearly the same with the regular Independents, only with this difference, they frequently use the Lord's prayer in public, which the others do not. What can be the reason of the latter disusing it we will not pretend to assert, unless it is that their objection to all forms is so great, that they will not accept of one, even from the mouth of truth itself.

After all that has been said, we are happy to affirm from our own knowledge, that there are many exceptions amongst the irregular Independents, both ministers and people. Men of learning and abilities, who are actuated by the purest principles, who study as much as is in their power to render religion a pleasing and delightful science, who are, in one word,—an ornament to their profession, and whose names will be respected, while virtue has any countenance in the world.

## ACCOUNT OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

IN treating of these people, we are obliged to take notice of their divisions and sub-divisions, for they are even as much divided as the Presbyterians.—They are called Anabaptists, for their practice of baptizing believers only; and they say, that the mode of baptism should be by immersion, according to the method used by the primitive Christians, or, at least, during the three first centuries. Thus they claim an immediate descent from Christ and his apostles, and assert, that the constitution of their churches is from the authority of Jesus Christ himself, and his immediate successors.

Some historians, indeed, deduce their origin as a sect from much later times, and affirm, that they first sprung up in Germany, and separated themselves from the Lutherans, because the doctrine of

these reformers was imperfect, or not brought to the primitive standard; as the proper mode and subject of baptism, was not allowed by them to be necessary, in the performance of the rite. Therefore, they re-baptized their followers, condemning infant baptism as unscriptural, and of no effect; whence they are called by the reproachful name of Anabaptists.

They insisted on plainness of dress, and simplicity in worship. They not only exclaimed against the church and power of Rome, but also against all those who opposed liberty of conscience. It is not at present our business to enter into a polemical argument concerning the time of baptism. Lord King has made it appear, and perhaps to a demonstration, that it never was used in any other sense



than by immersion, till after the time of Constantine the Great. One objection his lordship admits of, and that is, that when people were converted from Paganism on their death-beds, and desired to be baptized, they were only sprinkled.

In Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and many other parts of Europe, many of the Anabaptists suffered martyrdom before the Reformation took place: and Dr. Wall, the greatest English writer in defence of infant baptism, admits, that there were some thousands of Anabaptists in the world before the troubles broke out at Munster, in Germany.

It is pretty clear, from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. John Wickliffe, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism as unlawful, or at least not necessary, and he denied that sin was taken away by baptism. Some of Wickliffe's followers maintained, that the children of believers are not to be sacramentally baptized, and that it was impossible to give children ecclesiastical baptism, saying, they were sufficiently clean and holy, because they were born of holy and Christian parents. But to go on with the history of these people, as a general body before they split into so many parties.

Though several Anabaptists were put to death and other banished for their opinion, during the reign of Henry VIII. yet they still continued to increase. Bishop Burnet says, that at this time, 1547, there were many Anabaptists, in several parts of England, and they were generally Germans, whom the revolutions of that country had driven over.

Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building upon some of his principles, carried things much further than he did.—Upon this many of them argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, Christ's incarnation and sufferings, and the fall of man, were philosophical subtleties, not derived from scripture nor necessary to salvation. We shall have occasion to consider these points more at large hereafter.

They rejected, in particular, infant baptism, as a duty not enjoined, or so much as mentioned in scripture. Many of them, however, had opinions different from each other, but they all went by the name of Anabaptists.

April 12, 1747, there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, by making proselytes, so a commission was ordered, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with some other bishops and lords of high characters, were appointed by a commission under the great seal, to examine and search after all those people called Anabaptists, and indeed, all such as did not go to church.

They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to en-

join them penance, and give them absolution, or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate them, and deliver them over to the civil power, to be further proceeded against, that is, they were to be burnt. In May, the same year, some tradesmen of London were brought before these commissioners, and ordered to abjure their former opinions, particularly they were to acknowledge, that infant baptism was a Christian sacrament.

One of these who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a faggot the next Sunday to St. Paul's, where there would be a sermon setting forth his heresy. But there was another of these extremely obstinate, viz. Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She denied, that Christ was truly carnate of the virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could not take any of it; but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the virgin, took flesh of her. There must have been many more of these sentiments at that time; for how could a poor ignorant woman form notions that would have puzzled the most learned philosophers to comprehend.

The commissioners took a great deal of pains with this woman, and had many conferences with her, but she was so extravagantly conceited of her notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn. Upon this she was condemned to suffer death as an obstinate heretic. We are sorry to say that this happened in the beginning of a Protestant reign.—The pious young king Edward withstood all the solicitations of his council for signing the warrant for her execution, declaring, it was doing in fact what they had condemned in the church of Rome, and that he would not drive her headlong to the devil. At last the king was persuaded by archbishop Cranmer, who urged that her crime was an impeachment of the apostles' creed, and that blasphemers were to be stoned to death, according to the Mosaic dispensation. The king, overcome by Cranmer's arguments, put his hand to the bloody warrant, though not without shedding tears, declaring he would lay all the charge on the archbishop before God. Accordingly the woman was executed, being burnt alive; and soon afterwards Geo. Van Paris, a Dutchman, was committed to the flames in Smithfield.

A faithful historian must neither conceal virtue nor vice, and the crime of a Protestant archbishop must no more be veiled over, than the guilt of a Roman pontiff, or a Spanish inquisitor.

Cranmer's conduct on this melancholy and remarkable occasion, is a striking proof of the corruption of human nature, even in the midst of good actions. The archbishop, with many other good men, endeavoured to promote the reformation of religion in England, and yet they could not help bringing along with them, from the church of Rome,

the vilest dregs of practical popery. This is a matter of very serious consideration, and should teach men to be on their guard, when they change from the practices of a corrupted church. Let them leave all that is bad behind, and bring all that is good along with them.

The arguments made use of by Cramer, to induce the young king to sign the warrant for the execution of a poor ignorant mad-brained woman, points out to us the shocking notions, and the baleful influence, that ignorance of the sacred truths of the New Testament will always have on the minds of people. He argued from the Mosaic law, that the blasphemer was to be stoned to death, and it is very true; but the archbishop did not so much as know what was meant by a theocracy. He imagined, that because God, as the real sovereign of the Jewish people, permitted them to put blasphemers to death, so Christians were to do the same. But we pity the man, while we detest the action.

The papists rejoice in this act of cruelty, and retort back persecution on the Protestants. Philips, in his life of cardinal Pole, while he is contriving every means to blacken the characters of the reformers, takes care not to let this pass unnoticed.—However, if we Protestants have persecuted, we learned it from the papists, nor shall we attempt to vindicate such unchristian principles.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the Anabaptists increased, and were subjected to imprisonment and banishment. Some few, as Dr. Fuller observes, recanted their errors, but two of them were burnt in Smithfield.

In the reign of James I. among the persecuted exiles that fled to Holland were several Anabaptists, who set up a church under the pastorship of Mr. John Smith, who had been a minister of the established church; but they were violently opposed by the other Puritan exiles, from whom they received much abuse in books written against their opinions. In this reign Edward Wightman, a Baptist, of Burton upon Trent, was burnt at Litchfield. He was the last martyr who suffered by this cruel statute of burning heretics in England. And it may be remarked, that William Sawtre, the first that suffered in that manner for his religious opinions, was supposed to have denied infant baptism; so that this sect had the honour both to lead the way and bring up the rear of all the martyrs that suffered in England upon the bloody statute of Henry IV.

In the year 1629, some Anabaptists transported themselves to New England, where, for a time, they met with very bad treatment from the Independents, who though they had fled from persecution themselves, yet persecuted with great cruelty both the Baptists and Quakers. Dr. Mather, in his history of New England, has declared, that many of

the Baptists were very worthy honest men; and that Mr. Williams, one of their preachers, being banished from Salem, settled at a place called Providence, where he gathered a church together and was very instrumental in obtaining a charter for the government of Rhode Island, of which he was frequently chosen governor, and that he did all in his power to convert the Indians in his neighbourhood. He published a treatise on their manners, language, and tempers, and when peace was restored in New England, the Baptists spread themselves throughout many parts of the continent.

In 1642, there was a dispute or conference held in the Borough of Southwark, between Dr. Featly and some Anabaptist preachers, of which the doctor has published an account, but it is supposed to be a very partial one; for from the title page, to the latter end, there is a spirit of bitterness runs through it. During the civil wars of the last century, they increased in vast numbers, and no less writers than Dr. Hammond and bishop Taylor, spoke favourably of their sentiments. In 1643, the Baptists published their confession of faith, and in 1646, it was licensed by order of the parliament. Except in the articles of baptism, and church government, this confession differed very little from that of Westminster now established in the church of Scotland.

However, they were now persecuted by the Presbyterians, just as they had been before by the Episcopalian. But in March, 1647, a declaration of the Lords and commons was published in their favour, induced thereto by the great numbers of them, then in the army, and in most of the corporations in England.

This declaration has the following words:

“The name of Anabaptism hath, indeed, contracted much odium, by reason of the extravagant principles and practices of some of that name in Germany; tending to the disturbance of government and peace of all states, which opinions and practices abhor and detest; but for their opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time in the administration of an ordinance, wherein, in former ages, as well as this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice. And although we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, and join with us in our judgment and practice in this point, yet herein we hold it fit, that men should be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleness and reason, and not driven to any thing by force and violence.”

The Protestants, however, did not abide long in those sentiments of moderation; for the very next year, 1648, they published a cruel ordinance for the punishment of blasphemies and heresies, by which every sect, but the rigid Presbyterians, were con-

denmed; and upon this ordinance several Baptists were persecuted, merely for their opinions about baptism.

The short rest they enjoyed towards the close of the usurpation, was succeeded by a most cruel persecution, during great part of the reign of Charles II. The story of Venner, the fifth monarchy man, is well known, who at the time of the restoration, sallied out from a house in Coleman Street, with some of his hearers, parading the streets, and knocking down every person who came in their way.— Their professed intention was, to set king Jesus upon his throne. These infatuated people believed, that the millenium was then to take place, and Christ was to reign with his people a thousand years.

It is certain, that the Anabaptists had no more concern with this insurrection of Venner's, than they had with the election of a pope of Rome, but the Presbyterian party at court embraced the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the whole body of those innocent people. We call them innocent; for where men's notions do not tend towards disturbing government, or promoting immorality, they may be justly esteemed innocent, and not objects of public censure.

About four hundred of these people were crowded into Newgate, besides many in other prisons. But at the coronation they were set at liberty by the act of indemnity. They published a declaration, wherein they testified their abhorrence of Venner's insurrection, and all they begged for was, liberty to meet together, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. This, however, did not avail them much, for they were continually persecuted during the whole of that reign.

John Bunyan, one of their preachers, was confined in prison eleven years, in Bedford gaol, where he had no other way of procuring a subsistence, but by knitting of purses, and in that afflicted state he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, a book that will perhaps be read to the end of the world.

The famous bishop Patrick, author of the *Commentary on the Bible*, wrote a book under a similar title, which the witty earl of Rochester ridiculed in the most severe manner, when compared with that of Bunyan's.

The Baptists continued to suffer much in England till king James II. published his indulgence, and at last they were entitled to all the benefits of the toleration act, which leads us to consider what they have been since, and what they are at present.

The Anabaptists are, by their own choice among themselves divided into the following classes or rather parties:

- 1st, Calvinists.
- 2dly, Arians.

3dly, Sabbatarian Calvinists.

4thly, Sabbatarian Arians.

We shall treat of all these in their order.

### *Of the Calvinistical Anabaptists.*

All the Anabaptists, from the time of the Reformation, till some time after the revolution, were Calvinists, but they soon split into parties, the common consequence of the abuse of liberty. Not that we would wish to abridge the least part of the toleration act, but only to shew, that the best things may be made the worst use of; and here we would not have it understood, that we are opposing any of those parties, but merely giving an historical account of them.

The Calvinistical Anabaptists are the most numerous of their sects, and it arises from a circumstance that will surprise the reader.

It is owing to this, that those who are best qualified for delivering their sentiments in public, will become most popular. It is so among the Roman Catholics, and in all Protestant countries where the sermons are delivered without notes. It is, in a great measure, owing to the cold indifferent manner in which sermons are read, that the established clergy have become unpopular, and the dissenting meetings empty. This observation was made by bishop Burnet so long ago as the year 1692, in one of his charges to his clergy.

It is an established maxim, that no part of human learning is necessary towards qualifying a man to be a member among the Anabaptists, besides that of being able to read the Bible, and a few other religious books.

They have therefore made it a rule, to pick out such of their hearers as are the most popular to harangue the people; and these they send to their country congregations, which are extremely numerous. Their high pretensions to piety, their earnest manner of addressing themselves to the passions of their hearers, and their strict attention to the duties of their functions, bring after them a vast number of followers, but chiefly among the lower classes of the people.

We must acknowledge, that they have had a Gill and a Brine, and some others among them. These were like constellations in a clouded sky, and some of their valuable performances have dispelled the mists of ignorance and infidelity, and reconciled many seeming inconsistencies in the Christian system.

When a man presents himself to be admitted a preacher among them, he is only asked whether he



has been converted by divine grace, and whether he considers infant baptism as inconsistent with the word of God. He is likewise to give his assent to every thing professed by his community, which are the doctrines of Calvinism. To these they add some of their own which Calvin never intended.—It is not enough for them to allow of eternal reprobation, but like the Independents, they draw that conclusion from it that exhortations are unnecessary. Calvin, in several of his sermons, frequently says, "O sinners, we offer you Christ;" which, indeed, is no more than the apostle said, when he told the Corinthians that he preached Christ. But these people answer to this, that they have no Christ to offer. It might not be improper to ask them, whether preaching the gospel, and preaching Christ, are not synonymous terms? As all the promises in the Old Testament were made first to Christ, so they are like an inheritance, to descend to believers in the same manner as an estate descends to a son.—If believers are heirs of Christ, and if the inheritance itself comes by the gospel, then is not preaching the gospel the offering of Christ to sinners as a Saviour.

The ministers of this persuasion take great pains in their preaching, to affect the hearers with the importance of their doctrines, and use every method to rouse the passions, and influence the heart, to high and heavenly pursuits; the attempt is laudable, and in it we must wish them success.

They have some decorum and order in their sermons, which we think would have still more effect upon the hearts and lives of their hearers, did they accustom themselves to draw practical inferences.—As the ministers are generally men of abilities and piety, it is rather to be wondered at that they do not only see the necessity for this manner of proceeding, but also break through that prejudice which has so long been a barrier to it. It is remarkable, that all our Saviour's discourses consist of explanations of the law, and are always mixed with exhortations.

Nine parts out of ten of the apostolical epistles consist of earnest exhortations to duty, and strange that it should ever have entered into the heart of man, to neglect such an useful part of preaching.—The most strenuous Calvinists in the church of Scotland, who are the Anti-burgher Seceders, seldom spend less than one-fourth part of their sermons in the most fervent exhortations to duty; for they consider, with the apostle, that when the foundation has been once laid, they should endeavour to raise the superstructure.

But here let it be observed, that we are as well convinced of the necessity of teaching principles, as any of the Anabaptists are, but we consider it as only one part of preaching. We are no more to leave any thing undone, than we are to do what is

forbidden. A constant direction on speculative opinions may enable men to talk of religion, but inferences drawn from them qualify them for heaven.

In their admitting of members, they differ much from the Independents. They do not call upon them to make a display of all those favours which have been shown to them by divine goodness; and that in a public manner before the face of a whole congregation. But still they have something similar to it, and something, perhaps, even more public.

When a person desires to be admitted a member into one of their societies, he is examined strictly by the minister and deacons, as to their knowledge, and a strict inquiry is made into his moral character. Christ received sinners; and his apostles, so far from making inquiry into the moral characters of their new converts, received them as sinners, and pointed out their moral duty afterwards. This is only a hint by the bye; it is not our intention to recommend the dissolute and profane, at least while they continue so, as proper members of any church, but the synagogue of satan: we only mean to say, that true penitents have a right to the blessings of the gospel dispensation. The benefits of the salvation provided in the gospel extend to sinners, and are calculated only for such: the whole need not a physician, but those who are sick. Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

But we must not look for primitive purity in religion among any set of people. The truth is, the Calvinistical Anabaptists rest so much on speculative notions, and have such an antipathy to the term good works, that they run into errors in the extreme. This is rather absurd, because their own notions point out grace irresistible. However, there is such an inconsistency in human notions, and in human actions, that nothing less than the judgment day will clear up.

However, when the candidate has been examined and approved of, he is ordered to come and be baptized. In the country, this ceremony is frequently performed in a different manner from that used in London. One of the Anabaptists, perhaps more zealous than many of his brethren, told us, that he was plunged in a river in Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, after the ice had been broken to make way for the ceremony.

It is rather different in London, where the ceremony is performed before a numerous and respectable congregation.

The candidate comes near to a font, or rather a reservoir of water, in the centre of the meeting having a robe around him to conceal his nakedness, and the minister walks into the water before him. The minister being up to the middle in the water, the candidate approaches towards him in a very reverend posture. Then the minister lays him back,

and holds him in the water till he repeats these words:

"I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

They then go out of the water together, and a sermon is preached suitable to the occasion.

The mode of conducting this ceremony is sometimes very solemn; the minister generally quotes those passages of scripture which are suitable to the purpose, and which, in his opinion defend the practice of adult baptism. It is very certain, that when Christianity was first promulgated, adults were baptized, and so were children too, otherwise we should not hear of the baptism of whole households.

With respect to discipline, these people have none in particular, but they excommunicate their members in the same manner as the Independents. They make provision for their poor, and have many collections for that purpose, yet there is a discretionary power left in the minister to give what part of it to whom he pleases.

In all other respects, they are like the Independents, and differ but little from them, except in the article of baptism. How far such men act consistently with the rules laid down in the gospel, is not our business to enquire. To be censorious is inconsistent with that impartiality which should at all times distinguish the character of an historian; to be remiss in taking notice of some abuses, would point out a fawning disposition. Let God be true, and let every man be a liar.

#### *Of the Arian and Socinian Anabaptists.*

We have already taken notice of those Anabaptists who are called Calvinists, we must now proceed to consider such as are of a different denomination.

The first Arian Baptist preacher in England was Dr. John Gale, who made his first public appearance about the beginning of this century. That he was a man of some learning cannot be denied, and his book, in answer to Dr. Wall, discovers amazing abilities. But, notwithstanding all this, he contracted, in his early youth, the most violent prejudices against every thing, either in Calvinism or Arminianism. The most part of his sermons, consisted of invectives against the godhead of Christ, and what was practical consisted of no more than what a common heathen would have delivered. No mention of Christ as a Redeemer, no notice of his offices as a mediator, no cultivating hope of pardon through his merits or acceptance, in consequence of his righteousness,—but a heavy

commentary on the words virtue, good men, and all such other titles as we find mentioned in heathen authors.

In consequence of this man's preaching, a sort of schism took place among the Anabaptists, but of a very extraordinary nature.

The clergy increased, and the laity decreased.—There is something in this, resembling the conduct of five hundred shop-keepers setting up in a city, to sell a new commodity, while, at the same time, they could not have one hundred customers. It is certain, that no man can live without the common necessities of life; for self-preservation is the first principle in natural religion. Poverty should be borne with resignation, when it comes as an ordinary dispensation of divine Providence; but we are not to court poverty. This much, however, is certain, that these men, in consequence of having denied the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, drove the greatest part of their hearers away, so that their families were left in distress.

In all disputed points concerning religion, it is best to err on the safe side, that is, it is much better to rest satisfied with a declaration of our own ignorance, than to run into an opposite extreme. It is certain, that the doctrine of the Trinity is taught both in the Old and New Testament, and it is equally certain, that we are not able to comprehend it. Then in such cases, is it not much better to wait with humility, till God lays open all these secrets to us.

In all these things acknowledge th' Almighty first,  
And where we can't unriddle, learn to trust.

With respect to the discipline of these Arian Anabaptists, they have but little, and their meetings are deserted of hearers. Their discourses are in general, such as an ancient heathen would blush at. Every thing that strikes at the root of the fundamentals of Christianity, has been adopted by them, and properly speaking, they may be considered as enemies to Christianity. Is it the resurrection of the body, they are sure to start some doubts concerning it? Is it the mediatorial office of Christ? It is laughed at with contempt. Is it the salvation through the redemption wrought by Christ? It is nonsense.

This brings to our remembrance what Sir Matthew Hale says, viz. that nothing can make the people so immoral as moral preaching.

In their ceremonies there are no differences between them and the Calvinistical Anabaptists, only that the Arians admit any person whatever to communicate with them, who only subscribe towards supporting their meetings.

All the ministers of their persuasions, are such as

have received a liberal education, so in that particular they differ from many others. But notwithstanding all their learning, they are left to starve. Undoubtedly, the hatred these men have to Jesus Christ as a mediator, must be very shocking, when they can subject themselves to all sorts of want, that they may have an opportunity of blaspheming his name.

There are not many of them at present in England; for this much is certain, that no attachments to systems will ever go down with the people where the doctrine is not popular. They have no rule by

which they can proceed in church censures; for as there is no gate to come in, so there is no opposition against their going out.

In a word, these people are, perhaps, as destitute of Christian knowledge as the heathens. Their ministers are enemies to the gospel, but the people do not so much as know any thing concerning true religion. However, we shall have occasion to speak of some sects more inconsiderable than those, and such as are but little known by the generality of people in the present age.

## ACCOUNT OF THE SABATARIANS.

**I**N treating of these people, there are two things necessary to be considered.

First, their general principles, and secondly, their present state.

As for their principles, we are naturally led to enquire into the origin and authenticity of what we commonly call the Christian sabbath. And here the following questions naturally present themselves to us for solution.

First, is it a moral principle, that one day in seven should be kept holy to God?

To this it is answered, that it is not moral, nor has it any connection with natural religion. That some of our time should be set apart for the worship of the Divine Being, is beyond all manner of dispute, but that one day in seven, or in seven hundred should be observed, natural religion does not point out.

Secondly, was this a patriarchal institution?

The answer is, it was not, for it took place long before. We read, that when God finished the glorious work of the creation, he rested from his labours, and pronounced the whole to be good. This was on the seventh day, and it is intimated, that the seventh day from that period should be a time of rest among men.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to say in what manner this sacred institution was attended to in the antediluvian world. Perhaps, nay it is probable, that the neglect of this institution, was one of those sins, for which the people were destroyed by the deluge. Whether the sabbath, or one day in seven was observed by the patriarchs, cannot now be known; only this much is certain, that in

all the accounts we have of them, it is not so much as mentioned, although the narrative is particular in other things.

But then it will be enquired in the third place, was the observation of one day in seven among the Jews, a ceremonial or a moral institution? The answer is, that in some sense it was both ceremonial and moral; ceremonial so far as it was connected with the Jewish law; moral, as being the effect of some Divine revelation. As a ceremonial practice, it took place among the Jews; and it is well known, that these people were so superstitiously attached to the observance of it, that many hundreds of them were massacred by Antiochus Epiphanes, because they would not fight on that day.

On the other hand, the moral obligation was quite of a different nature, for it was reasonable that some time should be set apart for the worship of the Divine Being, and as the Jews believed that the high command came from God, so they were under the most absolute and indisputable necessity to consider it as moral.

There is a morality in natural religion, which cannot be known unless we attend to the state of man in this world. But in Divine Revelation, there is a necessity of believing, that whatever God reveals is moral. If we believe a precept inculcated by Divine revelation, we must believe it to be moral; for what can be immoral that God prescribes as a duty. In judging of all these things, we are to consider, how far the evidence will support us through the whole of the argument, and then, if any doubt arises we are to draw the line between natural and revealed religion.



But this leads us to consider the state of the Christian sabbath under the New Testament dispensation.

With respect to the New Testament dispensation, here is a grand question indeed. It is certain, that Christ came to put an end to all carnal ordinances in the law of Moses. He came not to destroy any thing moral in that law, but to fulfil in his own person, every thing pointed out by the different types and shadows. Christ taught the Jews that the sabbath should be kept, but not in the manner they kept it; for the Pharisees had made it a rule, not so much as to do good to the afflicted on that day. To convince them of the depravity of their conduct, he asked them, or rather asked their consciences, whether it was lawful to do well on the sabbath day, and then wrought a miracle.

When Christ said, *it is finished*, the whole law of carnal ordinances fell to the ground, and the veil of the temple was rent, and the partition wall was broken down that separated the Jews from the Gentiles. What command Christ gave to his disciples concerning their keeping the day of his resurrection cannot be known. Whether he did so or not, this much is certain, that his disciples considered the first day of the week as coming in the room of the Jewish sabbath.

Thus we read, Acts xx. 7. "And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them."

Now it is not said, that he called them together, but that he found them met there according to their constant practice. In the Revelation (i. 10.) St. John says, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." Now whether Christ desired them to remember him on that day, or whether they did it in gratitude for the many blessings he had procured for them, is not certainly known. No! they were blamed for imposing the observance or non-observance of the sabbath.

It seems, however, that many of the Christians in Galatia kept the Jewish sabbath, for which they were severely reprimanded by the apostle Paul.—However, it was the uniform custom of the primitive Christians, to meet on the first day of the week, as frequently as they had an opportunity. But this duty could not be imposed, because many of the first converts were slaves.

When the church obtained peace, under the emperor Constantine, then the first day of the week was religiously observed as the Christian sabbath, and about two hundred years afterwards, the emperor Justinian published an edict, commanding, that all Christians should observe that day, by attending public worship in the churches. It has never since been observed by the Christians, as we know of, except those whom we are just going to mention.

### *Account of the Calvinistical Sabatarians.*

These people, called Calvinistical Sabatarians, are all Anabaptists; though they are not very numerous, yet they are very rigid in their notions. They say, that the institution of the sabbath is not ceremonial but moral, because it took place immediately after the creation. They added further, that there must have been some traditional account of its being observed by the patriarchs, else Moses would never have inserted it into his law.

It is certain, that many of the rites in the Jewish law, were observed by the patriarchs; for it is generally allowed, that Moses did no more than reduce them to a system. And if this was the case, say they, why might not the sabbath be observed by these ancient fathers.

There seems not to be much force in this part of the argument, for we cannot suppose that the very men who were called and instructed by our Saviour himself, would have kept the resurrection day instead of the seventh sabbath. To this we may add conjecture, that as God ordered the seventh day of the week to be observed in memory of the creation, and as the work of man's redemption was the greatest event that ever took place here below, so it was necessary that it should be commemorated as long as the existence of time, till Christ should make his second appearance. This is certainly the best way to consider the subject; and it is certain, that nothing can be more dangerous, vague, and uncertain, than to take disputed points of religion by inference or implication (the very thing here done), when, at the same time, a better proof offered itself.

Now it is certain, that the observation of the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath, hath been uniformly observed by all those who bear that name, except a few; and this is evidence much stronger than any thing that can be taken by implication. Thus far we think the argument rests in favour of those who keep the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath, but we are not to dictate to any one. Men are to be judged by the evidence of their consciences, in consequence of that degree of knowledge which they have had opportunity of acquiring.

These Calvinistical Sabatarians differ in nothing from the Calvinistical Anabaptists, except in worshipping God on Saturday. They have very little discipline in the churches or meetings, and their sermons are generally void of exhortations. They are very morose in their tempers, and in general uncharitable to those who differ from them in sentiments.

When they admit members among them, they are

very strict in making inquiries into all that can be known concerning all those notions they formerly embraced. They also inquire into their moral characters: for although these people believe that no moral duties can be of any service in the article of divine acceptance, yet they like to be moral themselves, and to have moral people among them.

Their public devotions are the same as those of the Independents and Calvinistical Anabaptists; and when they excommunicate one of their members, they seldom re-admit him to their communion.

They have but few hearers, and these are in general so pliable, that they keep both the Jewish and Christian sabbaths. Here is an inconsistency, not only in speculation, but in practice; but what can we look for in human nature? It is possible that these people will die away with the present generation; for as they were never very numerous, so they are daily dropping off. They are all Millenarians, that is, they believe that Christ will reign a thousand years on the earth; which notion is embraced by many of the other Dissenters. There are no other particulars relating to them worth mentioning, nor do they make much figure at present.

#### *The Arian Sabatarians.*

These people are the most pliant of any in the world, for they generally act in a double capacity. Thus they preach in their own meetings on Saturdays, as the real sabbath, and in other meetings on Sundays, as the Christian sabbath. Upon this last, however, it is probable that they are rather a sort of assistants to the Arian Anabaptists. But let them act from whatever motives they think proper, yet this much is certain, they are not popular.

It is remarkable, that whatever popularity may take place among the vulgar, yet when men of knowledge preach the truths of the gospel in their primitive simplicity, they are generally followed, and they are obeyed in consequence of their lives being a practical comment on their preaching. On the other hand, when a preacher forsakes the gospel of Christ, and attempts to deprive him of his glory, the people sit with indifference under his cold lifeless discourses, and they drop off one by one, while the poor infatuated preacher is forsaken.

We have already seen how this applies to the cause of the Arians in general; and to none can it be more particularly applied than to the Arian Sabatarians. If ever they mention the name of Christ, it is with some mark of reproach, and not with that mark of reverence one would naturally expect from those who would make us believe they were his followers.

But here let us stop a little. Perhaps these men are not Christians. They observe part of the Jewish law, but they reject the divinity of Christ.—They pretend to a more than ordinary zeal for the sacred scriptures, and yet their sermons are nothing more than dull moral precepts. They have this advantage, however, above the Calvinistical Sabatarians, in that they exhort their people to duty.

It would not be difficult for a man of understanding to make a good sermon out of two of theirs; for the Calvinistical Sabatarians would furnish him with speculation, and the Arians with duty.

As these men are, in general, necessitous for the necessities of life, and as they are but little regarded by those few people who follow them, so some of them are obliged either to follow mechanical employments, or, if they have education, to keep schools.

And here we would make an observation, that perhaps was never before committed to writing, namely, that the Arians, Socinians, and Arminians, all sing in their public worship Dr. Watts's Psalms. Now it is well known that the doctor's imitation of the psalms is purely Calvinistical; and how these men who deny the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, can sing that in their public worship, which is totally opposite to their principles, we are not able to account for.

To hear a minister preach a full hour against all the glories of Christ's kingdom, and at the same time, order a psalm to be sung in public worship contradictory to what he had before advanced, is one of the greatest paradoxes in the world. Nay, we will not hesitate to declare, that it is a very serious matter. For true religion is of an uniform nature: no part of it must clash or interfere with another; all must be beautiful, regular, and uniform; but how can this be found where there is a total opposition.

These people admit their members by immersion: in ripe years, but indeed they make so few converts, that they do not practice this ceremony much. The person to be baptized, has a declaration of his faith drawn up on purpose for him by the minister, who reads it to the people that are in the meeting.

This confession has always something in it against the Trinity, and against all systems of divinity; and yet these people are the most systematical in the world, for every one has a system of his own.

They have no manner of discipline, which indeed would be unnecessary; for what great occasion has that schoolmaster for a rod, whose school contains but few scholars. In their public worship they are like the other Arian Dissenters, and they generally select a chapter of the bible to read before sermon. They read their sermons to the people in a dull

lifeless manner, so that it cannot be supposed that they will make much impression upon them. Probably in a few years they will be totally extinct; for

at present, perhaps, there are not a great number in the nation.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FRIENDS, COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.

IN treating of these people in an historical manner, we are obliged to have recourse to much tenderness. That they differ from the generality of Protestants in some of the capital points of religion cannot be denied, and yet, as Protestant Dissenters, they are included under the provisions of the toleration act. It is not our business to enquire whether people of similar sentiments had any existence in the primitive ages of Christianity; perhaps, in some respects they had not; but we are to write of them not as what they were but what they now are. That they have been treated by several writers in a very contemptuous manner is certain; that they did not deserve such treatment is equally certain.

The appellation *Quakers*, was bestowed upon them as a term of reproach, in consequence of their apparent convulsions which they laboured under when they delivered their discourses, because they imagined they were the effect of divine inspiration.

It is not our business, at present, to enquire whether the sentiments of these people are agreeable to the gospel, but this much is certain, that the first leader of them, as a separate body, was a man of obscure birth, who had his first existence in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. In speaking of this man we shall deliver our own sentiments in an historical manner, and joining these to what has been said by the Friends themselves, we shall endeavour to furnish out a complete narrative.

He was descended of honest and respected parents, who brought him up in the national religion: but from a child he appeared religious, still solid, and observing beyond his years, and uncommonly knowing in divine things. He was brought up to husbandry and other country business, and was particularly inclined to the solitary occupation of a shepherd; "an employment," says our author, that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocence and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service." In the year 1646, he entirely forsook the national church,

in whose tenets he had been brought up, as before observed; and in 1647 he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, without any set purpose of visiting particular places, but in a solitary manner he walked through several towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned. "He fasted much," says Sewell, "and walked often in retired places, with no other companion but his bible." "He visited the most retired and religious people in those parts, says Penn, and some there were, in piety, short of few, if any in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man: for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed, the children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to which whoever comes is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In the year 1652, he had a visitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public ministry, to begin it. He directed his course northward, and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it,



He had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his ministry. These were drawn forth especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, reform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, "calling people to repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and to consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without opposition in the work they imagined themselves called to, being often set in the stocks, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though as our author observes, honest men of good report, that had left wives, children, houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. But these coercive methods rather forwarded than abated their zeal, and in those parts they brought over many proselytes, and amongst them several magistrates, and others of the better sort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to poll off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to speak to the people without distinction, in the language of thou and thee. They scrupled bidding people good morrow, or good night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in supreme authority. Both men and women went in a plain and simple dress, different from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master on earth. Several texts of scripture they quoted in defence of these singularities; such as "swear not at all." "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only?" &c. &c. They placed the basis of religion in an inward light, and a sensible impulse of the holy spirit.

In 1654, their first separate meeting in London was held in the house of Robert Duing, in Watling street, for by that time they had spread themselves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places set up meetings or assemblies, particularly in Lancashire and the adjacent parts, but they were still exposed to great persecutions and trials of every kind. One of them in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, represents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the Quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort;

some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.

Under favour of the then toleration, they opened their meetings at the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate street, where women, as well as men were moved to speak. Their zeal transported them to some extravagances, which laid them still more open to the lash of their enemies, who exercised various severities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the suppression of Venner's mad insurrection, the government having published a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, chapel, or in private houses, by consent of the persons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful and riotous, &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to address the king thereon, which they did in the following words:—

"Oh King Charles!

Our desire is that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God and his council. We beseech thee and thy council, to read these following lines in tender bowels, and compassion for our sufferings, and for your good:

And this consider, we are about four hundred imprisoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, besides, in the county gaols, about ten hundred, we desire that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up."

London, 16th day, 11th month, 1660.

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, "A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion, from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." It was presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promised them upon his royal word, that they should not suffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were very little regarded afterwards.

In 1661, they assumed courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing, upon the

most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. Their petition was rejected, and instead of granting them relief, an act was passed against them, the preamble to which set forth, "That whereas several persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and the public congregations and usual places of divine worship: be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons, after the 24th of March 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others not to do it, or maintain in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair."

This act had a most dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious, these conscientious persons were far from sedition, or disaffection to the government. George Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints him that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the channel, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. A relation was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the gaols.

However, they even gloried in their sufferings, which increased every day; so that in 1665, and the intermediate years, they were harassed without example. As they persisted resolutely to assemble, openly, at the Bull and Mouth, before mentioned, the soldiers, and other officers, dragged them from thence to prison, till Newgate was filled with them, and multitudes died of close confinement, in that and other gaols.

Six hundred of them, (says an account published at this time) were in prison, merely for religion's sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. In short, says Mr. Neale, the Quakers gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other Dissenters.

Yet, under all these calamities, they behaved with patience and modesty towards the government, and upon occasion of the Iye-house plot, in 1682, thought proper to declare their innocence of that sham plot, in an address to the king, wherein, appealing to the searcher of all hearts, they say, their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others: that they continually pray for the king's safety and preservation; and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the gaols are so filled, that they want air to the apparent hazard of their lives and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns and fields are ransacked, and the goods, corn and cattle swept away, to the discouraging trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this for no other cause, but for the exercise of a tender conscience in the worship of Almighty God, who is the sovereign Lord and King of men's consciences.

On the accession of James II. they addressed that monarch in these words:—

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king Charles II. and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed; we thy subjects heartily desire, that the giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good. And, it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation (by the assistance of Almighty God,) to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope, that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power to express the same, recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering friends hitherto annexed."

When James, by his dispensing power, granted liberty to the Dissenters, they began to enjoy some rest from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were swelled to an enormous amount.—They, the year before this, to them glad release, in a petition to James for a cessation of their sufferings, set forth, that of late above one thousand, five hundred of their friends, both men and women had been imprisoned, and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; of which two hundred are women, many under sentence of imprisonment; and more than three hundred near it,

for refusing the oath of allegiance, because they could not swear. Three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1680: in London the gaol of Newgate had been crowded, within these two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days. Great violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful havock and spoil have been made upon people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant and merciless informers, by prosecutions on the conventicle-act, and others; also on qui tam writs, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of their estates seized for the king. Some had not a bed left to rest on, others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for food or bread, nor tools to work with; the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church. Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being rioters and disturbers of the public peace whereby great numbers have been confined in prison without regard to age, and many confined in holes and dungeons. The seizing for twenty pounds a month has amounted to many thousands, and several who have employed some hundreds of poor people in manufactures, are disabled to do any more, by reason of long imprisonment, they spare neither widow nor fatherless, nor have they so much as a bed to lie on. The informers are both witnesses and prosecutors, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of the peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations. With this petition they presented a list of their friends in prison, in the several counties, amounting to four hundred and sixty.

During the reign of king James II. these people were, through the intercession of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with greater indulgence than ever they had been before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the settlement of Pennsylvania taking place soon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honest industry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, so he invited people of all denominations to come and settle with him. An universal liberty of conscience took place: and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were, for the first time, established.

The Friends are, in the present age, a very harmless inoffensive body of people; but of that we shall take more notice hereafter. By their wise re-

gulations, they not only do honour to themselves, but they are of vast service to the community; and here we are led to consider their tenets with respect to the grand articles of the Christian faith, and their discipline concerning church communion.

They profess faith in God, by his only begotten son Jesus Christ, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the father, and a mediator with the father. That God created all things by his son Jesus Christ; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one Divine Being, inseparable, one true, living, and eternal God, blessed for ever. That the word, or son of man in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; declared to be the son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. That in this word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

That as man he died for our sins, rose again, and was raised up into glory; he having by that one great universal offering, become a sacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man. That Jesus, who sitteth on the right hand of the majesty of heaven, is our king, high-priest, and prophet in his church, and by his spirit also maketh intercession in our hearts. That the gospel of this grace should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom and goodness in the work of man's salvation, and that all our prayers are answered by the Father through the Son.

That Christ's body that was crucified was not the godhead, yet, by the power of God, it was raised from the dead, changed into a more glorious condition, and ascended into heaven.

Firm and living faith in Christ Jesus the son of the living God respects his being and fulness, and also his making himself known in the soul in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith; which light and life of the son of God, when truly observed and followed, will bring us to the adoption of sons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy scriptures, nor slight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of sinners, nor do we set them up in opposition to the light of the spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof to turn people to the same spirit and light within them.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself; that God should be manifested in the



flesh; and it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually manifested in men's hearts. Christ is revealed to all true believers, freeing them from the bondage of sin, in their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. This mystery of godliness in its own being and glory, hath been and must be testified, preached and believed, where God is pleased to give communion, and prepare people's hearts for the same.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, we believe as the scripture testifies, "that if in this life we only have hope, we are of all men the most miserable." That the soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be resumed in its own distinct and proper being, and every soul shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; and though this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so we expect our bodies to be spiritual in the resurrection, and that they shall far excel what our bodies are at present; but how the dead are raised, or with what body they come, we submit to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God; for we cannot presume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgment, we believe, that God hath committed all judgment unto his son Jesus Christ, and he is appointed to be both the judge of quick and dead, and of the states and end of all mankind. That Jesus Christ, who has so deeply suffered, and endured so many indignities shall in the last and great day manifestly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly host and retinue, to the terror and amazement of all those who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers and friends of Christ. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who suffer with him, should appear with him in glory and dignity, when he shall appear at last to judge the world and princes thereof. Whilst those who now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences; they shall be at last opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works.

These articles are generally approved of by most of those Christians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought against the Quakers for having embraced the notions of Socinus, in vindication of themselves they added a few more articles to their creed. These are as follows:

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the Christ

the son of God, to whom all the prophets give witness; and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the lamb of God that taketh away all the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion and power with the father.

III. That the holy scriptures are of divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well.

These articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be necessary to observe, that these people pay very great regard to the scriptures, and to many other doctrines of the gospel.

Baptism is not practised by these people. They say, that it is not outward washing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his apology, endeavours to prove this proposition in the following manner, viz. "As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing; that is, the baptism of the spirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was only a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever." Such are the sentiments of this learned man concerning infant baptism, or in general all water baptism whatever. He adds further, that infant baptism is a mere human invention; for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in scripture.

Concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he advances, "that the communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance for the sake of the weak; even abstaining from things strangled, and from blood; the washing of one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity.

than the former; yet seeing they are only the shadows of better things, so they cease in such as have obtained the substance."

It is not our business to enquire whether Mr. Barclay's sentiments be true or not; his apology, however, was soon after its first publication translated into Latin, which even led foreigners to read it; and the author has seen translations of it in French, German, and Low Dutch.

Having thus far considered the principles of the Friends, commonly called Quakers, we shall proceed to give some account of the various parts of their discipline.

In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation, the friends having only had their quarterly meetings.—"And the Lord appeared (says George) unto me, and bid me see what I must do, and how men and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in England, and other nations, and that I should write to them where I came not to do the same. Accordingly, having recommended the setting up of two monthly meetings in London to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly, and not according to the truth; then I passed forth into the counties again, and advised that monthly meetings should be settled there also, for the same purpose, which was done according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God; and in the year 1668, I went over for the same purpose to Ireland. From thence I went to Scotland, to Holland, to Barbadoes, and to many parts of America, advising friends to settle monthly meetings in those countries; all which was accordingly done.

The good effects of these monthly meetings discovered themselves in the reformation that took place among our friends, and they were acknowledged even by those who did not join us." These monthly meetings were more or less in number, as the case required, in every respective county.—These meetings called quarterly, determined every thing too hard for the monthly ones, and prepared matters for the general yearly meetings. In all these meetings they are equal in power, they have no person to preside over them, because they acknowledge none but Christ for their head. They have no disputes concerning differences, but endeavour to convince each other in the spirit of love and meekness. In these meetings they enquire into all the wants of their brethren.

In their proceeding against offenders, they act as follows:—He is visited by some of the friends, and the fact he is charged with is laid before him. They labour with much love and zeal to convince his conscience that has been out of the way of his duty. They keep in view the glory of God, the

good of his soul, and the honour of their profession. It commonly happens, that he is prevailed on to own his fault, and profess sincere repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned to him afterwards.

The monthly meeting chuse some of the gravest of their friends to visit such as are absent, to converse with them, to take care that the poor be provided for, to promote piety, charity, and friendship, in families, to take care that the children of the poor be instructed, clothed, and in all things provided for.

Although they supply the wants of all their own poor, yet this does not prevent them from being charitable to the poor of other religious denominations.

The questions asked by those whom we have already mentioned as visitors, are the following:—

I. Are ministering friends in love and unity with one another, and with faithful brethren in their own meetings?

II. Do none of them travel abroad in the work of the ministry, without a certificate from their own monthly meetings?

III. Do they give way to each other, and to strangers?

IV. Do none overcharge themselves with business to the hindrance of their service?

V. Are they sound in their ministry?

VI. Do any of them burthen their hearers with words without life?

VII. Do they adorn their doctrine by a suitable conduct and conversation, as good examples in all respects?

The sensible reader will acknowledge, that these are very important questions; but their discipline concerning marriage, merits the attention of Protestants of all denominations.

The man and woman present themselves to the men and women at the monthly meetings where they reside, and there deliver their intention of taking each other as husband and wife, if the said meeting have no material objections against it.

The principal conditions of their acceptance are the following:—

First, It is an established rule, that no man propose marriage to a woman, without the previous consent of his own and her parents, or guardians; and if the unbridled affections of any should have precipitated him into a breach of this rule, he is required to remove the offence, as is also the woman, and give satisfaction to such parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which they belong, by a due and open acknowledgment of the offence, and condemnation of themselves for it, and to get the consent of their guardians before they can proceed with the marriage.

Secondly, That the parties be of the same opinion and judgment in matters of religion, and professed members of this society.

Thirdly, That none shall marry within such degrees of consanguinity or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of God.

Fourthly, If either of the parties has given offence to their friends formerly, by some act of scandal, they are to acknowledge it, which is generally done in writing.

If no objections are then made, notice of the intended marriage is published in the meetings, where the man or woman resides, or did reside, which must be done before the marriage is solemnized, in order that convenient time may be granted for satisfaction concerning their clearances of all scandal of previous contract, and every thing else.

The parties are required to give their attendance a second time at the monthly meeting, which is usually the next ensuing, when the parties appointed to make the inquiry, return and give the answer, which, if proved satisfactory, the parties are at liberty to proceed to the accomplishment of the marriage.

These marriages are solemnized in the common ordinary meetings, which hath had this good effect, to make public, and strongly recommend this decent and comely order to all sober friends.

Here the man and woman take each other as husband and wife, and promise, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death separates them. Of all these proceedings, a narrative is kept in the manner of a certificate, to which the husband and wife first set their hands, thereby making it their own act and deed, and some of the persons present do the same. This certificate is afterwards written into the record of the meeting.

As for second marrying they attend to the following things:—

First, If the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, and have children by a former husband or wife, that provision be previously made for such children, where it can conveniently be done.

Secondly, Friends should not proceed to second marriages, till at least one year is elapsed from the death of the former wife or husband, and the practice accordingly has been such; for to do otherwise would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which assembles the third week in May, are admitted friends from all the churches they have in the world, to give an account of the state of every particular church, which from some parts is done only by writing, and then a general epistle is sent to all the churches.

These epistles, from their general meetings in London, have something in them of a very pious

and moral tendency, of which we shall afterwards give a specimen. In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that of all religious denominations, these people suffer more than others. They are obliged to pay all sorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burdensome to the parishes.

The Papists have had greater indulgences shewn them than the Friends, and there are numbers of Papists in the workhouses in England. It is true, those of the Quakers, or Friends, must be also admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot say but it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the support of the poor, seeing they support all their own, and that in so decent a manner.

The following epistle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Pethergill, at the yearly meeting at London, May 29, 1779.—It will serve to shew what are the sentiments of those peaceable people under the then unhappy circumstances of affairs.

*Dearly beloved friends and brethren,*

In the love of God, and the fellowship of the gospel, which we have, with deep thankfulness of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately salute you, with fervent desires that brotherly love, peace, and concord, may continue and increase amongst us, and that a tender and Christian concern may come upon all, in their respective stations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

By accounts received from the several quarterly meetings in England, and by epistles from Wales, North Britain, Ireland, Holland, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed, that love and unity are generally preserved in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through conviction; and that a considerable number of well-disposed youth appears in various parts.

The sufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, especially in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and Nantucket. These sufferings have principally arisen from that confusion and distress which are inseparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military services, and from acts enforcing declarations of allegiance to those in power.

The Friends who were banished from Philadelphia, have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and some of those who were imprisoned have been set at liberty.

It is with satisfaction we understand, that their



meetings for worship and discipline are duly kept up, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which surround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep sympathy with the sufferers amongst them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have suffered, and from the apprehension of future probations, they are engaged to wait for that divine help, protection, and support, which alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy resignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in those parts gratefully acknowledge the kindness and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in so early and liberally contributing to the relief of their distresses. Many, from easy circumstances, have been reduced to great hardships and necessities, but have been measurably kept in a state of contentment: these have shared the benevolence of those who have been preserved from the like sufferings. It appears that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to awaken many to a proper sense of their condition, and to increase a watchfulness and care, that they may walk answerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the testimonies committed to their charge, against wars, and other antichristian practices.

May a deep sympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may please the Divine Majesty to shorten the day of their distress.

The sufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly for tithes, and those called church rates, amount to three thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-three pounds; and those from Ireland to one thousand two hundred, and fifty-four pounds.

Inasmuch as we have sufficient ground to believe that the true gospel ministry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High-Priest of the Christian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot esteem the laws of men, made in the apostatized state of the professing churches, as of any force to supersede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof; we therefore exhort you, brethren, be true and stedfast in the faith once delivered to the saints, and deeply suffered for by divers of the Protestant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predecessors. However any amongst us, to whom blindness in part hath happened may swerve from the law, and from the testimony, suffer it not to fall as in the streets, through your weakness, or the

want of your example; lest for your denial of Christ before men, he deny you before his father and the holy angels.

Let us also remind such as may be remiss in attention to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts, that the kingdom of Christ is a peaceable kingdom; and though his servants walk in the flesh, they do not war after the flesh. He commands them to love their enemies; and many who have followed him in the regeneration, and abode under his government, have found themselves restrained from all wars and fightings; which are not of the spirit of the Saviour, but of that of the destroyer of mankind. Believing this, we cannot consistently take any part therein; nor be concerned as owner of armed vessels, in letters of marque, or as purchasers of prize goods; neither can we assist in the sale of them:—for whoever amongst us so confederate with the captors, afford evident tokens that they either prefer the gain of a corrupt interest to the convictions of divine light in their own consciences, or that they are become insensible of them; both which must tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, seeing our time is ever silently upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded us for the important work of preparation daily shortening; knowing also, that the solemn period advances, wherein every individual, however occupied in this transient mode of being, must soon be called hence, and may, in a moment unexpected, be broken off from every temporal connection, by that awful command, "Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward:" Let us be vigilant, and in earnest so improve the precious time allotted us, that when this awakening call approaches, our consciences may not accuse us; but our faith may be firm, and an admittance granted us into that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.—Grace be to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Eph. v. 15.—vi. 23.

Before we conclude the account of these people, it may be necessary to observe, that as the Friends, commonly called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of justice, so their affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs; but they cannot prosecute a criminal, because in our courts of justice all evidence must be upon oath.

## ACCOUNT OF THE NONJURORS.

WE have had already occasion to treat of different sects of Protestants, who embraced sentiments arising from disputed points in theological systems, or metaphysical disquisitions. We shall now proceed to point out a party whose religion is founded on politics.

The Nonjuring religion is, in all respects, a political system, and is founded on an opposition to the revolution settlement; but this cannot be understood till we consider it historically. This naturally leads us back to a period before they took their rise. As in religious disputes there ought always to be some sort of candour mixed with the argument, so politics should be treated with modesty. The grand point in dispute between these people, and the established churches of England and Scotland depend entirely on the revolution settlement, but why it should be so, must be explained to the reader.

The sectaries in England, who brought king Charles to the scaffold and the block, had two objects in view. The first was to procure the church livings, and the second to obtain a power to dominate over the consciences of the people. Religion, with them, was considered in the same light as it was with pope Alexander VI. and his natural son Cæsar of Borgia. For it is well known, that they overturned the constitution in church and state, and trampled on the ruins of their plundered country.—The consequence was, that the two royal brothers were obliged to seek refuge in foreign countries while they were very young. Complaisance to those who supported them during a state of exile, induced them to embrace the Roman Catholic religion.

In 1660, Charles returned and was crowned king of Great Britain, but concealed his religion till his dying day. At the same time James returned along with his brother, a confirmed papist. The Presbyterians thought to have ingratiated themselves with the young sovereign, but his father's sufferings could not be effaced, they sunk deep into his mind, and therefore he resolved to set up episcopacy in England and in Scotland.

Accordingly episcopacy was established both in England and Scotland; and the Presbyterians, who had been turned out of their churches, were prosecuted upon the act of uniformity. That these people who had trampled on the constitution in a manner unknown before in all the annals of his-

tory, deserved a little chastisement cannot be disputed, but at the same time it must be acknowledged that the extension of the regal power went too far. Many of the people who had suffered under the cruel and inhuman government of the sectaries, forgetting the charity they owed to their fellow creatures, and the duty they owed to God, took every opportunity of retaliating. There is no grudge, (says Mr. Sterne) like a religious one; for false religion always discovers itself in seeking revenge.

Here was a large field opened for the clergy, who accepted of the civil emoluments, to exert themselves in persecuting those who in point of government differed from them in sentiments. And although the sectaries who had overturned the government and murdered their sovereign, had no right to expect any favours, yet it was the duty of the episcopalians to have treated them with lenity. True Christianity is known by its peaceable and forbearing disposition, false religion by its undermining arts.

Never, perhaps, were the Protestant clergy of England in a more corrupt state than during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Finding that they enjoyed the royal favour and that nothing could give so much pleasure to the court as the persecuting of the Dissenters, they exerted themselves to the utmost in that horrid employment. In their pulpits, they taught that the king was above law, and that it was the greatest sin in the world to call his authority in question. They were ridiculed by the poets, as appears from the following lines:

Each day unto my flock I taught,  
Kings were by God appointed;  
And told damnation was their due,  
Who touch'd the Lord's anointed.

Passive obedience and non-resistance were favourite topics with them, and they carried these notions to such an extravagant height, that had they not been restrained by notions of self-interest, they would have established arbitrary power. However, the indulgence granted by king James II. 1687, opened their eyes, and they began to seek for their own interest.

When the revolution took place, all those who held church livings, were commanded to take the

oaths of allegiance, but many refused to do it, among whom was Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, together with many of the inferior clergy. These men were turned out of their livings, and therefore we are obliged to consider them in a two-fold point of view. First, as English Nonjurors, and, secondly, as Scottish ones.

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### *English Nonjurors.*

The reign of king William was, in all respects, a system of severity. But this is what generally happens after every revolution. Prejudice creates anger, and anger exercises itself in cruelty. These people set up separate congregations, and there is no doubt but they imagined, however vainly, that the exiled prince would be restored to the throne. They taught the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance so long that they were in a manner afraid, or rather ashamed to recede from their former professions.

It would have been very well for them, had they confined themselves to the duties of their office, in teaching the doctrines of Christianity; but the most wretched thing of all was, they sought to dabble in politics. They were continually hatching plots against government, and many persons suffered in consequence of their knave notions. Had these men considered the nature of Christianity they would never have acted in this manner, but their notions were carnal, and their views selfish.

Some of them, however, ran into wild extremes and what will ever appear remarkable, they met the Papists half way on the road. Like some patriots in the present age, they took pleasure in doing every thing they could to disturb government, and at the same time, they felt the iron hand of opposition from the whigs. The whigs, those inveterate enemies of all, who opposed them in search after places of honour or emoluments, were the most severe against the Nonjuring principles. They could have borne with any thing, so as an opportunity presented itself to wreak their vengeance on the Nonjurors. The reason is obvious. The whigs were seeking for places, the Tories were discarded. Had the Nonjurors not meddled with the affairs of government in England, they might have lived in peace: but wisdom is not to be conveyed to fools, nor knowledge to men of no understanding.

The English Nonjurors became obnoxious to government. On the accession of George I. future ages will read, with detestation, the account of cabals that were set up in order to oppose government on the one hand, and support it on the other. The grand principle upon which these people founded their doctrine was hereditary right. How far they

could act consistent with the dignity of rational creatures in doing so must be left to the judgment of every man who knows any thing of the history of England.

Is hereditary succession a principle in our law? The answer is in the negative. We shall prove it from historical evidence.

William obtained the crown of England by conquest. His eldest son Robert did not succeed him, but he was succeeded by his second son William Rufus. Rufus, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry I. while Robert the heir apparent, was still alive; and who for his pretensions to the crown, had his eyes put out and died a prisoner at Bristol.

Stephen succeeded by force without right, and Henry II. succeeded on the hereditary line. From that time till the death of Richard II. it went on, when a very remarkable revolution took place. Henry IV. had but a slender title to the crown, and that crown sat tottering on his head. Soon after the wars commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and, consistent with the right of hereditary succession, neither of them had any right to the crown. The Stewarts succeeded in a real hereditary right to the crown of England, but the justice of the nation pointed out, that they had no right to trample on the liberties of the subjects.

It is much to be lamented, though it is true, that while the Dissenters were rising on the spoils of their deluded people, the Nonjurors were inventing schemes for the subversion of government.

The English Nonjurors contrived all things wrong. In plotting against the government, they involved their hearers in many difficulties, and some of them were apprehended and executed. This, indeed, is not much to be wondered at; for the Nonjurors were, in those times, what mock patriots are at present in England. All their ceremonies are the same as those of the established church, and the difference is only of a political nature. They are, however, dwindling away, and possibly there are not above twenty meetings of them in England. They read the church service, but instead of praying for king George, they pray for the king in general terms; but then it must be observed, that no more than five of them are permitted to meet together, exclusive of the minister and the clerk. That they should subsist long cannot be expected, that they have subsisted so long, is an insult to common sense.

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### *Account of the Scottish Nonjurors.*

The Scottish Nonjurors were more numerous than



those in England, and, in some respects, they were more respectable.

The nobility of Scotland had just notions of public liberty, whether civil or ecclesiastical; and had the episcopal party acted with prudence, modesty, and decency at the revolution, their order would not have been overturned. But quite the reverse took place. King William was desirous of establishing episcopacy in Scotland, or rather continuing it upon its former establishment, and most of the Scottish nobility concurred in that sentiment. However, the episcopal clergy acted just as they had done some time before, namely, as if they had laboured under a penal infatuation.

Dr. Alexander Ross, a man of some learning, but high clerical notions, was at that time bishop of Edinburgh. This man was deputed by his brethren the Scottish clergy, to wait on king James, when they heard that the Prince of Orange intended landing in England. They offered that if king James would support them and their order, they would stand by him to the last. The meaning was, they would assist him in establishing Popery and persecuting the Presbyterians.

This, however, was rather the act of the bishops' than of the whole body of the clergy, for many of the episcopal clergy were at that time shining ornaments to religion in Scotland. Mr. Nairn, Mr. Charters, and Mr. Annan, were men of great moderation, and wrote some things that will ever do honour to their memory. But to return to Dr. Ross.

The bishop had not got above half way to London, when he heard that the king was fled, and that the prince of Orange had arrived in London. Under such circumstances he knew not how to act, and therefore wrote to his brethren in Scotland for their advice. In the mean time he continued his journey to London, where he met with Dr. Hickey, dean of Worcester, and some other clergymen who afterwards made a shining figure among the English Nonjurors.

Had Dr. Ross considered the interests of his brethren, he would have in their name, without any authority from them, professed loyalty to king William especially as the convention of estates both in England and Scotland, had voted him and his prince the crown.

We have already taken notice of the behaviour of some of the Scottish bishops in our account of the episcopal church of that nation, namely, that as the Presbyterians were mad, so the bishops persecuted them, not only with unrelenting cruelty, but actually committed depredations on the liberties of the subjects, and the fundamental laws of the constitution.

For these, and for many other malversations,

they had great reason to imagine that they would be brought to a severe account had their religion been countenanced, and men of virtue and moderation would have been placed in their room. It is true, that they knew the greatest part of the nation was inclined to support the order, while they hated the prelates. Many of the ancient nobility, who above thirty years ago had suffered under the merciless cruelty of the Presbyterians, were still alive, and they dreaded being brought under the same inquisitorial power.

It is certain, that the Scottish nobility, and a vast majority of the commons, would have supported episcopacy, had the bishops taken the oaths to the new government; but the whole number (14) remained obstinate, and above five hundred private ministers followed their example.

Under such circumstances it was necessary that there should be some form of religion established; and in the midst of their disputes, the following article was presented to the convention of estates at Edinburgh, and was admitted an article in the claim of rights: "That prelacy, or the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is and has been a constant grievance to this nation, ever since the Reformation (they having been reformed from Popery by presbyters) therefore it ought to be abolished."

Upon this article being admitted in the claim of rights, episcopacy was overturned, and presbytery established.

As it was on the construction of this article in the claim of rights that the Scottish Nonjurors always vindicated their conduct in opposing the government, so we shall consider it more particularly.

And the first inquiry is, were the Scots reformed from Popery, by persons solely clothed with the character of presbyters? The answer is in the negative. In the first general assembly which met at Edinburgh 1560, there were no less than thirteen bishops and mitred abbots, all of whom embraced the reformation, and three of them secularized. Now the whole assembly did not consist of above thirty persons, as appears from their records in the advocate's library, and about seven of these were country gentlemen who never had entered into orders. This brings the number up to twenty, and if to these were added William Harlaw, a tailor, and Andrew Scrimshaw, a baker, there will only remain eight; four of whom had been Popish priests, and the other four were zealous preachers, but not only clerically ordained. Thus it appears, the church of Scotland was reformed from Popery more by the assistance of prelates than of presbyters.

Secondly, whatever the character of the Scottish reformers was, whether of Presbyterian principles or

not, can it be inferred that presbytery was more esteemed, and episcopacy an intolerable grievance, from the Reformation to the revolution?

The answer is, it was not. For even the Reformation was itself a sort of moderate episcopacy, and even presbytery had not been long established, when the insolence, ignorance and hypocrisy of the clergy, lost them the affections of those who had the least regard to decency and good order.

Whatever might have been the conduct of the bishops in Scotland before the breaking out of the civil wars, this much is certain, that the inferior clergy were an ornament to their profession. Nay, such was the lenity of government, that the Presbyterian ministers were tolerated in their parishes, without being obliged to take institution from the bishop.

Another circumstance may serve to shew, that the people of Scotland were not averse to episcopacy at that time, nor indeed during the whole of that period alluded to, namely, the answer which the doctors of Aberdeen gave to the Presbyterian ministers who came to desire them to sign the national covenant. They said they could not do it without a breach of their oath, to maintain episcopacy as by law established. To this it was answered by the Presbyterians, that there was nothing in the covenant against episcopacy, but that they might swear it without injuring their order.

Again, when the restoration took place, the Scottish nobility and gentry denied to restrain the power of the Presbyterian clergy, and whatever violences were committed during the reigns of the two royal brothers, yet this much is certain, that episcopacy, had it been properly conducted, was not then a grievance to the nation.

The third inquiry suggested by this article is, was episcopacy a grievance when the article was established in the claim of right? It is answered, it was not. So far from being a grievance, it was received by nine-tenths of the people. It is true, there were several court sycophants who were longing to enjoy the estates that had been set apart for the support of the bishops; and in the western counties many of the people were led by some Presbyterian ministers, who endeavoured to drive all things into a state of confusion. These men, who had nothing in view besides that of supporting their interests, and nourishing their pride, went all round the country endeavouring to influence the elections of members who were to compose the convention of estates at Edinburgh. There is no wonder that they should be able to procure a majority; for wherever they went they pulled down the houses of the episcopal clergy, turned them and their families out of doors, and stripped them of every thing that was valuable, setting fire on what they could not carry away.

The fourth question, is whether, supposing the affirmative included within the parenthesis, would that have been good and sufficient reason for the abolition of episcopacy?

The affirmatives are two, first, prelacy was an intolerable grievance, and, secondly, the Scots were reformed from Popery by Presbyteries.

In answer to the first, namely, that it was an intolerable grievance, the fact has been already disproved; but that does not come within the limit of the argument. It is, whether the real existence of the grievance can vindicate the conduct of those who abolished episcopacy, or, in other words, whether such an assertion, included within a parenthesis, could with any propriety, make an article in the claim of rights?

The answer is obvious. It could not.

For, first, was not the Jewish institution under the Mosaic economy, a most intolerable grievance to the people, and yet they were obliged to submit to it, because it was the command of God? Secondly, when the Christian religion received a civil establishment, under the emperor Constantine the Great, the Heathen priests considered this as an intolerable grievance; but that did not invalidate the authenticity of the gospel. No civil establishment of religion can become an intolerable grievance, unless power is either abused or misapplied.

The second article within the parenthesis is, they were reformed from Popery by Presbyteries. The contrary has been already proved; but we are to suppose the assertion to be true, and try its validity by the strength of reason.

Now it is well known, that in Scotland, the people were converted to the knowledge of Christ, by the ministry of some poor monks, who certainly had no ceremonial ordination at all, for this plain reason, there was no such thing as canonical ordination at that time in the world. Now, can it be inferred from this, that monks not ordained are always to govern the church of Scotland? Consider the absurdity; but this is not all.

Some nations in the eastern parts have been converted by Jesuits; but is this any reason that they should still govern them? Nay, if we pay any regard to ecclesiastical history, we may affirm, that some people were converted by the ministry of females; and for that reason must the churches in that country, or those countries, be now governed by women; the thought is absurd, and nothing less than the distraction of the times could have given countenance to it, so as to put it into a public claim, made by the people of Scotland, to have the whole form of their religion changed.

These arguments are not ours, but those of Mr. Sage, the learned author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, and who was himself a Nonjuring

minister. It is certain, that they carry a sort of conviction along with them; and it is equally certain, that the poor Nonjurors in Scotland suffered many cruel hardships during the reign of king William, and under the whig ministry in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne.

In 1711, an act passed by which the Nonjuring ministers were permitted to open meetings, upon condition of their reading the book of Common Prayer; and some of them complied with it. But the greatest part retained their ancient form of worship, which came nearer to the primitive plan than any of the Protestant churches whatever.

However, the gentry were fond of the English ceremonies, and the Nonjuring clergy were willing to comply, in order to procure a subsistence. Thus when the last rebellion broke out in Scotland, there were above three hundred of their meetings in that country, who all read the book of Common Prayer, only they omitted the name of the king, but prayed for the king in general, by whom they meant the pretender.

They are now dwindled away, and although there are still a great number of Episcopalians, in Scotland, yet they are mostly such as are well affected to government.

## ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS.

THESE people are the most numerous at present of any sect that has sprung up since the revolution. That they have been much traduced is certain, but whether they deserve all the epithets that have been bestowed upon them, the reader may judge for himself. Some of their first founders are still alive, and one of them has written the following account of their principles. Dr. Johnson has justly observed, that every man is the best judge of his own opinions; and therefore we shall, in compliance with what the doctor says, lay before our readers those principles which they held in their own words.

1. "The distinguishing marks of a Methodist are not his opinions of any sort. His assenting to this or that scheme of religion, his embracing any particular set of notions, his espousing the judgment of one man or of another, are all quite wide of the point. Whosoever therefore imagines, that a Methodist is a man of such or such an opinion, is grossly ignorant of the whole affair: he mistakes the truth totally. We believe indeed, that all scripture is given by inspiration of God; and herein we are distinguished from Jews, Turks, and Infidels. We believe the written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule, both of Christian faith and practice; and herein we are fundamentally distinguished, from those of the Roman church. We believe Christ to be the eternal Supreme God; and herein we are distinguished from the Socinians and Arians. But as to all opinions which do not strike the root of Christianity, we think and let think. So that whatever they are, whether right or wrong, they are no distinguishing marks of a Methodist.

2. Neither are words or phrases of any sort. We do not place our religion, or any part of it, in being

attached to any peculiar mode of speaking, any quaint or uncommon set of expressions. The most obvious, easy, common words, wherein our meaning can be conveyed, we prefer before others, both on ordinary occasions, and when we speak of the things of God. We never therefore willingly or designedly deviate from the most usual way of speaking; unless when we express scripture truths in scripture words (which we presume no Christian will condemn.) Neither do we affect to use any particular expressions of scripture, more frequently than others, unless they are such as are more frequently used by the inspired writers themselves. So that it is as gross an error, to place the marks of a Methodist in his words, as in opinions of any sort.

3. Nor do we desire to be distinguished by actions, customs or usages, of an indifferent nature. Our religion does not lie in doing what God hath not enjoined, or abstaining from what he hath not forbidden. It does not lie in the form of our apparel, in the posture of our body, or the covering of our heads; nor yet in abstaining from marriage, nor from meats or drinks which are all good if received with thanksgiving. Therefore neither will any man who knows whereof he affirms, fix the marks of a Methodist here; in any actions or customs purely indifferent, undetermined by the word of God.

4. Nor, lastly, is he to be distinguished by laying the whole stress of religion on any single part of it. If you say, "Yes, he is; for he thinks we are saved by faith:" I answer you do not understand the terms. By salvation he means, holiness of heart and life. And this he affirms to spring from the faith alone. Can even a nominal Chris-



can deny it? Is this placing a part of religion for the whole? Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid! Yea, we establish the law.—We do not place the whole of religion, as too many do, God knoweth, either in doing no harm, or in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God:—No, nor in all of them together; wherein we know, by experience, a man may labour many years, and at the end have no true religion at all, no more than he had at the beginning. Much less in any of these; or, it may be in a scrap of one of them: like her who fancies herself a virtuous woman, only because she is not a prostitute; or he who dreams he is an honest man, merely because he does not rob or steal. May the Lord God of my fathers preserve me from such a poor starved religion as this! Were this the mark of a Methodist, I would sooner chuse to be a sincere Jew, Turk, or Pagan.

5. What then is the mark? Who is a Methodist according to your own account? I answer: A Methodist is one, who has the love of God shed abroad in his heart, by the Holy Ghost given unto him: one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength. God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul; which is constantly crying out, “Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee! My God and my all! thou art the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.”

6. He is therefore happy in God, yea always happy, as having in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life, and overflowing his soul with peace and joy. Perfect love having now cast out fear, he rejoices evermore. He rejoices in the Lord always, even in God his Saviour: and in the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom he hath now received the atonement. Having found redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of his sins, he cannot but rejoice, whenever he looks back on the horrible pit out of which he is delivered, when he sees all his transgressions blotted out as a cloud, and his iniquities as a thick cloud. He cannot but rejoice, whenever he looks on the state wherein he now is, being justified freely, and having peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.—For he that believeth hath the witness of this in himself: being now the Son of God by faith; because he is a son, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into his heart, crying out, Abba, Father!—And the Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God. He rejoiceth also, whenever he looks forward in hope of the glory that shall be revealed; yea, this his joy is full, and all his bones cry out, Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten me again to a living hope

of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for me.

7. And he who hath this hope thus full of immortality in every thing giveth thanks; as knowing that this (whatsoever it is) is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning him. From him therefore he cheerfully receives all, saying, good is the will of the Lord; and whether the Lord giveth or taketh away, equally blessing the name of the Lord. For he hath learned in whatsoever state he is, therewith to be content. He knoweth both how to be abased, and how to abound. Every where, and in all things, he is instructed, both to be full, and to be hungry, both to abound and suffer need. Whether in ease or pain, whether in sickness or health, whether in life or death, he giveth thanks from the ground of his heart to him who orders it for good: knowing that as every good gift cometh from above, so none but good can come from the Father of Light, into whose hands he has wholly committed his body and soul, as into the hands of a faithful creator. He is therefore careful (anxiously or uneasily careful), for nothing; as having cast all his care on him that careth for him, and in all things resting on him, after making his request known to him with thanksgiving.

8. For indeed he prays without ceasing. It is given him always to pray and not to faint. Not that he is always in the house of prayer; though he neglects no opportunity of being there. Neither is he always on his knees, although he often is, or on his face, before the Lord his God. Nor yet is he always crying aloud to God, or calling upon him in words. For many times the spirit maketh intercession for him with groans that cannot be uttered; but at all times the language of his heart is this, “Thou brightness of the eternal glory, unto thee is my mouth, though without a voice, and my silence speaketh unto thee.” And this is true prayer, the lifting up the heart to God. This is the essence of prayer, and this alone. But his heart is ever lifted up to God, at all times and in all places. In this he is never hindered, much less interrupted by any person or thing. In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down, or rise up, God is in all his thoughts; he walks with God continually, having the loving eye of his mind still fixed upon him, and every where seeing him that is invisible.

9. And while he thus always exercises his love to God, by praying without ceasing, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks, this commandment is written in his heart, that he who loveth God, loves his brother also. And he accordingly loves his neighbour as himself; he loves every man as his own soul. His heart is full of love to all

markind, to every child of the Father of the spirits of all flesh. That a man is not personally known to him, is no bar to his love; no, nor that he is known to be such as he approves not, that he repays hatred for his good-will: for he loves his enemies, yea and the enemies of God, the evil and the unthankful: and if it be not in his power to do good to them that hate him, yet he ceases not to pray for them, though they continue to spurn his love, and still despitely use him and persecute him.

10. For he is pure in heart. The love of God has purified his heart from all revengeful passions, from envy, malice, and wrath, from every unkind temper, or malign affection. It hath cleansed him from pride and haughtiness of spirit, whereof alone cometh contention; and he hath now put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering; so that he forbears and forgives, if he had a quarrel against any, even as God in Christ hath forgiven him. And indeed all possible ground for contention, on his part is utterly cut off; for none can take from him what he desires, seeing he loves not the world, nor any of the things of the world, being now crucified to the world, and the world crucified to him; being dead to all that is in the world, both to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; for all his desire is unto God, and to the remembrance of his name.

11. Agreeable to this his one desire, is the one desire of his life, viz, not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him. His one intention at all times, and in all things, is not to please himself, but him whom his soul loveth. He has a single eye; and because his eye is single, his whole body is full of light. Indeed, where the loving eye of the soul is continually fixed upon God there can be no darkness at all, but the whole is light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth enlighten the house. God then reigns alone. All that is in the soul is holiness to the Lord. There is not a motion in his heart but is according to his will.—Every thought that arises points to him, and is in obedience to the law of Christ.

12. And the tree is known by its fruits; for as he loves God, so he keeps his commandments; not only some, or most of them, but all, from the least to the greatest. He is not content to keep the whole law, and offend in one point, but has in all points a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. Whatever God has forbidden, he avoids; hath enjoined, he doth; and that whether it be little or great, hard or easy, joyous or grievous to the flesh. He runs the ways of God's commandments, now he hath set his heart at liberty. It is his glory so to do; it is his daily crown of rejoicing, to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven; knowing it is the highest privilege of the angels of God, of

those that excel in strength, to fulfil his commandments, and hearken to the voice of his word.

13. All the commandments of God he accordingly keeps, and that with all his might; for his obedience is in proportion to his love, the source from whence it flows; and therefore, loving God with all his heart, he serves him with all his strength. He continually presents his soul and body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God; entirely and without reserve devoting himself, all he has, and all he is, to his glory. All the talents he has received he constantly employs, according to his master's will; every power and faculty of his soul, every member of his body. Once he yielded them unto sin and the devil, as instruments of unrighteousness; but now, being alive from the dead, he yields them all, as instruments of righteousness, unto God.

14. By consequence, whatsoever he doth, it is all to the glory of God. In all his employments of every kind, he not only aims at this (which is implied in having a single eye) but actually attains it. His business and refreshments, as well as his prayers, all serve to this great end. Whether he sit in his house or walk by the way, whether he lie down or rise up he is promoting in all he speaks or does, the one business of his life: whether he put on his apparel, or labour, or eat and drink, or divert himself from too wasting labour, it all tends to advance the glory of God, by peace and good-will among men. His one invariable rule is this, whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the father by him.

15. Nor do the customs of the world at all hinder his running the race that is set before him. He knows that vice does not lose its nature, though it becomes ever so fashionable; and remembers, that every man is to give an account of himself to God. He cannot, therefore, even follow a multitude to do evil. He cannot fare sumptuously every day, or make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof. He cannot lay up treasures upon earth, no more than he can take fire into his bosom. He cannot adorn himself (on any pretence) with gold or costly apparel; he cannot join in, or countenance any diversion which has the least tendency to vice of any kind. He cannot speak evil of his neighbour, no more than he can lie, either for God or man. He cannot utter an unkind word of any one; for love keeps the door of his lips. He cannot speak idle words: no corrupt communication ever comes out of his mouth, as is all that which is not good, to the use of edifying, not fit to minister grace to the hearers. But whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are justly of good report, he thinks, and speaks, and acts, adorning the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things.

16. Lastly, as he has time he does good unto all men; unto neighbours and strangers, friends and enemies; and that in every possible kind, not only to their bodies, by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting those that are sick and in prison; but much more does he labour to do good to their souls, as of the ability which God giveth to awaken those that sleep in death; to bring those who are awakened to the atoning blood, that, being justified by faith, they may have peace with God, and to provoke those who have peace with God to abound more in love and in good works; and he is willing to spend and be spent herein, even to be offered up on the sacrifice and service of their faith, so they may all come unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

17. These are the principals and practices of our sect; these are the marks of a true Methodist. By these alone do those who are in derision so called, desire to be distinguished from other men. If any man say, "Why these are only the common, fundamental principles of Christianity!" Thou hast said: so I mean; this is the very truth; I know they are no other, and I would to God both thou and all men knew, and walked by the common principles of Christianity. The plain, old Christianity that I teach, renouncing and detesting all other marks of distinction: and whosoever is what I preach (let him be called what he will, for names change not the nature of things), he is a Christian, not in name only, but in heart and in life. He is inwardly and outwardly conformed to the will of God, as revealed in the written word. He thinks, speaks, and lives according to the method laid down in the revelation of Jesus Christ. His soul is renewed after the image of God, in righteousness and in all true holiness, and having the mind that was in Christ, he so walks as Christ also walked.

18. By these works, by these marks of a living faith, do we labour to distinguish ourselves from the unbelieving world; from all those whose minds and lives are not according to the gospel of Christ. But from real Christians, of whatsoever denomination they be, we earnestly desire not to be distinguished at all; nor from any who sincerely follow after what they know they have not attained. No: whoever doth the will of my father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother. And I beseech you brethren, by the mercies of God, that we be in no wise divided among ourselves.

Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thine? I ask no farther questions. If it be, give me thy hand. For opinions or tenets let us not destroy the work of God. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough. I give thee the right hand of fellowship. If there can be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels

of mercies, let us strive together for the faith of the gospel, walking worthy of the vocation wherewith we were called, with all lowliness and weakness, with long suffering, forbearing one another with love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Let us remember there is one body and one spirit, even as we are called with one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all.

Such is the character of a Methodist, as drawn up by the late reverend Mr. John Wesley. His character, both as a preacher and a writer, are so well known throughout every part of the British dominions, that it is needless to enlarge upon either in this place.

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### *Of the principles of the Methodists.*

Although we may have occasion afterwards to treat of some persons called Methodists, who differ much from the followers of Mr. Wesley, yet we considered it as most proper to treat of the latter first because they are the most ancient as well as the most numerous.

We shall therefore lay before the reader those principles which every follower of Mr. Wesley professes to hold, in his own words.

And first, of justification by faith.

"I believe justification by faith alone; for I am firmly persuaded, that every man of the offspring of Adam is very far gone from original righteousness, and is, of his own nature, inclined to evil. That this corruption of our nature in every person born into the world, deserves God's wrath and damnation. That therefore, if ever we receive the remission of our sins and are accounted righteous before God, it must be only for the merits of Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings of any kind.

Nay, I am persuaded, that all works done before justification, have in them the nature of sin; and that, consequently, till he is justified, a man has no power to do any work pleasing and acceptable to God.

I believe three things must go together in our justification. On God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, the satisfaction of God's justice, by the offering his body, and shedding his blood, and fulfilling the law of God perfectly; and upon our part, true and living faith in the merits of Jesus Christ. So that in our justification there is not only God's mercy and grace, but his justice also. And so the grace of God does not shut out the righteousness of Christ in our justification, but only shuts out the righteousness of man; that is, the



righteousness of our works; and therefore the apostle St. Paul requires nothing on the part of man, but only a true and living faith; yet this faith does not shut out repentance, hope, and love, which are joined with faith in every one that is justified, but it shuts them out from the office of justifying; so that although they are all present in him that is justified, yet they justify not all together.

Neither does faith shut out good works necessarily to be done afterwards; but we may not do them to this intent totally to be justified by doing them. Our justification comes freely of the mercy of God: for whereas all the world are not able to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased him, without any of our deserving, to prepare for us Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be paid, his law fulfilled, and his justice satisfied.— Christ therefore is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him. He for them paid the ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him, and by him, every believer may be called a fulfiller of the law.

But let it be observed, the true sense of those words, "we are justified by faith in Christ only," is not, that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith which is within us, justifies us (for that were to account ourselves justified by some act of virtue that is within us); but that, although we have faith, hope, and love within us, and do never so many good works, yet we must renounce the merit of all, of faith, hope, love, and all other virtues and good works, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as far too weak to procure our justification: for which therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of Christ.— For it is he alone that taketh away our sins. To him alone are we to go for this; forsaking all our virtues, good words, thoughts, and works, and putting our trust in Christ only.

In strictness therefore, neither our faith nor our works justify us, that is, deserve the remission of our sins; but God himself justifies us, of his own mercy, through the merits of his Son only. Nevertheless, because by faith we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins, therefore the scripture says, that faith doth justify, yea, faith without works. And as it is all one to say, faith without works, and faith alone justifies us, therefore the ancient fathers from time to time speak thus: Faith alone justifies us. And because we receive faith through the only merits of Jesus Christ, and not through the merit of any virtue we have, or work we do; therefore in that respect we renounce, as it were again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our corruption through original sin is so great, that all our faith, charity, words and works, cannot merit or deserve any part of our

justification for us: and therefore we thus speak, humbling ourselves before God and giving Christ all the glory of our justification. But it should also be observed, what that faith is whereby we are justified. Now that faith which brings not forth good works, is not a living faith, but a dead and devilish one. For even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin, that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself to be very God; that for our sakes he died and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and at the end of the world he shall come again, to judge the quick and the dead. This the devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament; and yet still, for all this faith, they are but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the true Christian faith.

The true Christian faith is, not only to believe the holy scriptures and articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ, whereof doth follow a loving heart, to obey his commandments. And this faith neither any devil hath nor any wicked man. No ungodly man hath or can have this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and be reconciled to the favour of God.

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### *Of Christian Perfection.*

"Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian perfection may chiefly arise from a misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no perfection, in this life, as implies a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood.

First, we not only allow, but earnestly contend, as for the faith once delivered to the saints, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies any dispensation from attending all the ordinances of God or from doing good unto all men while we have time, though especially unto the household of faith. And whosoever they are who have taught otherwise, we are convinced are not taught of God. We dare not receive them, neither bid them good speed, lest we be partakers of their evil deeds. We believe that not only the babes in Christ, who have newly found redemption in his blood, but those also, who are grown up to perfect men, unto the measure of the fulness of Christ, are indispensably obliged and that they are obliged thereto is their glory and crown of rejoicing, as oft as they have opportunity to eat

bread, and drink wine, in remembrance of him; to search the scriptures; by fasting, as well as temperance, to keep their bodies under, and bring them into subjection; and above all, to pour out their souls in prayer, both secretly and in the great congregation.

We secondly believe, and therefore speak, and that unto all men, and with much assurance, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance, either from ignorance or mistake in things not essential to salvation, or from manifold temptations, or from numberless infirmities, wherewith the corruptible body; more or less, presses down the soul. This is the same thing which we have spoken from the beginning; if any teach otherwise, they are not of us. We cannot find any ground in scripture to suppose, that any inhabitant of an house of clay is wholly exempt either from bodily infirmities, or from ignorance of many things; or to imagine any mere man is incapable of mistake, or of falling into divers temptations: No; the servant is not above his master, nor the disciple above his Lord.

It is enough that every one who is perfect shall be as his master. But what then, it may be asked, do you mean by one that is perfect, or one that is as his master? We mean, one in whom is the mind which was in Christ, and who walketh as he also walked; a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart; or that is cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit: one in whom there is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly doth not commit sin. To define this a little more particularly, we understand by that scriptural expression a perfect man, one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, "From all your iniquities and from all your idols will I cleanse you. I will also save you from all your uncleanness." We understand hereby, one whom God hath sanctified throughout, even in body, soul, and spirit: one who walketh in the light, as he is in the light, in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his son having cleansed him from all sin.

This man can now testify to all mankind, I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. He is holy, as God who hath called him is holy, both in heart and in all manner of conversation. He loveth the Lord his God with all his heart, and serveth him with all his strength. He loveth his neighbour, every man, as himself; yea, as Christ loved us: them in particular that despitefully use him and persecute him, because they know not the Son, neither the Father.—Indeed his soul is all love, filled with bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering. And his life agreeth thereto, full of the

work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love: and whatsoever he doth either in word or deed, he doth it all in the name, in the love and power of the Lord Jesus. In a word, he doth the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.

This it is to be a perfect man, to be sanctified throughout, created anew in Christ Jesus; even to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God, to use archbishop Usher's words, as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable unto God through Christ. In every thought of our hearts, in every word of our tongues, in every work of our hands, to shew forth his praise, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light! O that both we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, may thus be made perfect in one!"

If there be any thing unscriptural in these words any thing wild or extravagant, any thing contrary to the analogy of faith, or the experience of adult Christians, let them smite me friendly and reprove me; let them impart to me of the clearer light God has given them. How knowest thou, O man, but thou mayest gain thy brother? but he may at length come to the knowledge of the truth? and thy labour of love, shewn forth with meekness of wisdom, may not be in vain?

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### *Of the Assurance of Justification.*

"I believe that conversion, meaning thereby justification, is an instantaneous work; and the moment a man has living faith in Christ, he is converted or justified; which faith he cannot have, without knowing he has it.

I believe the moment a man is justified, he has peace with God: which he cannot have, without knowing that he has it.

The first sense of forgiveness is often mixed with doubt or fear: but the full assurance of faith excludes all doubt and fear, as the very term implies.

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### *Of the Conditions of Justification.*

"I believe every man is penitent before he is justified; he repents, before he believes the gospel. But it is never before, and generally long after he is justified, that Christ is formed in him; and that this penitence and contrition is the work of the Holy Ghost.

Yet I believe that all this is nothing towards, and has no influence on our justification.

Again, I believe that in order to obtain justification I must go straight to Christ, with all my ungodliness, and plead nothing else.

Yet I believe we should not insist upon any thing we do or feel, as if it were necessarily previous to justification. No, nor on any thing else."

### *Of the Effects of Justification.*

"I believe a man may have a strong assurance if he is justified, and not be able to affirm he is a child of God.

A man may be fully assured that his sins are forgiven, yet may not be able to tell the day when he received this full assurance; because it grew up in him by degrees.

A man may have a weak faith, at the same time that he has peace with God, and no unholy desires.

A man may be justified who has not a clean heart, neither the indwelling of the spirit."

To sum up the whole, Mr. Wesley desires not a more consistent account of his principles than the following words:

"Our spiritual state should be considered, and distinctly, under each of these views.

1. Before justification; in which state we may be said to be unable to do any thing acceptable to God: because then we can do nothing but come to Christ which ought not to be considered as doing any thing, but as supplicating, or waiting to receive a power of doing for the time to come. For the preventing grace of God, which is common to all, is sufficient to bring us to Christ, though it is not sufficient to carry us any further till we are justified.

2. After justification. The moment a man comes to Christ by faith, he is justified, and born again: that is, he is born again in the imperfect sense, for there are two, if not more, degrees of regeneration; and he has power over all the stirrings and motions of sin, but not a total freedom from them. He has Christ with him, but not Christ in him. Therefore he hath not yet, in the full and proper sense, a new and clean heart, or the indwelling of the spirit.—But being exposed to various temptations, he may, and will fall again from this condition, if he doth not attain to a more excellent gift.

3. Sanctification; the last and highest state of perfection in this life. For then are the faithful born

again in the full and perfect sense. Then have they the indwelling of the spirit. Then is there given unto them a new and clean heart, and the struggle between the old and new man is over."

Mr. Wesley in "An earnest Appeal to men of Reason and Religion," thus further expresses himself in regard to the principles of the Methodists:

"Although it is with us a very small thing to be judged of you or of man's judgment, seeing we know God will make our innocency clear as the light, and our just dealing as the noon-day; yet are we ready to give any that are willing to hear, a plain account both of our principles and actions; as having renounced the hidden things of shame, and desiring nothing more, than by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

We see, and who does not, the numberless follies and miseries of our fellow-creature. We see on every side, either men of no religion at all, or men of a lifeless formal religion. We are grieved at the sight, and should greatly rejoice, if by any means we might convince some, that there is a better religion to be attained, a religion worthy of God that gave it. And this we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind; the loving God with all our heart, and soul, and strength, as having first loved us, as the fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy; and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth, as our own soul.

This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never failing remedy, for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness going hand in hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable and full of glory.

This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace, having its seat in the heart, in the inmost soul, but ever shewing itself, by its fruits, continually springing forth, not only in all innocence, for love worketh no ill to his neighbour, but in every kind of beneficence spreading virtue and happiness round it.

This religion have we been following after for many years, as many know if they would testify; but all this time, seeking wisdom we found it not; we were spending our strength in vain. And being now under full conviction of this, we declare it to all mankind: for we desire not that others should wander out of the way, as we have done before



them; but rather that they may profit by our loss, that they may go, though we did not, having then no man to guide us, the straight way to the religion of love, even by faith.

Now faith, supposing the scripture to be of God, is the demonstrative evidence of things unseen, the supernatural evidence of things invisible, not perceivable by eyes of flesh or by any of our natural senses or faculties. Faith is that divine evidence whereby the spiritual man discerneth God and the things of God. It is with regard to the spiritual world, what sense is with regard to the natural. It is the spiritual situation of every soul that is born of God.

Perhaps you have not considered it in this point of view, therefore I will explain it to you a little farther.

Faith, according to the scripture account, is the eye of the new-born soul. Hereby every true believer in God, seeth him who is invisible. Hereby, in a more peculiar manner, true life and immortality have been brought to light by the gospel; he seeth the light of the glorious gospel of God in Christ Jesus, and beholdeth what manner of love it is which the father hath bestowed upon us, that we, who are born of the spirit, should be called the sons of God.

It is the ear of the soul, whereby a sinner hears the voice of the son of God and lives; even that voice alone which awakes the dead, and says, son thy sins are forgiven thee.

It is the palate of the soul, if I may be allowed the expression; for hereby a believer tastes the good word, and the powers of the world to come; and hereby he both tastes and sees that God is gracious and merciful to him as a sinner.

It is the feeling of the soul whereby a believer perceives, through the power of the highest overshadowing him, both the existence and the presence of him, in whom he lives, moves, and has his being; and indeed, the whole invisible world, the entire system of things eternal. And hereby in particular, he feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart.

By this faith we are saved from all uneasiness of mind, from the anguish of a wounded spirit, from discontent, from fear and sorrow of heart, and from that inexpressible lothness and weariness both of the world, which we had so helplessly laboured under for many years; especially when we were out of the hurry of the world, and sunk into calm reflection. In this we find that love of God, and of all mankind, which we had elsewhere sought in vain. This we know and feel, (and therefore cannot but declare) saves every one that partakes of it, both from sin and misery, from every unhappy and every melancholy temper.

If you ask, "Why then have not all men this faith? all at least, who conceive it to be so happy a thing? Why do they not believe immediately?"

We answer according to scripture, it is the gift of God. No man is able to work it in himself. It is the work of omnipotence. It requires no less power thus to quicken a dead soul, than to raise a body that lies in the grave.

It is a new creation, and none can create a soul anew, but he who at first created the heavens and the earth.

May not your own experience teach you this? Can you give yourself this faith? Is it now in your power to see, or hear, or taste, or feel God? Have you already, or can you raise in yourself susception of God, or of an invisible world? I suppose you do not deny that there is an invisible world? Now is there any power in your soul whereby you discern therein him that created you? Or can all your wisdom and strength open an intercourse between yourself and the world of spirits? Is it in your power to burst the veil that is on your hearts, and let in the light of eternity? You know it is not. You not only do not, but cannot, by your own strength, thus believe. The more you labour so to do, the more you will be convinced it is the gift of God.

It is the free gift of God not on those who are worthy of his favour, not on such as are previously holy, and so far to be crowned with all the blessings of his goodness, but on the ungodly and unholy; or on those who, till that hour, were fit only for everlasting destruction; those in whom was no good thing, and whose only plea was, God be merciful to me a sinner. No merit, no goodness in man, precedes the foregoing love of God. His pardoning mercy supposes nothing in us but a scene of want, sin and misery. And to all who see, feel, and own their wants, and their utter unbelief to remove them; God freely gives faith to remove them, for the sake of him in whom he is well pleased.

This is a short plain sketch of the doctrine we teach: These are our fundamental principles, and we spend our lives in confirming others therein, and in a behaviour suitable to them."

After a great deal of shrewd and pertinent reasoning, he goes on to vindicate those doctrines in a manner peculiar to himself.

"Perhaps (says he) the first thing that occurs to your mind at present, relates to the doctrines which we teach. You have heard that we say, 'men may live without sin;' and have you not heard that the scriptures say the same? Does not St. Paul plainly say, that those who believe do not continue in sin: that they cannot live any longer therein? Rom. vi. 12. Does not St. Peter say, he that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin? That he should no longer live to the desires of men, but

to the will of God, 1 Peter iv. 1, 2. And does not St. John say more expressly, he that committeth sin is of the devil: For this purpose, the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot commit sin, because he is born of God, 1 John iii. 8. And again, we know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not, ch. v. 18.

You see then it is not we that say this, but the Lord. These are not our words, but his. And who is he that replieth against God? Who is able to make God a liar? Surely he will be justified in his saying, and cleared when he is judged. Can you deny it? Have you not often felt a secret check when you was contradicting this truth? And how often have you wished what you was taught to deny? Nay, can you help wishing for it at this moment? Do you not now earnestly desire to cease from sin, to commit it no more? Does not your soul pant after this glorious liberty of the sons of God? And what strong reason have you to expect it? Have you not had a poof of it already? Do you not remember the time when God first lifted up the light of his countenance upon you? Can it ever be forgotten, the day when the candle of the Lord first shone upon your head? You then had power not to commit sin. You found the apostle's words strictly true. He that is begotten of God purifieth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.

But those whom you took to be experienced Christians, told you this was the only time of your espousals, this could not last for ever, you must come down the mount, and the like, which shocked your faith.

You looked at men more than God, and so became weak like another man, whereas, had you then had any to guide you according to the truth of God, had you then believed the doctrine you now blame, you had never fallen from your steadfastness; but had found that in this sense also, the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.

Have you another objection nearly allied to this, namely, that we preach perfection? The term you cannot object to, because it is scriptural. All the difficulty is to fix the meaning of it according to the word of God. And this we have done again and again, declaring to all the world, that Christian perfection does not imply an exemption from ignorance, or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations; but that it does imply the being so crucified with Christ, as to be able to testify, I live not, but Christ liveth in me, and hath purified my heart by faith, Acts xv. 9. It does imply the casting down every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the

obedience of Christ. It does imply the being holy, as he that hath called us is holy in all manner of conversation; and, in a word, the loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and serving him with all our strength.

Nay, is it possible for any who believes the scripture to deny one tittle of this? You cannot: you dare not: you would not for the world; you know it is the pure word of God: and this is the whole of what we preach: this is the height and depth of what we, with St. Paul, call perfection: a state of soul devoutly to be wished for by all who have tasted of the love of God. O pray for it without ceasing; it is the one thing you want. Come with boldness to the throne of grace, and be assured, that when you ask this of God, you shall have the petition you ask of him. We know indeed, that to man, to the natural man, this is impossible; but we know also, that as no work is impossible with God, so all things are possible to him that believeth.

For we are saved by faith. But have not you heard this urged as another objection against us, that we preach salvation by faith alone? And does not St. Paul do the same thing? By grace, saith he, ye are saved through faith. Can any words be more express? And elsewhere, Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, Acts xvi. 31.

What we mean by this, if it has not been sufficiently explained already, is that we are saved from our sins, only by a confidence in the love of God. As soon as we behold what manner of love it is which the Father has bestowed upon us, we love him, as the apostle observes, because he first loved us; and then is that commandment written in your heart, that he who loveth God loveth his brother also: from which love of God and man, meekness, humbleness of mind, and all holy tempers spring. Now these are the very essence of salvation, of Christian salvation, salvation from sin; and from these, outward salvation flows, that is, holiness of life and conversation. Well, and are not these things so? If you know in whom you have believed, you need no further witnesses.

But perhaps you doubt, whether that faith whereby we are thus saved, implies such a trust and confidence in God as we describe. "You cannot think faith implies assurance; an assurance of the love of God to our souls, of his being now reconciled to us, and having forgiven all our sins." And this we freely confess, that if number of voices is to decide the question we must give it up at once; for you have on your side, not only some who desire to be Christians in deed, but all nominal Christians in every place, and the Romish church, one and all. Nay, these last are so vehement in your defence, that in the famed council of Trent, they have

decreed, "If any man hold trust, confidence or assurance of pardon, to be essential to faith, let him be accursed."

Thus does that council anathematise the church of England, for she is convicted thereof by her own confession. The very words in the homily on salvation are, "Even the devils believe that Christ was born of a virgin; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith the devils believe; and so they believe all that was written in the Old and New Testament; and yet, for all this faith, they are but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the true Christian faith."

The right and true Christian faith is, not only to believe the holy scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ: or, as it is expressed a little after, "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God."

Indeed the bishop of Rome saith, "If any man hold this, let him be an Anathema Maranatha." But it is to be hoped papal anathemas do not move you. You are a member of the church of England. Are you? Then the controversy is at an end. Then hear the church. Faith is a sure trust which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven. Or if you are not, whether you hear our church or no, at least hear the scriptures. Hear believing Job declaring his faith, I know that my redeemer liveth. Hear Thomas, when having seen he believed, crying out, my Lord and my God. Hear St. Paul clearly describing the nature of his faith, The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. Hear, to mention no more, all the believers who were with St. Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, hearing witness, We give thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear son; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.

But what need have we of distant witnesses? You have witness in your own breast. For am I now speaking to one that loves God? How came you then to love him at first? Was it not because you knew that he loved you? Did you, could you love God at all, till you tasted and saw that he was gracious? that he was merciful to you a sinner? What avails then controversy or strife of words? out of thine own mouth? You own you had no love to God, till you was sensible of his to you. And whatever expressions any sinner who loves God uses

to denote God's love to him, you will always, upon examination, find, that they directly or indirectly imply forgiveness. Pardonng love is still at the root of all. He who was offended is now reconciled. The new song which God puts in every mouth, is always to that effect, O Lord I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away. Behold, God is my salvation. I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song: he is also become my salvation, Isa. xii. 1, 2.

A confidence then in a pardoning God is essential to true faith. The forgiveness of sins is one of the first of those unseen things, whereof faith is the evidence. And if you are sensible of this, will you quarrel with us concerning an indifferent circumstance of it? Will you think it an important objection that we assert, that this faith is usually given in a moment? First, let me intreat you to read over that authentic account of God's dealings with men, the Acts of the Apostles. In this treatise you will find, how he wrought from the beginning on those who received remission of sins by faith. And can you find one of these (except perhaps St. Paul) who did not receive it in a moment? But abundance you find of those who did, besides Cornelius and the three thousand. And to this also agrees the experience of those who now receive the heavenly gift. Three or four exceptions only have I found in the course of several years. Perhaps you yourself may be added to that number, and one or two more whom you have known. But all the rest of those, who from time to time among us have believed in the Lord Jesus, were in a moment brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

And why should it seem a thing incredible to you who have known the power of God unto salvation, whether he hath wrought this in your soul or no, for there are diversities of operations by the same spirit, that the dead should hear the voice of the Son of God, and in that moment live? Thus he useth to act, to shew, that when he will, to do is present with him. Let there be light, said God, and there was light. He spake the word, and it was done. Thus the heavens and the earth were created, and all the hosts of them. And this manner of acting in the present case, highly suits both his power and love. There is therefore no hindrance on God's part: since, as his majesty is, so is his mercy: and whatever hindrance there is on the part of man, when God speaketh, it is not. Only ask then, O sinner, and it shall be given thee, even the faith that brings salvation; and that without any merit or good work of thine; for it is not of works, lest any man should boast. No, it is of grace, of grace alone; for unto him that worketh not, but



believeth on him that justifieth the nudgedly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.

"But by talking thus you encourage sinners." I do encourage them, to repent; and do not you? Do you not know how many heap sin upon sin, purely for want of such encouragement? Because they think "they can never be forgiven, there is no place for repentance left." Does not your heart also bleed for them? What would you think too dear to part with? What would you not do, what would you not suffer, to bring one such sinner to repentance?—Could not your love endure all things for them? Yes, if you believed it would do them good, if you had any hope they would ever be better. Why do you believe it would do them good? Why have you not a hope that they will be better? Plainly because you do not love them enough; because you have not that charity which not only endureth, but at the same time believeth and hopeth all things.

"You still think we are secretly undermining, if not openly destroying the church." What do you mean by the church? A visible church, as our article defines it, is a company of faithful, or believing people, believing in the truth. This is the essence of a church; and the properties thereof are as they are described in the words that follow, and the pure word of God be preached therein, and the sacraments duly administered. Now then, according to this authentic account, what is the church of England? What is it indeed, but the faithful people, the true believers of England? It is true, if these are scattered abroad, they come under another consideration. But when they are visibly joined, by assembling together to hear the pure word of God preached, and to eat of one bread, and drink of one cup, they are then properly the visible church of England.

It were well if this were a little more considered by those who so vehemently cry out, The church! the church! as those of old: The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord! not knowing what they speak, nor whereof they affirm. A provincial or national church, according to our articles is, the true believers of that province or nation. If these are dispersed up and down, they are only a part of the invisible church of Christ; but if they are visibly joined by assembling together to hear of his word, and partake of his supper, they are then a visible church, such as the church of England, France, or any other.

This being premised, I ask, how do we undermine or destroy the church, the provincial visible church of England? The article mentions three things as essential to a visible church: 1st, Living faith, without which, indeed, there can be no church at all, neither visible nor invisible. 2dly, Preaching, and consequently hearing, the pure word of God, else

that faith would languish and die. And 3dly, A due administration of the sacraments, the ordinary means whereby God increaseth faith. Now come close to the question: in which of these points do we undermine or destroy the church?

Do we shut the door of faith? do we lessen the number of believing people in England? Only remember what faith is, according to our homilies, viz. "a sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ my sins are forgiven, and I am reconciled to the favour of God," and we appeal to all mankind, do we destroy this faith, which is the life and soul of the church? Is there, in fact, less of this faith in England than there was before we went forth? I think this is an assertion which the father of lies himself will scarce dare to utter or maintain.

With regard then to this first point, it is undeniable, we neither undermine nor destroy the church. The second thing is, the preaching and hearing the pure word of God. And do we hinder this? Do we hinder any minister from preaching the pure word of God? If any preach not at all, or not the pure word of God, is the hindrance in us or in themselves? Or do we lessen the number of those that hear the pure word of God? Are then the hearers thereof, whether read or preached, fewer than were in times past? Are the usual places of worship less frequented by means of our preaching? Whosoever our lot has been cast for any time, are the churches emptier than they were before? Surely none that has any regard left either for truth or modesty, will say, that in this point we are enemies to, or destroyers of, the church.

The third thing requisite, if not to the being, at least to the well-being of a church, is the due administration of the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord's Supper. And are we, in this respect, underminers or destroyers of the church? Do we either by our example or advice draw men away from the Lord's table? Where we have laboured most, are there the fewest communicants? How does the fact stand in London, Bristol, Newcastle? O that you would no longer shut your eyes against the broad light, which encompasses you on every side.

I believe you are sensible by this time, not only how weak this objection is, but likewise how easy it would be, terribly to retort every branch of it upon most of those that make it; whether we speak of true living faith, of preaching the pure word of God, or of the due administration of the sacraments, both of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. But I spare you. It sufficeth that our God knoweth, and will make manifest, in that day, whether it be by reason of us or you that men abhor the offering of the Lord.

Others object, "that we do not observe the laws of the church, and thereby undermine it." What laws? The rubrics or canons. In every parish where I have been curate yet, I have observed the rubrics with a scrupulous exactness, not for wrath, but for conscience sake: and this, so far as belongs to an unbeneficed minister, or to a private member of the church, I do now. I will just mention a few of them, and leave you to consider which of us has observed, or does observe them most.

1. Days of fasting or abstinence to be observed:

The forty days of Lent.

The Ember-days at the four seasons.

The three rogation days.

All Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day.

2. No many as intend to be partakers of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before.

And if any of these be an open and notorious evil liver, the curate shall advise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.

3. Then, after the Nicene creed, the curate shall declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting-days are in the week following to be observed.

4. The minister shall first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests and deacons, in like manner, if any be present, and after that to the people.

5. In cathedral and collegiate churches, and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall always receive the communion with the priest, every Sunday at the least.

6. The children to be baptized must be ready at the font, immediately after the last lesson.

7. The curates of every parish shall warn the people, that, without great necessity, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses.

8. The curate of every parish shall diligently, upon Sundays and holy days, after the second lesson at evening prayer, openly in the church, instruct and examine so many children as he shall think convenient in some part of the Catechism.

9. Whosoever the bishop shall give notice for children to be brought unto him for their confirmation, the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop.

Now the question is not, Whether these rubrics ought to be observed (you take this for granted in making the objection), but whether in fact they have been observed, by you or me most, many can

witness. I have observed them punctually, yea sometimes at the hazard of my life: and as many, I fear, that you have not observed them at all, and that several of them you never pretended to observe. And is it you that are accusing me, for not observing the rubrics of the church? What grimace is this! "O tell it not in Gath! publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

With regard to the canons, I would in the first place desire you to consider two or three plain questions.

1st, Have you ever read them over.

2dly, How can these be called "the canons of the church of England?" seeing they were never legally established by the church, never regularly confirmed in full convocation?

3dly, By what right am I required to observe such canons as were never legally established?

And then I will join issue with you in one question more, viz. Whether you or I have observed them most?

To instance only a few.

Can. 29. No person shall be admitted god-father or god-mother to any child before the said person hath received the holy communion.

Can. 59. Every parson, vicar, or curate, upon every Sunday and holy-day, before evening prayer, shall, for half an hour, or more, examine and instruct the youth, and ignorant persons of his parish.

Can. 64. Every parson, vicar, or curate, shall declare to the people every Sunday, whether there be any holy-days or fasting-days the week following.

Can. 68. No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child that is brought to the church to him on Sundays, or holy-days to be christened, or to bury any corps that is brought to the church or church-yard.

N. B. Inability to pay fees does not alter the case.

Can. 75. No ecclesiastical persons shall spend their time idly, by day or by night, playing at dice, cards, or tables.

Now, let the clergyman who has observed only these five canons for one year last past, and who has read over all the canons in his congregation, as the king's ratification straitly enjoins him to do once every year, let him, I say, cast the first stone at us, for not observing the canon so called of the church of England.

However, we cannot be, it is said, friends to the church, because we do not obey the governors of it, and submit ourselves, as at our ordination we promised to do, to all their godly admonitions and injunctions. I answer, in every individual point of an indifferent nature. We do and will, by the grace of God, obey the governors of the church: but the

testifying the gospel of the grace of God, is not a point of an indifferent nature. The ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus, we are at all hazards to fulfil. It is the burthen of the Lord which is laid upon us here; and we are to obey God rather than man. Nor do we, in any ways, violate the promise which each of us made when it was said unto him, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We then promised to submit, mark the words, to the godly admonitions and injunctions of our ordinary. But we did not, could not promise to obey such injunctions, as we know are contrary to the word of God.

But why then, say some, do ye leave the church? Leave the church! what can you mean? do we leave so much as the church-walls? your own eyes tell you we do not. Do we leave the ordinances of the church? you daily see and know the contrary. Do we leave the fundamental doctrine of the church, namely salvation by faith? Is it our constant theme in public, in private, in writing, in conversation? Do we leave the practice of the church, the standard whereof are the ten commandments? which are so essentially inwrought in our constitution, as little as you may apprehend it, that whosoever breaks one of the least of these, is no member of the church of England. I believe you do not care to put the cause on this issue. Neither do you mean this, by leaving the church. In truth I cannot conceive what you mean. I doubt you cannot conceive yourself. You have retailed a sentence from some body else which you no more understand than he."

Mr. Wesley then takes a retrospective view of the state of religion before the Methodistical doctrines were preached, and the happy change produced thereby in the following words:

"Before I conclude, I cannot but treat you who know God, to review the whole matter from the foundation. Call to mind what the state of religion was in our nation, a few years since. In whom did you find the holy tempers that were in Christ? Bowels of mercies, lowliness, meekness, gentleness, contempt of the world, patience, temperance, long-suffering? A burning love to God, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks, and a tender love to all mankind, covering, believing, hoping, enduring all things? Perhaps you did not know one such man in the world. But how many that had all unholy tempers? What vanity and pride, what stubbornness and self-will, what anger, fretfulness, discontent, what suspicion and resentment, what inordinate affections, what irregular passions, what foolish and hurtful desires might you find in those who were called the best of men? in those who made the strictest profession of religion? and how few did you know who

went so far as the profession of religion, who had even the form of godliness? Did you not frequently bewail, wherever your lot was cast, the general want of even outward religion? how few were seen at the public worship of God? how much fewer at the Lord's table? and was even this little flock zealous of good works, careful, as they had time, to good to all men? On the other hand, did you not with grief observe, outward irreligion in every place? Where could you be for one week, without being an eye or an ear witness of cursing, swearing, or profaneness, of sabbath-breaking, or drunkenness, of quarrelling or brawling, of revenge or obscenity? Were these things done in a corner? did not gross iniquity of all kinds overspread our land as a flood? yea, and daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the children of God did or could do against it.

If you had been then told, that the jealous God would soon arise and maintain his cause, that he would pour down his spirit from on high and renew the face of the earth; that he would shed abroad his love in the hearts of the outcasts of men, producing all holy and heavenly tempers, expelling anger, and pride, and evil desire, and all unholy and earthly tempers; causing outward religion, the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love, to flourish and abound; and wherever it spread, abolishing outward irreligion, destroying all the works of the devil: if you had been told, that this living knowledge of the Lord would in a short space overspread our land; yea daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the devil and his children did or could make against it: would you not vehemently have desired to see that day, that you might bless God and rejoice therein?

Behold the day of the Lord is come. He is again visiting and redeeming his people. Having eyes, see ye not? having ears, do ye not hear? neither understand with your hearts? At this hour the Lord is rolling away our reproach. Already his standard is set up. His spirit is poured out on the outcasts of men, and his love shed abroad in their hearts. Love of all mankind, meekness, gentleness, humbleness of mind, holy and heavenly affections, do take place, of hate, anger, pride, revenge, and vile or vain affections. Hence wherever the power of the Lord spreads, springs outward religion in all its forms. The houses of God are filled; the table of the Lord is thronged on every side; and those who shew their love of God, shew they love their neighbour also, by being careful to maintain good works, by doing all manner of good, as they have opportunity, to all men. They are likewise careful to abstain from all evil. Cursing, sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, with all other (however fashionable) works of the devil, are not once named among



them. All this is plain, demonstrable fact. For this is also not done in a corner. Now, do you acknowledge the day of your visitation? do you bless God and rejoice therein?

What hinders? Is it this, that men say all manner of evil of those whom God is pleased to use as instruments in his works? O ye fools, did ye suppose the devil was dead? or that he would not fight for his kingdom? and what weapons shall he fight with if not with lies? Is he not a liar, and the father of it? Suffer ye then thus far. Let the devil and his children say all manner of evil of us; and let them go on deceiving each other, and being deceived: but ye need not be deceived also. Or if you are, if you will believe all they say: be it so, that we are weak, silly, wicked men, without sense, without learning, without even a desire or design of doing good: yet I insist upon the fact. Christ is preached, and sinners are converted to God. This none but a madman can deny. We are ready to prove it by a cloud of witnesses. Neither therefore can the inference be denied, that God is now visiting his people. O that all men may know in this their day, the things that make for their peace."

"Mr. Wesley, in his Farther Appeal, thus answers the charge of enthusiasm brought against the Methodists:

"I assert, that till a man receives the Holy Ghost, he is without God in the world; that he cannot know the things of God, unless God reveals them unto him by his spirit: no, nor have even one holy or heavenly temper, without the inspiration of the Holy One." Now should one who is conscious to himself, that he has experienced none of these things, attempt to confute these propositions, either from scripture or antiquity, it might prove a difficult task. What then shall he do? Why, cry out, "Enthusiasm, Enthusiasm!" and the work is done.

But what does he mean by enthusiasm? Perhaps nothing at all: few have any distinct idea of its meaning. Perhaps "something very bad," or something I never experienced and do not understand." Shall I tell you then, what that "terrible something" is? I believe thinking men mean by enthusiasm, a sort of religious madness; a false imagination of being inspired by God; and by an enthusiast, one that fancies himself under the influence of the Holy Ghost, when in fact he is not.

Let him prove me guilty of this who can. I will tell you once more the whole of my belief on these heads: and if any man will shew me, by argument, not hard names, what is wrong, I will thank God and him.

Every good gift is from God, and is given to man by the Holy Ghost. By nature there is in us no good thing; and there can be none, but so far as it is wrought in us by that good spirit. Have we any

true knowledge of what is good? This is not the result of our natural understanding. The natural man discerneth not the things of the spirit of God: so that we never can discern them, until God reveals them unto us by his spirit: reveals, that is, unveils, uncovers; gives us to know what we did not know before. Have we love? It is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. He inspires, breathes, infuses into our soul, what of ourselves we could not have. Does our spirit rejoice in God our Saviour? It is joy in, or by the Holy Ghost. Have we true inward peace? It is the peace of God wrought in us by the same spirit. Faith, peace, joy, love, are all his fruits; and, as we are figuratively said to see the light of faith, so by a like figure of speech we are said to feel this peace, and joy, and love: that is, we have an inward experience of them, which we cannot find any fitter words to express.

The reasons why in speaking of these things I use those terms, inspiration particularly, are, 1. Because they are scriptural. 2. Because they are used by our church. 3. Because I know none better. The words "influence of the Holy Ghost," which I suppose you use, is both a far stronger and a less natural term than inspiration. It is a far stronger, even as far as "flowing into the soul" is a stronger expression than "breathing upon it;" and less natural, as breathing bears a near relation to spirit; to which flowing in has only a distant relation.

"But you thought I had meant immediate inspiration." So I do, or I mean nothing at all. Nor indeed such inspiration as is *sine mediis*. But all inspiration, though by means, is immediate. Suppose, for instance, you are employed in private prayer, and God pours his love into your heart.—God then acts immediately on your soul: and the love of him which you then experience, is as immediately breathed into you by the Holy Ghost, as if you had lived 1700 years ago. Change the term.—"Say, God then assists you to love him." Well, and is not this immediate assistance? Say, "His spirit concurs with yours." You gain no ground. It is immediate concurrence, or none at all. God a spirit acts upon your spirit. Make it out any otherwise if you can.

I cannot conceive how that harmless word, immediate, came to be such a bugbear in the world.—"Why I thought you meant such inspiration as the Apostles had: and such a receiving of the Holy Ghost as that was at the day of Pentecost." I do, in part: Indeed I do not mean that Christians now receive the Holy Ghost in order to work miracles; but they do doubtless now receive, yea, are filled with the Holy Ghost, in order to be filled with the fruits of that blessed spirit. And he inspires into all true believers now, a degree of the same peace and joy,

and love, which the apostles felt in themselves on that day, when they were first filled with the Holy Ghost.

I have now considered the most material objections I know, which have been lately made against the great doctrines I teach. I have produced, so far as in me lay, the strength of those objections, and then answered them, I hope, in the spirit of meekness. And now I trust it appears, that these doctrines are no other than the doctrines of Jesus Christ: that they are all evidently contained in the word of God, by which alone I desire to stand or fall; and they are fundamentally the same with the doctrines of the church of England, of which I do, and ever did profess myself a member."

By these extracts the reader will see the principles of these honest, if mistaken people, and will come to such conclusion as his reason and understanding will afford him. It will not be expected of me to give my opinion; it is the business of an historian to relate facts, and not to comment upon them, particularly in cases where religion is the concern, and in which I think, every man has a natural right to follow the determinations of his own judgment: but before I give a brief history of their rise, &c. after this recapitulation of their principles and doctrines, I shall set before my readers what they say in answer to one or two of the most popular objections or calumnies raised against them; the first of which is, "That they create divisions in private families." Their able Apologist thus refutes it, "Accidentally we do. For instance, suppose the entire family to have the form and not the power of godliness, or to have neither the form nor the power in either case, they may in some sort agree together. But suppose when these hear the plain word of God, one or two of them are convinced, "This is the truth, and I have been all this time in the broad way leading to destruction:" these then will begin to mourn after God, while the rest remain as they were. Will they not therefore of consequence divide, and form themselves into separate parties? Must it not be so, in the very nature of things? and how exactly does this agree with the words of our Lord?

Suppose ye that I came to send peace upon earth? I tell you nay: but rather division. For from henceforth there shall be five divided in one house, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother: the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law. Luke xii. 51. 52. 53. And the foes of a man shall be they of his own household. Matthew x. 36.

Thus it was from the very beginning. For is it

to be supposed, that a heathen parent would long endure a Christian child? or that a heathen husband would agree with a Christian wife? unless either the believing wife could gain her husband; or the unbelieving husband prevailed on the wife to renounce her way of worshipping God: at least unless she would obey him in going no more to those societies or conventicles, as they termed the Christian assemblies.

Do you think now, I have an eye to your case? Doubtless I have; for I do not fight as one that beatech the air. Why have not I a right to hinder my own wife or child from going to a conventicle? and is it not the duty of wives to obey their husbands? and of children to obey their parents? Only set the case seventeen hundred years back, and your own conscience gives you the answer. What would St. Paul have said to one whose husband forbade her to follow this way any more? What direction would our Saviour have given to him, whose Father enjoined him not to hear the gospel? His words are extant still, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." Matt. x. 37, 38. Nay more, "If any man cometh to me, and hateth not, in comparison of me, his father and mother, and wife and children, yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple." Luke xiv. 26.

O, but this is not a parallel case; for they were heathens; but I am a Christian. A Christian! Are you so? Do you understand the word? Do you know what a Christian is? If you are a Christian, you have the mind that was in Christ; and you so walk as he also walk. You are holy, as he was holy both in heart and in all manner of conversation.

Have you then the mind which was in Christ? and do you walk as Christ walked? are you inwardly and outwardly holy? I fear not even outwardly. No; you live in known sin. Alas! how then are you a Christian? What, a railer, a Christian? a common swearer, a Christian? a sabbath-breaker, a Christian? a drunkard or whoremonger, a Christian? Thou art a heathen barefaced! the wrath of God is on thy head, and the curse of God upon thy back. Thy damnation slumbereth not.—By reason of such Christians it is that they holy name of Christ is blasphemed. Such as thou they are, that cause the very savages in the Indian woods to cry out, "Christian much drunk, Christian beat men, Christian tell lies, Devil-Christian! me no Christian."

It may be observed above, that the Methodists do not separate from the church, nor dispute about the externals or circumstances of religion; they approve of and adhere to them, all that they learned when

they were children, in their Catechism and Common Prayer Book. They were born and bred up in the church of England, and desire to die therein. They always were, and now are, they say, zealous for the church; only not with a blind zeal.

They do not indeed lay the stress of their religion on any opinions, right or wrong; neither do they ever begin, or willingly join, in any dispute concerning them. The weight of all religion, they apprehend, rests on holiness of heart and life; and, consequently, wherever they come, they press this with all their might. How wide then is their case from that of the Protestant Dissenters in general? They avowedly separated from the church: The Methodists utterly disavow any such design. They severely, and almost continually, inveighed against the doctrine and discipline of the church they left: these approve both the doctrines and discipline of our church, and inveigh only against ungodliness and unrighteousness. They spent great part of their time and strength in contending about externals and circumstantialities; the Methodists agree with the church of England in both; so that having no time to spend in such vain contention, they have their desire in spending and being spent; and promoting plain practical religion. "I am sick (says Mr. Wesley) of opinions: I am weary to bear them; my soul loaths this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion: give me an humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy: a man, laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, whosoever they are and whatsoever opinion they are of. Whosoever thus doth the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister and mother."

With regard to the charges of making men idle, and thereby begging their families, and of driving men out of their senses, Mr. Wesley thus answers: "This objection having been continually urged for some years, I will trace it from the foundation.—Two or three years after my return from America one captain Robert Williams of Bristol, made affidavit before the then Mayor of the city, that "it was a common report in Georgia, Mr. Wesley took people off from their work, and made them idle by preaching so much."

The fact stood thus: At my first coming to Savannah the generality of the people rose at seven or eight in the morning; and that part of them who were accustomed to work, usually worked till six in the evening. A few of them sometimes worked till seven; which is the time of sun-set there at Midsummer.

I immediately began reading prayers and expounding the second lesson both in the morning and even-

ing. The morning service began at five, and ended at, or before six: the evening service began at seven. Now supposing all the grown persons in the town had been present every morning and evening would this have made them idle? Would they hereby have had less, or considerably more time for working! The same rule I follow now, both at London, Bristol, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne: concluding the service at every place, winter and summer, before six in the morning, and not ordinarily beginning to preach till near seven in the evening.

Now do you, who make this objection, work longer throughout the year, than from six to six? Do you desire that the generality of people should? Or, can you count them idle that work so long? Some few are indeed accustomed to work longer.—These I advise not to come on week days: and it is apparent that they take this advice, unless on some rare and extraordinary occasion. But I hope none of you who turn them out of their employment, have the confidence to talk of my making them idle. Do you, as the homely phrase is, cry Wh—first? I admire your cunning, but not your modesty. So far am I from either causing, or encouraging your idleness, that an idle person, known to be such, is not suffered to remain in one of our societies; we drive him out, as we would a thief or a murderer. "To shew all possible diligence," as well as frugality, is one of our standing rules; and one, concerning the observance of which, we continually make the strictest enquiry.

"But you drive them out of their senses. You make them run mad." Nay, then they are idle with a vengeance. This objection therefore being of the utmost importance, deserves our deepest consideration.

And first, I grant, it is my earnest desire to drive all the world into what you probably call madness: I mean inward religion, to make them just as mad as Paul was when he was so accounted by Festus. I grant, secondly, it is my endeavour to drive all I can into what you may term another species of madness, which is usually preparatory to this, and which I term repentance or conviction.

Now, what if your wife, or daughter, or acquaintance, after hearing one of these field-preachers, should come and tell you, that they saw damnation before them, and beheld with the eye of their mind the horror of hell? What if they should tremble and quake, and be so taken up, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, as to weep, to lament, and both with words and behaviour to shew themselves weary of life?—Would you scruple to say, that they were stark mad? that these fellows had driven them out of their senses? and that whatever writer it was, that



talked at this rate, he was fitter for Bedlam than any other place?

You have overshot yourself now to some purpose. These are the words of our own church. You may read them if you are so inclined, in the first part of the homily on fasting. And, consequently, what you have peremptorily determined to be mere lunacy and distraction, is that repentance unto life, which, in the judgment both of the church and of St. Paul, is never to be repented of.

I grant, thirdly, that extraordinary circumstances have attended this conviction in some instances. A particular account of these I have frequently given. While the word of God was preached, some persons have dropped down as dead: some have been, as it were, in strong convulsions; some roared aloud though not with an articulate voice; and others spoke the anguish of their souls.

This, I suppose, you believe to be perfect madness: but it is easily accounted for, either on principles of reason or scripture.

First, on principles of reason. For how easy is it to suppose, that a strong, lively and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pains of eternal death, should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union; should intercept or disturb the ordinary circulation, and put nature out of its course. Yea, we may question, whether while this pain subsists, it be possible for the mind to be affected in so violent a degree, without some or other of these bodily symptoms following?

It is likewise easy to account for these things on principles of scripture; for when we take a view of them in this light, we are to add to the consideration of natural causes, the agency of those spirits who still excel in natural strength; and as far as they have leave from God, will not fail to torment whom they cannot destroy; to tear those that are coming to Christ. It is also remarkable, that there is plain scripture precedent, of every symptom which has lately appeared; so that we cannot allow even the conviction attended with them to be madness, without giving up both reason and scripture.

I grant, fourthly, that touches of extravagance, bordering upon madness, may sometimes attend severe convictions. And this also is easy to be accounted for, by the present state of the animal economy. For we know fear or grief, from a temporary cause, may occasion a fever, and thereby a delirium.

It is no way strange that some, while under strong impressions of grief or fear, from a sense of the wrath of God, should for a season forget almost all things else, and scarce be able to answer a common question. That some should fancy they see the flames of hell, or the devil and his angels around

them; or that others, for a space, should be afraid, like Cain, who said, "whosoever meeteth me will slay me."

All these, and whatever less common effects may sometimes accompany this conviction, are easily known from the natural distemper of madness, were it only by this one circumstance, that whenever the person converted tastes the pardoning love of God, they all vanish away in a moment.

Lastly, I have seen one instance, and I pray God I may never see another, of real lasting madness.

A few years since, I took one along with me to Bristol who was under deep convictions, but of as sound an understanding, in all respect, as ever he had been in his life. I went a short journey, and when I came to Bristol again, found him really distracted. I enquired particularly at what time and place, and in what manner this disorder began. And I believe there are above threescore witnesses alive (1749) who are ready to testify the truth of what follows.

When I went from Bristol he contracted an acquaintance with some persons who were not of the same judgment with me. He was soon prejudiced against me. Soon after, when our society were met together in Kingswood-house, he began a vehement invective, both against my person and my doctrine. In the midst of this he was struck raving mad, and so he continued till his friends put him in Bedlam; and probably, his madness was imputed to me.—Perhaps there may be many instances of madness proceeding from a variety of causes that we cannot comprehend.

Supposing for instance, that a person hearing me is strongly convinced that a liar cannot enter the kingdom of heaven; he comes home and relates this to his parents, or friends, and appears to be very uneasy. These good Christians are disturbed at this, and afraid he is running mad too. They are resolved he shall never hear any of these fellows more, and keep to it in spite of all his entreaties.

They will not suffer him while at home to be alone, lest he should read or pray; and perhaps, in a little while they will constrain him, at least by repeated importunities, to do again the very thing for which he was convinced the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.

What is the event of this?

Sometimes the spirit of God is quenched, and departs from him. Now you have carried the point. The man is as easy as ever, and sins on without any remorse. But in other instances, where those convictions sink deep, and the arrows of the Almighty stick fast in the soul, you will drive that person into real settled madness, before you can quench the spirit of God. I am afraid there have been several

instances of this. You have forced the man's conscience, till he is stark mad; but then, pray do not impute the madness to me. Had you left him to my direction, or rather to the direction of the spirit of God, he would have been filled with love and a sound mind: but you have taken the matter out of God's hand; and now you have brought it to a fair conclusion!

How frequent this case may be, I know not.—But doubtless most of those who make this objection, of our driving men mad, have never met with such an instance in their lives. The common cry is occasioned either by those who are convinced of sin, or those who are inwardly converted to God; mere madness both, as was observed before, to those who are without God in the world. Yet I do not deny but you may have seen one in Bedlam who said he had followed me. But observe, a madman's saying this is no proof of the fact; nay, and if he really had, it should be farther considered, that his being in Bedlam is no sure proof of his being mad. Witness the well-known case of Mr. Periam; and I doubt more such are to be found. Yea, it is well if some have not been sent thither for no other reason but because they followed me; their kind relations either concluding, that they must be distracted before they could do this, or perhaps hoping that Bedlam would make them mad, if it did not find them so.

And it must be owned, that a confinement of such a sort is as fit to cause as to cure distraction; for what scene of distress is to be compared to it? To be separated at once from all who are near and dear to you; to be cut off from all reasonable conversation; to be secluded from all business, from all reading, from every innocent entertainment of the mind, which is left to prey wholly upon itself; day and night to prone over your misfortunes; to be shut up day by day in a gloomy cell, with only the walls to employ your heavy eyes, in the midst either of melancholy silence, or horrid cries, groans, and laughter intermixed; to be forced by the main strength of those “who laugh at human nature and compassion;” to take drenches of nauseous, perhaps torturing medicines, which you know you have no need of now, but know not how soon you may, possibly by the opening of these very drugs on a weak and tender constitution. Here is distress! It is an astonishing thing, a signal proof of the power of God, if any creature who has his senses when that confinement begins, does not lose them before it is at an end!

How must it heighten the distress, if such a poor wretch, being deeply convinced of sin, and growing worse and worse, as he probably will, seeing there is no medicine here for his sickness, no such physician as his case requires, be soon placed among the

incurables! Can imagination itself paint such a hell upon earth? where even “hope never comes, that comes to all!” For what remedy? If a man of sense and humanity should happen to visit that house of woe, would he give the hearing to a madman's tale? or, if he did, would he credit it? “Do we not know, might he say, how well any of these will talk in their lucid intervals.” So that a thousand to one he would concern himself no more about it, but leave the weary to wait for rest in the grave!”

The first public appearance of the Rev. Mr. Geo. Whitfield, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was an ordained clergyman of the church of England, about London, was in the year 1737, when he and his associates preached up and down in the fields to vast multitudes of people, with an energy that struck every one, particularly in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, Blackheath, &c. and for some time they were admitted also into the churches to declare their peculiar opinions, till the indolent clergy were roused by their extraordinary popularity, and the church-wardens fearing damages to their pews, &c. they were generally refused the use of the public pulpits. The uncommon fervour they expressed, a simple yet persuasive eloquence, and the mortified and laborious life they led, procured them not only most numerous auditors, but their doctrines such a multitude of followers, as astonished the guardians of our church; but whilst they themselves indolently persisted in their old rout of stated preaching, Mr. Whitfield, particularly, with a rapid progress, took from them thousands of their hearers, especially of the lower sort, and brought many more to a sense and abhorrence of their vices, and to attend his preaching, who, perhaps, had never been at any kind of worship before.

Whilst the clergy raved both in the pulpit and in print against this novel doctrine, as they styled it, and with what justice may be seen above, this laborious preacher, despising all danger and fatigue, not only formed societies in England of his followers, but traversing, time after time, immense tracks of land and water, proselyted multitudes in all parts of North America, and extended his cares even to the inhabitants of the infant colony of Georgia, where that wise and excellent governor, Mr. Oglethorpe, well knowing an attachment to religious principles, and a life of virtue and self-denial, were spurs to industry and economy, received him with open arms, and gave him all manner of assistance. Here he at length erected an orphan-house for poor and deserted children; an institution that bids fair to be an extraordinary benefit in that country; the most authentic account of which establishment, by an impartial eye-witness, and published in justice to the Methodists, may be seen in the London Magazine for the year 1745, page 603.

"In these Christian labours, perilous voyages, and painful journeys through the wilderness of America, he was followed by Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, his faithful and able coadjutors, who with a zeal and constancy second only to those which actuated the primitive apostles and the disciples of our Saviour, thought no hardships insurmountable, no dangers too terrifying in prosecuting the work they supposed themselves appointed to.

Of his own and his brother's conversation, &c. and of the necessity of becoming field preachers, Mr. John Wesley gives the following account:

"I was ordained deacon in 1725, and priest in the year following; but it was many years after this before I was convinced of the great truths above recited. During all that time I was utterly ignorant of the nature and condition of justification. Sometimes I confounded it with sanctification, particularly when I was in Georgia.

"At other times I had some confused notions of the forgiveness of sins; but then I took it for granted the time of this must be, either the hour of death, or the day of judgment. I was equally ignorant of the nature of saving faith, apprehending it to mean no more than a "firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testament." As soon as, by the great blessing of God, I had a clear view of these things, I began to declare them to others also. "I believed, and therefore I spake.—Wherever I was now desired to preach, salvation was my only theme. My constant subjects were, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. Him hath God exalted to be a prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins." These I explained and enforced with all my might, both in every church where I was asked to preach, and occasionally in the religious societies of London and Westminster; to some or other of which I was continually pressed to go, by the stewards or other members belonging to them.

"Things were in this posture when I was told, "I must preach no more in this, that, and other "churches." The reason was usually added without reserve, "Because you preach such doctrine." So much the more those who could not hear me there, flocked together when I was at any of the societies; where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in could contain. But after a short time, finding these rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England which I had often done in a warmer climate; namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first at Bristol, where the society-rooms were exceedingly small, and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterwards in

or near London. And I cannot say I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when, on Rose-Green, or the top of Hannam-Mount, some thousands of people were calmly joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while "they stood, and under open air adored the God who made both air, earth, heaven, and sky." And whether they were listening to his word, with attention still as night, or were lifting up their voice in praise, as the sound of many waters, many a time have I been constrained to say in my heart, "How dreadful is this place! This also is no other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven!"

"Be pleased to observe, 1. That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church, though not by any judicial sentence, for preaching such doctrine. This was the open, avowed cause: there was at that time no other, either real or pretended. 2. That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air, till long after this prohibition. 3. That when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation. There was no scheme at all previously formed, which was to be supported thereby; nor had I any other end in view than this, to save as many souls as I could. 4. Field-preaching was therefore a necessary expedient, a thing submitted to, rather than chosen; and therefore submitted to, because I thought preaching, even thus, better than not preaching at all; first, in regard to my own soul, because a dispensation of the gospel being committed to me, I did not dare not to preach the gospel; secondly, in regard to the souls of others, who I every where saw seeking death in the error of their life."

The effects of their preaching are thus described by the same hand.—"Just at this time, when we wanted little of filling up the measures of our iniquities, two or three clergymen of the church of England began vehemently to call sinners to repentance. In two or three years they sounded the alarm to the utmost borders of the land. Many thousands gathered together to hear them; and in every place where they came, many began to shew such a concern for religion as they had never done before.

A stronger impression was made on their minds of the importance of things eternal, and they had more earnest desires of serving God, than they had ever had from their earliest childhood. Thus did God begin to draw them towards himself, with the cords of love, with the bands of a man. Many of these were in a short time deeply convinced of the number and heinousness of their sins. They were also made thoroughly sensible of those tempers which are justly hateful to God and man, and of their utter ignorance of God, and entire inability either to know, love, or serve him. At the same time, they saw in the strongest light the insignificance of their



outside religion; nay, and often confessed it before God, as the most abominable hypocrisy. Thus did they sink deeper and deeper into that repentance which must ever precede faith in the Son of God. And from hence spring fruits meet for repentance. The drunkard commenced sober and temperate; the whoremonger abstained from adultery and fornication; the unjust from oppression and wrong. He that had been accustomed to curse and swear for many years, now swore no more. The sluggard began to work with his own hands, that he might eat his own bread. The miser learned to deal his bread to the hungry, and to cover the naked with a garment. Indeed the whole form of their lives was changed. They had left off doing evil, and learned to do well.

But this was not all. Over and above this outward change, they began to experience inward religion. The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, which they continue to this day. They love him, because he first loved us, and withheld not from us his son, his only son: and this love constrains them to love all mankind, all the children of the Father of heaven and earth, and inspires them with every holy and heavenly temper, the whole mind that was in Christ. Hence it is that they are now uniform in their behaviour, unblameable in all manner of conversation; and in whatsoever state they are, they have learned therewith to be content: inasmuch that now they can in every thing give thanks. They more than patiently acquiesce, they rejoice and are exceeding glad, in all God's dispensations towards them; for as long as they love God, and that love no man taketh from them, they are always happy in God. Thus they calmly travel on through life, being never weary nor faint in their minds, never repining, murmuring, or dissatisfied, casting all their cares upon God, till the hour comes that they should drop this covering of earth, and return into the great father of spirits: then especially it is that they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. You who credit it not, come and see."

In London, particularly, a great change was soon perceived in the majority of the common people; an unusual seriousness appeared in their countenances, they refrained from profane cursing and swearing, and the alehouses were deprived of their usual incriated guests. Mean time the more abandoned of the rabble, whom no precepts could reach, no future denunciations of punishment deter from wickedness, spared not reproaches, and even frequently proceeded to open insults and abuses of the preachers, who were as warmly defended by their partisans, so as often to occasion tumults and riots, that were mutually charged by the Methodists and their opposers on each other, and kept the pub-

lic for years in perpetual dispute and agitation. But at length, now increased to a prodigious number, they began to form societies apart, for worship in their own way, and to appoint stewards and other officers for the better regulation and government of those societies; the principle of which, in London, are the Tabernacle and Foundery near Moorfields, the Tabernacle in Tottenham-Court-Road, with many others, in the city and suburbs. Their founders have increased their numbers in Scotland and Ireland also, where they pursued their mission with the utmost success; and in many places in England, where religion was seldom heard of, they have produced order, humanity, civility, and a serious regard to divine things, particularly amongst the colliers of Kingswood, and the fellows about Newcastle. If the reader desires to enter into particulars with regard to their history, he would do well to peruse the several journals of Mess. Whitfield and Wesley, as we only propose here a general view of their rise &c. Indeed it is a peculiar circumstance, that no sect in so few years, ever became so numerous, though they have met with mild treatment from the government, and have endured no persecution for their opinions, which has generally helped to increase, rather than to decrease the followers of a new system of doctrines. With regard to the common people, or the mob, who are ever of the national religion, so far as drinking, swearing, and rioting extends, the appearance of the founders of Methodism, in the usual vestments of clergymen, captivated them, and prevented many disorders that would have risen, had persons not distinguished by that reverend garb endeavoured to exhort an instruct them; and yet, according to Mr. Wesley's account, he himself was, once particularly, in great danger of losing his life: and the Methodists suffered by the spoils and ravages of desperate and wicked mobs, in Staffordshire, in the year 1743, to the amount of five hundred and four pounds, seventeen shillings, at the lowest computation, owing to a shameful connivance, perhaps under-hand encouragement, of those who should have restrained or punished them for their diabolical excesses. In fact, too many of their opposers merit the character Mr. Wesley has given them. "I have heard some affirm, says he, that the most bitter enemies to the present work of God were Pharisees. They meant men who had the form of godliness, but denied the power of it. But I cannot say so. The sharpest adversaries thereof, unless we might except a few honourable men, whom I may be excused from naming, were the scum of Cornwall, and the rabble of Bilston and Darlestone, the wild beasts of Walsal, and the turnkeys of Newgate."

In fine, the very enemies of these people will scarce deny that they have greatly contributed to

reform and establish order and civility amongst the common people; that they are (I mean the real Methodists; for Presbyterians, Quakers, and every sect, have been personated as well as they, for interested or villainous purposes,) a peaceable, upright, and praise-worthy set of people; that they cannot upon their principles distress, but must add strength to the hands of government, and that their rise and amazing progress have roused the established clergy from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and invigorated them to be attendant on the charge to which they were so solemnly appointed.

Their favourite doctrines have found their way also into the pulpits of our churches, and many excellent preachers, who do not leave the church on that account, enforce them at this day from their pulpits. The great spread of Methodism has certainly contributed to set people in general upon thinking of matters of the greatest moment to them, and I will venture to assert, from my own observation, that there has been such an appearance of seriousness, and such a concern for religion, visible in all ranks of people, since it has so much prevailed, as cannot be remembered in any such period of time since the restoration.

We shall conclude this head with a brief account of their manner of worship, church-discipline, &c.

With regard to their manner of worship it is like that of the church of England, save that they allow themselves to continue long in extempore prayer, and that they sing such hymns as are approved by the society. Indeed they allow of lay-preachers, or suffer unlearned men to preach or exhort, in their places of worship. "I am bold to affirm, says Mr. Wesley, that these unlettered men have help from God for that great work, the saving souls from death, seeing he hath enabled, and doth enable them still to turn many to righteousness. Thus hath he destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to nought the understanding of the prudent.

When they imagined they had effectually shut the door, and blocked up every passage, whereby any help could come to two or three preachers, weak in body as well as soul; who they might reasonably believe would, humanly speaking, wear themselves out in a short time: when they had gained their point, by securing, as they supposed, all the men of learning in the nation, He that sitteth in heaven laughed them to scorn, and came upon them by a way they thought not of. Out of the stones he raised up those who should beget children to Abraham. We had no more foresight of this than you. Nay, we had the deepest prejudices against it, until we could not but own, that God gave wisdom from above to these unlearned and ignorant men; so that

the work of the Lord prospered in their hand, and sinners were daily converted to God.

Indeed in the one thing which they profess to know, they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination, in substantial, practical, experimental divinity, as few of our candidates for holy orders, even in the university, I speak it with sorrow and shame, and in tender love, are able to do."

There have been some difference amongst the leaders of these people, particularly between Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Wesley, relative to the doctrine of reprobation; but they agree in the terms of acceptance: in smaller points, each thinks and lets think: and Mr. Wesley says he reverences Mr. Whitfield, both as a child of God, and a true minister of Jesus Christ. We could wish all religious disputes had been managed with equal candour.

As to the discipline of the Methodists we cannot give a better account of it, than is contained in a small tract, entitled, *The Nature, Design, and general Rules of the united Societies in London, Bristol, Kingswood, and Newcastle upon Tyne*, 7th edit. 1762, which we shall therefore lay before our readers.

"1. In the latter end of the year 1759, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired, as did two or three more the next day, that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from henceforward they did every week, namely, on Thursday, in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them, (for their number increased daily,) I gave those advices from time to time, which I judged most useful for them; and we always concluded our meeting with prayer suited to their several necessities.

1. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places. Such a society is no other than "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."

3. That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is styled the leader. It is his business, 1.

To see each person in his class once a-week at the least, in order to enquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor. 2. To meet the minister and the stewards of the society once a-week in order to inform the minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly and will not be re-proved; to pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding, and to shew their account of what each person has contributed.

4. There is one only condition previously required in those who desire admittance into these societies "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins." But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits. It is, therefore, expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

First, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind, especially that which is most generally practised: such as, the taking the name of God in vain: the profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling; drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity; fighting, quarrelling, brawling, brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling uncustomed goods; the giving or taking things on usury, that is unlawful interest; uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers; doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as the putting on of gold and costly apparel; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; the singing those songs, or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God; softness, and needless self-indulgence; laying up treasures upon earth; borrowing without a probability of paying, or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

3. It is expected of all who continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

Secondly, by doing good, by being in ever kind merciful after their power, as they have opportunity; doing good of every possible sort, and as is possible to all men: to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison; to their souls by instructing, re-proving, or exhorting all we have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that "we are not to do good unless our

heart be free of it:" by doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others, buying one of another, helping each other in business; and so much the more because the world will love its own, and them only; by all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed: by running with patience the race which is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and off-scouring of the world; and looking that men should say all manner of evil of them falsely, for their Lord's sake.

6. It is expected of all who desire to continue in these societies, that they should shew forth to their brethren that they desire salvation.

Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God; such as the public worship; the ministry of the word either read or expounded; the Supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching, and fasting, or abstinence.

7. These are the general rules of our societies, all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice; and all these we know his spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observes them not, who habitually breaks any one of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways; we will bear with him for a season; but then if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

The Methodists, of whom we are still speaking, in general terms, have in some places, as in Tottenham-Court-Road, built almshouses for their most destitute poor; but still they have a great many in the common workhouses. They have also at several times raised considerable sums for the relief of foreign Protestants; and their works of love during the late war, will ever be remembered to their honour.

We shall conclude this general history of the Methodists, with another quotation from Mr. Wesley, in answer to the current report of his receiving great emoluments from his situation, as being at the head of a religious body of people.

"But, perhaps you have heard, that we regard no church at all; that gain is the true spring of all our actions; that I, in particular, am well paid for my work, having thirteen thousand pounds a year at the Foundry alone, over and above what I have from Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, and other parts; and that whoever survives me, will find I have made a good use of my time, for I shall not die a beggar.

"I freely own this is one of the best devised ob-



jections which has ever yet been made, because it not only puts us upon proving a negative, which is seldom an easy task, but also one of such a nature as scarce admits of any demonstrative evidence at all. But for such proof as the nature of the thing will admit of, I appeal to the manner of my life from the beginning. Ye who have seen it, and not with a friendly eye, for these twelve or fourteen years last past, or for any part of that time, have you ever seen any thing like the love of gain therein? Did I not continually remember the words of the Lord Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," Ye of Oxford, do you not know these things are so? What gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? From whom did I covet silver, or gold, or apparel? To whom did I deny any thing which I had, even to the hour I departed from you?

"Ye of Epworth and Wroote, among whom I ministered for nearly the space of three years, what gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take or covet any thing? Ye of Savannah and Fredrica, among whom God afterwards proved me, and shewed me what was in my heart, what gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? Or whose food or apparel did I covet, for silver or gold ye had none; not more than I myself for months when I was in hunger and nakedness. Ye yourselves, and the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, know that I lie not."

Whatever truth may be in what Mr. Wesley here insinuates, by making appeals in writing, is not our business to determine; but certainly he took the worst of all methods to prove a negative. A negative can be well supported by granting one half of the positive.

This every Methodist will admit that Mr. Wesley received considerable sums annually. Might not he have acknowledged this, and convinced the public that it was spent in works of piety and charity.—Had he done so, he would have proved a negative, though not perhaps to the satisfaction of some strict inquirers.—Let such as think it worth their while to read the copy of Mr. Wesley's will, as published by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore.

The giving the clergy, of any denomination, money to bestow upon the poor, is one of those weaknesses in human nature, which helped to form, and continues to support, popery. If a man is in possession of money, and has a heart capable of parting with some of it for the use of his fellow creatures, he ought, for two reasons, to be the donor himself. First, because he should know the person whom he relieves; and secondly, that he may keep himself from pride, by concealing his charity as much as possible.

The author of this work knew a lady of high rank, and of a charitable disposition. As is common in such cases, she was frequently beset by the clergy, who were constantly representing to her the state of the poor, and begging money for their relief. Her constant answer was, "I will speak to whom I relieve, send them to me."

But to go on with what Mr. Wesley advances further in his defence.

"But, it is said, things are fairly altered now. I cannot complain of wanting any thing, having the yearly income of the bishop of London, over and above what I gain at other places." At what other places, my friends? inform yourselves a little better, and you will find, that both at Newcastle, Bristol, and Kingswood, the only places, beside London, where any collection at all is made, the money collected is both received and expended by the stewards of those several societies, and never comes into my hands at all, neither first nor last. And you, or any who desire it, shall read over the accounts kept by any of these stewards, and see, with your own eyes, that by all these societies I gain just as much as you do.

The case in London stands thus: In November, 1739, two gentlemen, then unknown to me, Mr. Ball and Mr. Watkins, came and desired me once and again, to preach in a place called the Foundry, near Moorfields. With much reluctance I at length complied. I was soon after pressed to take that place into my own hands. Those who were most earnest therein, lent me the purchase-money, which was one hundred and fifteen pounds. Mr. Watkins and Mr. Ball then delivered me the names of several subscribers, who offered to pay, some four, or six, some ten shillings a year towards the re-payment of the purchase-money, and the putting the buildings into repair. This amounted one year to near two hundred pounds, the second to about one hundred and forty, and so the last.

The united society began a little after, whose weekly contributions, chiefly for the poor, is received and expended by the stewards, and comes not into my hands at all. But there is also a quarterly subscription of many of the society, which is nearly equal to that above mentioned.

The uses to which these subscriptions have been hitherto applied, are, first, the payment of that one hundred and fifteen pounds; secondly, the repairing, might almost say rebuilding, that vast, uncouth heap of ruins at the Foundry; thirdly, the building galleries both for men and women; fourthly, the enlarging the society-room to near thrice its first bigness. All taxes and occasional expences are likewise defrayed out of this fund. And it has been hitherto so far from yielding any overplus, that it

has never sufficed for these purposes yet. So far from it, that I am still in debt, on these accounts, near three hundred pounds, so much have I hitherto gained by preaching the gospel! besides a debt of one hundred and fifty pounds still remaining on account of the schools built at Bristol; and another of above two hundred pounds on account of that now building at Newcastle. I desire any reasonable man would sit down and lay these things together, and let him see, whether (allowing me a grain of common sense, if not of common honesty) he can possibly conceive, that a view of gain would induce me to act in this manner.

You can never reconcile it with any degree of common sense, that a man who wants nothing, who has already all the necessities, all the conveniences, nay, and many of the superfluities of life, and these not only independent of any one, but less liable to contingencies than even a gentleman's freehold estate, that such an one should calmly and deliberately throw up his case, most of his friends, his reputation, and that way of life, which of all others is most agreeable both to his natural temper, and education: that he should toil day and night, spend all his time and strength, knowingly destroy a firm constitution, and hasten into weakness, pain, diseases, death, to gain a debt of six or seven hundred pounds!

But supposing the balance on the other side, let me ask you one plain question, "For what gain, setting conscience aside, will you be obliged to act thus? to live exactly as I do? For what price will you preach, and that with all your might, not in an easy, indolent, fashionable way, eighteen or nineteen times every week? and this throughout the year? What shall I give you to travel seven or eight hundred miles, in all weathers, every two or three months? For what salary will you abstain from all other diversions, than the doing good and praising God? I am mistaken if you would not prefer straining to such a life as this is, even with thousands of gold and silver.

From what is here advanced by Mr. Wesley, nothing conclusive can be drawn. In all disputed points, we are to hear both parties. We are not to be led away by the assertions of an individual, nor by all the opposition made by an adversary. It is certain, that much abuse has been poured out upon the people called Methodists. That some part of it might have been, and still is true, will appear from the concluding part of this narrative; that the greatest part is false, will appear to every unprejudiced reader. If some of the Methodists are uncircumspect, we can only say, that their religion does not teach them to be so. This will appear the more evident, if we consider what they themselves have

written concerning their original, and which we shall deliver in their own words.

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*A short History of those Doctrines which are styled Methodism.*

1. It is not easy to reckon up the various accounts which have been given of the people called Methodists: Very many of them as far remote from truth, as that given by the good gentleman in Ireland.—"Methodists! Aye they are the people, who place all their religion in wearing long beards."

2. Abundance of the mistakes which are current concerning them, have undoubtedly sprung from this: Men lump together under this general name many who have no manner of connection with each other: And then whatever any of these speaks or does, is of course imputed to all.

3. The following short account may prevent persons of a calm and candid disposition from doing this: although men of a warm or prejudiced spirit will do just as they did before. But let it be observed, this is not designed for a defence of the Methodists, so called, or any part of them. It is a bare relation of a series of naked facts, which alone may remove abundance of misunderstandings.

In November 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln-college, Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ-church, Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christ-church, and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading, chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Heavey was permitted to meet with them, and in 1733, Mr. Whitfield.

5. The exact regularity of their lives, as well as studies, occasioned a young gentleman of Christ-church to say, "Here is a new set of Methodists sprung up." Alluding to some ancient physicians who were so called. The name was new and quaint: So it took immediately, and the Methodists were known all over the university.

6. They were all zealous members of the church of England, not only tenacious of all her doctrines, so far as they knew them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance. They were likewise

zealous observers of all the university-statutes, and that for conscience sake. But they observed neither these nor any thing else, any further than they conceived it was bound upon them by their own book, the Bible; it being their own desire and design to be downright Bible Christians; taking the Bible, as interpreted by the primitive church and our own, for their whole and sole rule.

7. The one charge then advanced against them was, that they were righteous overmuch; that they were abundantly too scrupulous, and too strict, carrying things to great extremes. In particular, that they laid too much stress upon the rubrics and canons of the church; that they insisted too much on observing the statutes of the university; and that they took the scriptures in too strict and literal a sense; so that if they were right, few indeed would be saved.

8. In October 1735, Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and Mr. Ingham, left England, with a design to go and preach to the Indians in Georgia.—But the rest of the gentlemen continued to meet, till one and another was ordained and left the university. By which means, in about two years time, scarce any of them were left.

9. In February 1738, Mr. Whitfield went over to Georgia, with a design to assist Mr. John Wesley, but Mr. Wesley just then returned to England.—Soon after he had a meeting with Messrs. Ingham, Stonehouse, Hall, Hutchins, Kinchin, and a few other clergymen, who all appeared to be of one heart, as well as of one judgment, resolved to be Bible Christians at all events, and wherever they were, to preach with all their might, plain, old, Bible Christianity.

10. They were hitherto perfectly regular in all things, and zealously attached to the church of England. Meantime they began to be convinced, that by grace we are saved through faith; that justification by faith was the doctrine of the church, as well as of the Bible. As soon as they believed, they spake, salvation by faith being now their standing topic. Indeed, this implied three things, 1. That men are all by nature dead in sin, and consequently children of wrath. 2. That they are justified by faith alone. 3. That faith produces inward and outward holiness. And these points they insisted on, day and night. In a short time, they became popular preachers. The congregations were large wherever they preached. The former name was then revived. And all these gentlemen, with their followers, were intitled Methodists.

11. In March 1741, Mr. Whitfield being returned to England, entirely separated from Mr. Wesley and his friends, "Because they did not hold the decrees." Here was the first breach,

which warm men persuaded Mr. Whitfield to make, merely for a difference of opinion. Those indeed who believed Universal Redemption, had no desire at all to separate. But those who held Particular Redemption, would not hear of any accommodation, being determined to have no fellowship with men that "were in so dangerous errors." So there were now two sorts of Methodists, so called; those for Particular, and those for General Redemption.

12. Not many years passed, before William Cudworth and James Relly separated from Mr. Whitfield. These were properly Antinomians, absolute, avowed enemies to the law of God, which they never preached or professed to preach, but termed all Legalists who did. With them, preaching the law was an abomination. They had nothing to do with the law. They would preach Christ, as they called it; but without one word of holiness or good works. Yet these were still denominated Methodists, although differing from Mr. Whitfield, both in judgment and practice, abundantly more than Mr. Whitfield did from Mr. Wesley.

13. In the mean time, Mr. Venn and Mr. Romaine began to be spoken of: And not long after, Mr. Madan and Mr. Berridge, with a few other clergymen, who, although they had no connection with each other, yet preaching salvation by faith, and endeavouring to live accordingly, to be Bible-Christians, were soon included in the general name of Methodists. And so indeed were all others, who preached salvation by faith, and appeared more serious than others. Some of these were quite regular in their manner of preaching: Some were quite irregular, though not by choice; but necessity was laid upon them; they must preach irregularly, or not at all: And others were between both; regular in most though not in all particulars.

14. In 1762, George Bell, and a few other persons, began to speak great words. In the latter end of the year they foretold, that the world would be at an end on the 28th of February. Mr. Wesley, with whom they were then connected, withstood them in public and private. This they would not endure: So, in January and February 1763, they separated from him, under the care of Mr. Maxfield, one of Mr. Wesley's preachers. But still Mr. Maxfield and his adherents, even the wildest enthusiasts among them, go under the general name of Methodists, and so bring a scandal upon those with whom they have no connection.

15. At present, those who remain with Mr. Wesley are mostly church of England men. They love her articles, her homilies, her liturgy, her discipline, and unwillingly vary from it in any instance. Meantime, all who preach among them declare, we are all by nature children of wrath. But by grace we are saved through faith: saved both from the guilt



and from the power of sin. They endeavour to live according to what they preach, to be plain, Bible Christians. And they meet together at convenient times, to encourage one another therein. They tenderly love many that are Calvinists, though they do not love their opinions. Yea, they love the Antinomians themselves, but it is with a love of compassion only, for they hate their doctrines with a perfect hatred; they abhor them as they do hell-fire; being convinced that nothing can so effectually destroy all faith, all holiness, and all good works.

16. With regard to these, Mr. Rely and his adherents, it would not be strange, if they should grow into reputation. For they will never shock the world, either by the harshness of their doctrine, or the singularity of their behaviour. But let those who determine both to preach and live in the gospel, expect that men will say all manner of evil of them. The servant is not above his master, nor the disciple above his Lord. If then they have called the master of the house Belzebub, how much more them of his household? It is their duty indeed, as lieth in them, to live peaceably with all men. But when they labour after peace, they will make themselves ready for battle. It is their constant endeavour to please all men, for their good, to edification. But yet they know it cannot be done. They remember the word of the apostle, If I yet please men, I am not the servant of Christ. They go on, therefore, through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report; desiring only, that their master may say in that day, "Servants of God, well done."

As these people are extremely numerous in England; as there are undoubtedly among them many men of real piety, and as Mr. Wesley has declared himself to be an Arminian, we must here take notice of what he says on that subject.

We have already taken notice of the Arminian Presbyterians, but their notions are not the same with those of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Wesley's notions are the same as those taught by Arminius himself; and we must acknowledge he has defined them in a clear, as well as a judicious manner.

1. To say "This man is an Arminian," has the same effect on many hearers, as to say, "This is a mad dog." It puts them into a fright at once: they run away from him with all speed and diligence; and will hardly stop, unless it be to throw a stone at the dreadful and mischievous animal.

2. The more unintelligible the word is, the better it answers the purpose. Those on whom it is fixt, know not what to do. Not understanding what it means, they cannot tell what defence to make, or how to clear themselves from the charge. And it is not easy to remove the prejudice which others

have imbibed, who know no more of it than that it is something very bad, if not all that is bad.

3. To clear the meaning therefore of this ambiguous term, may be of use to many; to those who so freely pin this name upon others, that they may not say what they do not understand; to those that hear them, that they may be no longer abused by men, saying they know not what; and to those upon whom the name is fixt, that they know how to answer for themselves.

4. It may be necessary to observe, first, that many confound Arminians with Arians. But this is entirely a different thing: the one has no resemblance to the other. An Arian is one who denies the godhead of Christ; we scarce need to say, the supreme, eternal godhead; because there can be no God but the supreme, eternal God, unless we will make two Gods, a great God and a little one. Now none have ever more firmly believed, or more strongly asserted the godhead of Christ, than many of the (so called) Arminians have done; yea, and do at this day. Arminianism, therefore, whatever it be, is totally different from Arianism.

5. The rise of the word was this, James Harmens, in Latin, Jacobus Arminius, was first one of the ministers of Amsterdam, and afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden. He was educated at Geneva; but in the year 1591, began to doubt of the principles which he had till then received. And being more and more convinced that they were wrong, when he was vested with the professorship, he publicly taught what he believed the truth, till the year 1609, he died in peace. But a few years after his death, some zealous men, with the prince of Orange at their head, furiously assaulted all that held what were called his opinions, and having procured them to be solemnly condemned in the famous synod of Dort, not so numerous or learned, but full as impartial as the council or synod of Trent, some were put to death, some banished, some imprisoned for life, all turned out of their employments, and made incapable of holding any office either in church or state.

6. The errors charged upon these, usually termed Arminians, by their opponents are five: 1. That they deny original sin. 2. That they deny justification by faith. 3. That they deny absolute predestination. 4. That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible. And 5. That they affirm, a believer may fall from grace.

With regard to the two first of these charges, they plead not guilty. They are entirely false. No man that ever lived, even John Calvin himself, even asserted either original sin or justification by faith, in more strong, more clear and express terms than Arminius has done. These two points there-

fore are to be set out of the question: In these both parties agree. In this respect there is not an hair's breadth difference between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitfield.

7. But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, with regard to the three other questions. Here they divide: The former believe absolute, the latter only conditional predestination. The Calvinists hold, 1. God has absolutely decreed, from all eternity, to save such and such persons, and no others, and that Christ died for these and none else. The Arminians hold, God has decreed from all eternity, touching all that have the written word, He that believeth, shall be saved: He that believeth not, shall be condemned. And in order to this, Christ died for all, all that were dead in trespasses and sins: that is, for every child of Adam, since in Adam all died.

8. The Calvinists hold, secondly, That the saving grace of God is absolutely irresistible: That no man is any more able to resist it, than to resist the stroke of lightning. The Arminians hold, that although there may be some moments wherein the grace of God acts irresistibly, yet in general any man may resist, and that to his eternal ruin, the grace whereby it was the will of God, he should have been eternally saved.

9. The Calvinists hold, thirdly, That a true believer in Christ, cannot possibly fall from grace. The Arminians hold, that a true believer may make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience: That he may fall, not only foully, but finally, so as to perish for ever.

10. Indeed the two latter points, irresistible grace and infallible perseverance, are the natural consequences of the former, of the unconditional decree. For if God has eternally and absolutely decreed to save such and such persons, it follows, both that they cannot resist his saving grace, else they might miss of salvation, and that they cannot resist. So that in effect, the three questions come into one, "Is predestination absolute or conditional?" The Arminians believe it is conditional: the Calvinists that it is absolute.

11. Away then with all ambiguity! Away with all expressions which only puzzle the cause. Let honest men speak out, and not play with hard words, which they do not understand. And how can any man know what Arminius held, who has never read one page of his writings? Let no man bawl against Arminians, till he knows what the term means.—And then he will know that Arminians and Calvinists are just upon a level. And Arminians have as much right to be angry at Calvinists, as Calvinists have to be angry at Arminians. John Calvin was a pious, learned, sensible man: and so was James

Harmens. Many Calvinists are pious, learned, sensible men: and so are many Arminians. Only the former hold absolute predestination, the latter conditional.

12. One word more. Is it not the duty of every Arminian preacher, first, never in public or in private, to use the word Calvinist as a term of reproach; seeing it is neither better nor worse than calling names? a practice no more consistent with good sense, or good manners, than it is with Christianity. Secondly, to do all that in him lies, to prevent his hearers from doing it, by shewing them the sin and folly of it. And is it not equally the duty of every Calvinist preacher, first, never in public or in private, in preaching or in conversation, to use the word Arminian as a term of reproach? Secondly, to do all that in him lies, to prevent his hearers from doing it, by shewing them the sin and folly thereof. And that the more earnestly and diligently, if they have been accustomed so to do; perhaps encouraged therein by his own example.

The Arminian Methodists have several different sorts of societies, and likewise charitable institutions, of which we shall take notice as they lay in order, according to their seniority. The first of all these was called the Band Society, because they entered into it upon promises and engagements to abide by a certain number of rules.

The design of our meeting is to obey that command of God—Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.

To this end, we intend,

1. To meet once a week at the least.
2. To come punctually at the hour appointed, without some particular reason.
3. To begin, those of us who are present, exactly at the hour, with singing or prayer.
4. To speak each of us in order, freely and plainly the true state of our souls, with the faults we have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting.
5. To end every meeting with prayer, suited to the state of each person present.
6. To desire some person among us to speak his own state first, and then to ask the rest in order, as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations.

Some of the questions proposed to every one before he is admitted among us, may be to this effect:

1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?
3. Have you the witness of God's spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God?

4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?  
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?

6. Do you desire to be told of your faults?  
7. Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and home?

8. Do you desire, that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?

9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you?

10. Do you desire, that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom?

11. Is it your desire and design, to be on this and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?

Any of the preceding questions may be asked as occasion may offer: the five following at every meeting:

1. What known sins have you committed since our last meeting?

2. What temptations have you met with?

3. How was you delivered?

4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?

5. Have you nothing you desire to keep secret?

You are supposed to have the faith that overcometh the world. To you therefore it is not grievous,

1. Carefully to abstain from doing evil: in particular,

1. Neither to buy or sell any thing at all on the Lord's day.

2. To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind unless prescribed by a physician.

3. To be at a word, both in buying and selling.

4. To pawn nothing, no, not to save life.

5. Not to mention the fault of any behind his back, and to stop those short that do.

6. To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.

7. To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

11. Zealously to maintain good works: in particular,

1. To give abuse of such things as you possess, and that to the utmost of your power.

2. To reprove all that sin in your sight, and that in love and meekness of wisdom.

3. To be patterns of diligence and frugality, of self-denial, and taking up the cross daily.

III. Constantly to attend on all the ordinances of God: in particular,

1. To be at church, and at the Lord's table every week and at every public meeting of the bands.

2. To attend the ministry of the word every morning, unless distance, business, or sickness prevent.

3. To use private prayer every day, and family prayer, if you are the head of a family.

4. To read the scripture, and meditate thereon, at every vacant hour. And,

5. To observe, as days of fasting or abstinence, all Fridays in the year.

It is in general a maxim in morals, that there can be no existence of religion without knowledge, and knowledge must be acquired by education, by instructions from those advanced in years, and by conversation with the world. By the world, we mean those people who have a great deal of human knowledge, and behold human nature operating in practice. We shall take it for granted, that what Mr. Wesley says concerning his own schools is true; and indeed, there can remain little doubt of it, because, as the Methodists have many enemies, so if a falsehood was advanced in print, it would be no difficult matter to contradict it.

*The following Account of the Methodist School near Bristol, is thus related.*

1. Our design is, with God's assistance, to train up children in every branch of useful learning.

2. We teach none but boarders. These are taken in, being between the years of six and twelve, in order to be taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, History, Geography, Chronology, Rhetoric, Logic, Ethics, Geometry, Algebra, Physics, Music.

2. The School contains eight classes:

In the first class the children read instructions for children, and lessons for children; and begin learning to write.

In the second class they read the manners of the ancient Christians, go on in writing, learn the short English grammar, the short Latin grammar, read Praelectiones Pueriles; translate them into English, and the instructions for children into Latin; of which they transcribe and repeat.

In the third class they read Dr. Caves Primitive Christianity, go on in writing, perfect themselves in the English and Latin Grammar; read Corderii



Colloquia Selecta and Historiæ Selectæ; translate Historiæ Selectæ into English, and Lessons for Children into Latin: Part of which they transcribe and repeat.

In the fourth class they read the Pilgrim's Progress, perfect themselves in writing, learn Dilworth's Arithmetic, read Castellio's Kempis and Cornelius Nepos: translate Castellio into English, and manners of the ancient Christians into Latin; transcribe and repeat Select Portions of Moral and Sacred Poems.

In the fifth class they read the life of Mr. Haliburton, perfect themselves in arithmetic; read Select Dialogues of Erasmus, Phædrus and Sallust: translate Erasmus into English, and Primitive Christianity into Latin; transcribe and repeat Select Portions of Moral and Sacred Poems.

In the sixth class they read the life of Mr. De Renty, and Keumet's Roman Antiquities: they learn Randal's Geography: read Caesar, Select Parts of Terence and Velleius Paternus; translate Erasmus into English, and the life of Mr. Haliburton into Latin; transcribe and repeat select portions of sacred hymns and poems.

In the seventh class they read Mr. Law's Christian Perfection, and archbishop Potter's Greek Antiquities: they learn Bengel's Introductio ad Chronologiam, with Marshall's Chronological Tables: read Tully's Offices and Virgil's Æneid: translate Bengelius in English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn, those who have a turn for it, to make verses, and the short Greek Grammar: read the epistles of St. John: transcribe and repeat select portions of Milton.

In the eighth class they read Mr. Law's Serious Call, and Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities: they learn to make theses, and to declaim: learn Vossius's Rhetoric: read Tully's Tusculan Questions, and Selecta ex Ovidio, Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale, Persio, Martiale: perfect themselves in the Greek Grammar: read the Gospels and Six Books of Homer's Iliad: translate Tully into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn the short Hebrew Grammar, and read Genesis: transcribe and repeat Selecta ex Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale.

4. It is our particular desire, that all who are educated here, may be brought up in the fear of God; and at the utmost distance as far from vice in general, so in particular from idleness and effeminacy. The children therefore of tender parents, so called (who are indeed offering up their sons and their daughters unto devils), have no business here; for the rules will not be broken in favour of any person whatsoever. Nor is any child received unless his parents agree, 1. That he shall observe all the rules of the house; and 2. That they will not

take him from school, no, not a day, till they take him for good and all.

5. The general rules of the house are these:

First, The children rise at four, winter and summer, and spend the time till five in private; partly in reading, partly in singing, partly in self-examination or meditation (if capable of it) and partly in prayer. They at first use a short form (which is varied continually) and then pray in their own words.

Secondly, At five they all meet together. From six they work till breakfast. For as we have no play-days (the school being taught every day in the year but Sunday), so neither do we allow any time to play on any day. He that plays when he is a child, will play when he is a man.

On fair days they work, according to their strength, in the garden; on rainy days in the house. Some of them also learn music: and some of the larger will be employed in philosophical experiments. But particular care is taken that they never work alone, but always in the presence of a master.

We have three masters; one for teaching reading, and two for the languages.

Thirdly, The school begins at seven, in which languages are taught till nine, and then writing, &c. till eleven. At eleven the children walk or work. At twelve they dine, and then work or sing till one. They diet nearly thus:

Breakfast, milk-porridge and water-gruel, by turns. Supper, bread and butter, or cheese, and milk by turns.

Dinner, Sunday, cold roast beef.

Monday, hashed meat and apple-dumplings.

Tuesday, boiled mutton.

Wednesday, vegetables and dumplings.

Thursday, boiled mutton or beef.

Friday, vegetables and dumplings: and so in lent.

Saturday, bacon and greens, apple-dumplings.

They drink water at meals: nothing between meals. On Friday, if they chuse it, they fast till three in the afternoon. Experience shews, this is so far from impairing health, that it greatly conduces to it.

Fourthly, From one to four languages are taught, and then writing, &c. till five. At five begins the hour of private prayer. From six they walk or work till supper. A little before seven the public service begins. At eight they go to bed, the youngest first.

Fifthly, They used to lodge all in one room, but now in two, in which lamps burn all night. Every child lies by himself. A master lies at each end of the room. All their beds have mattresses on them, not feather beds.

Sixthly, On Sunday, at six, they dress and break-

fast; at seven, learn hymns or poems; at nine, attend the public service; at twelve, dine and sing; at two attend the public service, and at four are privately instructed.

6. The method observed in the school is this :

*The First Class.*

Morn. 7. Read. 10. Write till eleven.  
 Aftern. 1. Read. 4. Write till five.

*The Second Class.*

- M. 7. Read the Manners of the Ancient Christians.  
 8. Learn the English Grammar: when that is ended, the Latin Grammar.  
 10. Learn to write.  
 A. 1. Learn to construe and parse Prælectiones Pueriles.  
 4. Translate into English and Latin alternately.

*The Third Class.*

- M. 7. Read Primitive Christianity.  
 8. Repeat English and Latin Grammar alternately.  
 9. Learn Corderius, and, when that is ended, Historia Selectæ.  
 10. Write.  
 A. 1. Learn Corderius and Historiæ Selectæ.  
 4. Translate.

*The Fourth Class.*

- M. 7. Read the Pilgrim's Progress.  
 8. Repeat the Grammar.  
 9. Learn Castellio's Kempis, and when that is ended, Cornelius Nepos.  
 10. Write and learn Arithmetic.  
 A. 1. Learn Kempis and Cornelius Nepos.  
 4. Translate.

*The Fifth Class.*

- M. 6. Read Mr. Haliburton's Life.  
 8. Repeat the Grammars.  
 9. Learn Erasmus; afterwards Phædrus: then Sallust.  
 10. Learn Arithmetic.  
 A. 1. Learn Erasmus, Phædrus, Sallust.  
 4. Translate.

*The Sixth Class.*

- M. 7. Read Mr. Renty's Life.  
 8. Repeat the Grammars.

9. Learn Caesar; afterwards Terence: then Velleius Paterculus.  
 10. Learn Geography.  
 A. 1. Learn Caesar, Terence, Paterculus.  
 2. Read Roman Antiquities.  
 4. Translate.

*The Seventh Class.*

- M. 7. Read Mr. Law's Christian Perfection.  
 { M. W. F. Learn the Greek Grammar; and read the Greek Testament.  
 8. { Tu. Th. Sat. Learn Tully; afterwards Virgil.  
 10. Learn Chronology.  
 A. 1. Learn Latin and Greek alternately, as in the Morning.  
 3. Read Grecian Antiquities.  
 4. Translate, and make verses alternately.

*The Eighth Class.*

- M. 7. Read Mr. Law's Serious Call.  
 { M. Th. Latin.  
 { Tu. Frid. Greek.  
 8. { W. S. Hebrew; and so at one in the afternoons.  
 10. Learn Rhetoric.  
 A. 3. Read Hebrew Antiquities.  
 Mond. Thurs. Translate.  
 Tues. Friday, make verses.  
 Wednesday, make a theme.  
 Saturday, write a declamation.

All the other classes spend Saturday afternoon in arithmetic, and in transcribing what they learn on Sunday, and repeat on Monday morning.

The price for the board and teaching of a child, including his books, pens, ink and paper, is fourteen pounds a year, while he is in the school; after he has gone through the school, twenty, and he is then to find his own books.

The following method is to be observed by those who design to go through a course of academical learning.

*FIRST YEAR.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Read Lowth's English Grammar,              | Spanheim's Introduction on the Ecclesiastical History. |
| Latin }<br>Greek }<br>Hebrew }<br>French } | Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe.    |

Corn. Nepos,  
Sallust,  
Cæsar,  
Tully's Offices,  
Terence,  
Phædrus,  
Æneid,—  
Dilworth, Randal, Ben-  
gel, Vossius,  
Aldrich and Wallis's  
Logic,  
Laugbain's Ethics,  
Hutchinson on the Pas-  
sions,

Moral and sacred poems,  
Hebrew Pentateuch,  
with the Notes,  
Greek Testament,  
Matt.—Acts, with the  
Notes,  
Xenophon's Cyrus,  
Homer's Iliad,  
Bishop Pearson on the  
Creed,  
Ten Vols. of the Chris-  
tian Library,  
Telemaque.

Prædium Rusticum,  
Carmina Quadragesi-  
malia,  
Philosophical Transac-  
tions abridged,  
Watt's Astronomy,  
Compendium Metaphy-  
sicae,  
Watt's Ontology,  
Locke's Essay,  
Malebranche,

Rest of the Hebrew Bi-  
ble,  
Greek Testament,  
Epictetus,  
Marcus Antoninus,  
Poetæ Minores,  
End of the Christian Li-  
brary,  
La Faussite de les Ver-  
tues humaines, Quesnel  
sur les Evangiles.

### SECOND YEAR.

Look over the Gram-  
mars,  
Read Vell. Paternulus,  
Tusculan Questions,  
Excerpta,  
Vidæ Opera,  
Iulius Westmonasteri-  
ensis,  
Chronological Tables,  
Euclid's Element,  
Wells's Tracts,  
Newton's Principia,  
Moshen's Introduction  
to Church History.

Usher's Annals,  
Burnet's History of the  
Reformation,  
Spencer's Fairy Queen,  
Historical Books of the  
Hebrew Bible,  
Greek Test. ad finem  
Kurou Anabasis,  
Homer's Odyssey,  
Twelve Volumes of the  
Christian Library,  
Ramsay's Cyrus,  
Racine.

### THIRD YEAR.

Look over the Gram-  
mars,  
Livy,  
Suetonius,  
Tully de Finibus,  
Musæ Anglicanæ,  
Dr. Burton's Poemata,  
Lord Forbes' Tracts,  
Abridgment of Hutchin-  
son's Works,  
Survey of the Wisdom  
of God in the Creation,  
Rollin's Ancient His-  
tory.

Hume's History of Eng-  
land,  
Neal's History of the  
Puritans,  
Milton's Poetic Works,  
Hebrew Bible, Job—  
Canticles,  
Greek Testament,  
Plato's Dialogues,  
Greek Epigrams,  
Twelve Volumes of the  
Christian Library,  
Pascal,  
Cornicille,

### FOURTH YEAR.

Look over the Gram-  
mars,  
Tacitus,  
Grotii Historia Belgica  
Tully de Natura  
Deorum,

Clarendon's History,  
Neal's History of New  
England,  
Antonio Solis's History  
of Mexico,  
Shakespeare,

Whoever carefully goes through this course, will be a better scholar than nine in ten of the graduates at Oxford or Cambridge.

The only remarks we would make on this plan of education is, that it is far from being a bad one; but some of the books are not well chosen, because they clash with each other in sentiment. It is true, that learning cannot be acquired properly without hearing both sides of the argument; but this would be much better in riper years, than when people are unacquainted with knowledge.

As for their Love-feasts, we shall only observe, that something of a similar nature was observed in the primitive times; but that arose from motives of necessity, when the poor-slaves who had been converted to the Christian religion, were entertained at the public expence. At present there can be no necessity for any such thing, because those who seek to relieve the poor, may do it at their own homes.

At these Love-feasts they eat a biscuit or bun, drink a glass of water, and sing about half a score of hymns. The expence for buns, water, and hymns, is defrayed by a subscription from their own body; and as no specific sum is required of any person, every one is left at full liberty to give according to ability or inclination: the overplus, if any, after defraying the above expences, is religiously devoted to the poor.

They have another ceremony which has been much complained of, and that is what they call their watch-nights; in which they sit whole nights, singing hymns in their meetings, of which the following is a specimen:

1. Join all ye ransom'd sons of grace,  
The holy joy prolong,  
And shout to the Redeemer's praise  
A solemn midnight song.
2. Blessing, and thanks, and love, and might,  
Be to our Jesus given,  
Who turns our darkness into light,  
Who turns our hell to heaven.



3. Thither our faithful souls he leads,  
Thither he bids us rise,  
With crowns of joy upon our heads  
To meet him in the skies.

4. To seal the universal doom,  
The skies he soon shall bow;  
But if you must at midnight come,  
O let us meet thee now.

It is true, the primitive Christians met in the night, as appears from the famous epistle written by Pliny the consul to the emperor Trajan, about the beginning of the second century. But this was owing to persecution, when they were prohibited from meeting in the day. The followers of Mr. Wesley are under no such necessity, for they are not persecuted, nor are they excluded from any of the benefits in the toleration act. It is very certain, that their sitting up a whole night in their meetings, must render them incapable of labour next day; and this, instead of being consistent with religion, is quite contrary to it. For God has ordered every thing so wisely, that one shall not clash with another.

The last thing to be taken notice of concerning these people is, the manner in which they are, or at least believe themselves to be, converted. And yet they are very contradictory in these things. A person of high rank shewed the author the following epitaph, which he copied from one of their grave-stones at Margate.

"Here lies A. B. who was sanctified from the womb, and whose sins were pardoned through the merits of Christ."

Where the epitaph-maker learned his divinity we shall not say, but surely the absurdity is unparalled. A man was sanctified from the womb, which implies, that he had never been guilty of sin, and yet his sins were pardoned through the merits of Christ.

We could give many instances of these real or imaginary conversions; but some of them would rather offend a delicate ear, and others would afford matter of lamentation to those who love Christ in reality, and rejoice to do his will. We shall, however, insert the account of one written by a father relating to his son. It is an honour for a man to love his child, but it is a real happiness to see him going on in the fear of God through all the afflictions of this life.

#### *Account of the Conversion and Death of Thomas Hitchens.*

My son, Thomas Hitchens, was born April 14, 1723. He went to school till he was about ten

years old. From school he went to work at the stamps in dressing of tin ore, in which employment he continued about six years. Afterwards he wrought in the tin-works under ground, till about a year before his death. Then he went to dress tin-leavings for me, having five or six boys under him. At the same time he ploughed, sowed, mowed, reaped, and managed my husbandry; understanding every thing both as to the tin and the land, so that we had scarce one in the neighbourhood like him.

He was from a child of a very sober and a very sweet behaviour, and remarkably dutiful to his parents. But about nineteen he began to go to revelings and hurlings, and sometimes to be merry with his companions. Of this I now and then told him, but not sharply: for I counted both him and his brother mighty good young men. And was not a little proud, when people told me, "I had two likely sons, and as stout men as any in the parish." I thought it best, therefore, to let him have his liberty; especially as I then saw no great harm in these things.

But he had done with these from the hour he first heard the Gospel of the grace of God. He then chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy all the pleasures of sin. He had no fear in the hottest of the persecution. While the mob were pulling down the house in which we used to meet, he stood at a small distance all the time, being nothing terrified, and encouraged his brother, and said, "God will deliver us; only let us trust in him." Nor was he at all moved, when the showers of stones obliged us to stop up all our windows with whole deals. One night we heard a great tumult and noise, as of much people and many cries; and it was told us, they were at the house of one of our brethren, who lived about a quarter of a mile off. Thomas did not take time to go the road way, though it was exceeding dark, but ran directly through the grounds and over the hedges, till he came to the house.

The mob, hearing the sound of feet, ran away, not one being left behind. So, said Thomas, the scripture is fulfilled; "One of you shall chase a thousand." As he came into the house, the family too, were preparing to run out of it. But he soon convinced them they had no cause to fear, and they mightily rejoiced together, and praised God who had delivered them out of the hands of unreasonable and cruel men. All the windows and doors were dashed in pieces, but none of the family hurt at all, notwithstanding the vast quantities of stones which had fallen on all sides of them. One very large stone they found in the cradle, close by a little child. But the child was not hurt. So that in all things they saw the hand of God was over them for good.

About eighteen months ago, while his brother William and he were working in the pit with another man, who cried for help, and Thomas ran towards the place where he was. In running, his light went out; but he found the man by his voice, though not till he was almost covered in. Before he had cleared him, the earth calved in again, and he was very near covered himself. And but that it stopt, they knew not but in one minute more they must both have perished together. William hearing the noise, made up to the place, and in some time relieved them both. Of this Thomas often made mention, praising God for his wonderful deliverance.

Some account of the manner wherein he found peace with God, two or three months after his brother, I lately found in his pocket book. The substance of it was this:

"In reading the three first chapters of St. John, while I was in much trouble and heaviness of soul, the Lord gave me great comfort: especially from these words, 'To as many as believe in his name, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.' But soon after I was stript of all, and thought God had left me a final cast-away. Nevertheless I went into my closet, and with a heavy heart said, Lord I praise thee, that thou hast not given me over unto death. But how shall I appear before thee? While I spoke, the Lord answered and applied these words, I am thy righteousness; which burst the cords that before kept my spirit down.

He often complained, that when he found great joy, he was in the greatest danger, both of pride and lightness. And therefore said, he had much rather, if it were the will of God, be always in a mourning state. He likewise found great temptation to pride when he was most blest in speaking to the people. And this was the main reason of his not stirring up the gift of God which was in him.

He frequently repeated those words of St. Paul, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman."—And those of Job, "I have made my covenant with my eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?" He was very jealous over himself when he was in company with those of a different sex. And if no man besides himself was there, he generally quitted the company as soon as he could.

In the latter part of his life he was much grown in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. He sometimes saw, as he said, anger or pride in himself; but they had no power: Neither had they love or desire of any creature; they were all in subjection under his feet: he was more and more dead to all earthly things, and filled with the fire of God's love. The work of God had a deeper

root in his heart, and he was more settled and established in the grace of God.

After his brother's death, he declared he could not rest through the earnestness of his desire to follow him. However in the mean time, he put in practice what Samuel spoke of, namely, meeting all the family once a week. He reprov'd me and his mother in several things; but we could not reprove him in any. I could not convince him or Samuel of sin, for two years or more.

On Wednesday September 10, in the evening he found himself out of order: He went to bed something earlier than usual, and soon appeared to be in a high fever. But his confidence in God was still the same, and all his words, both that night and the next day, convinced all who came near him, that the peace of God continually ruled in his heart.

On Thursday evening, between nine and ten, his sisters sitting by him, he said, "Lord, shall I call, and wilt thou not answer? No: It cannot be.—Thou hast promis'd, every one that asks in faith shall receive." Then he began praying for his father and mother; for his brothers and sisters, and in particular for her that sat by him. "O my God marry her to thyself. Make her all glorious within. Give her an undivided heart." He then prayed for himself. "Now come, O my God, and sanctify me wholly. Press me closer to thyself. Thou knowest, this is all my desire. Give me power to declare thy wondrous works before I go hence.—" "O Death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

As Mary Bisvine came to the bed-side, he looked on her and said, "Now I am free. Now my heart is at liberty. I will praise my God as long as I have breath." After speaking much to the same effect, he lay still a small time, and then broke out into exceeding loud, vehement prayer, his voice being quite altered and every sentence pronounced with uncommon emphasis. He prayed first for all estates and conditions of men; that the church of Christ might spread over all nations; that ten thousand times ten thousand might be converted to God, and all the people of the earth praise him. Then he prayed for all the ministers of the gospel, from the greatest even to the least: especially for those whom God had lately employed to seek and save those that were lost in Cornwall. Afterwards he prayed for John Trembath that he might live to the glory of God, who had brought him back from the gates of death, and might be a means of saving many souls from the bitter pains of eternal death. He then prayed for the society, O Lord, unite them as the heart of one man. O Lord give them eyes to see

whereinsoever they have departed from Thee. O take from them the spirit of unthankfulness, and suffer them not to bite or devour one another.—Heal thou their backslidings and spread over them the banner of thy love!”

With prayer there was continual praise intermixt. Sometimes he was blessing God for what he had done, then praying, “O my God finish thy work and take me into thy kingdom. Is this the day, O my God, that I shall kiss my brother in Paradise? O Lord, the angels have already praised Thee at my conversion. Is this the day that I shall praise Thee with them? Yes, O my God, I am now going to join them, to sing praises to thee for ever.”

Then he prayed with great earnestness for Mary Bisvine and his own sister, both whom he had in the beginning of the evening desired to stay with him till he was in eternity, that they might never grow weary or faint in their minds, that God would send down the spirit of sanctification into their hearts, and give them resigned wills to bear whatever his providence should lay upon them: Adding, They shall run and not be weary. I know we shall meet together, and sing praises unto him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.”

He went on, “O how good is God to me, that he hath given me a tongue to praise him! A little while, yet a little while, and I shall praise him in heaven! O the goodness of God, that I a worm of the earth, shall stand there, upon Mount Zion, with the three hundred forty and four thousand, which have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb! Here is a privilege; here is a wonder, that I am made a son of God! I am a son of God and a joint-heir with Christ, and I shall soon be where I shall behold him for ever; I, even I, who have been a backslider from God! But he has healed my backslidings and loved me freely.”

Soon after he said, “I love thee, O my God, thou knowest I love thee, because thou hast first loved me. O what manner of love is this, that God should stoop to love me? And he is coming to carry me home. O! I see, thousands and ten thousands of angels! Do you not see them? O brother Trembath, do you not see what a glorious place I am going to? I am going to join with angels and arch-angels, and with all the company of heaven.—I am going to reign with God, among ten thousands of his saints, and to bask in the beams of his love for ever.”

Then looking on Mary Bisvine he said, “Can't you see Jesus Christ coming, with an innumerable company of angels, and the golden banner displayed? They are coming to carry me to the bosom of my God. Open their eyes O God, that they may see them. O what a good God have I served! I am sanctified, soul, body and spirit. I am whiter than

snow. I am washed in the blood of my Redeemer. Why, I am all God. My heart is full of God! O let them who hear me now, praise thee for ever and ever.”

“And yet I have been unfaithful to my God.—For he gave me a gift, but I improved it not. I thought I was not worthy to stand in the highways and call sinners to repentance. But, O God, thou hast forgiven me this also, and I will preach thee now as long as I have breath.”

He ceased not thus praying and praising for an hour. His parents then coming in, early on Friday morning, he said, “O my mother, you will not weep to see me going to such a loving God. My father and mother will not be backsliders. No; I know God loves them, and that we shall all meet together in heaven, to praise him to all eternity.”—Then looking on his brother, about twelve years old, he said, “stand off for fear you should catch the distemper, for I fear you are not prepared to die. You have played away the grace of God.—The harvest may come before you are renewed in the image of God, and then how will you appear? Cry mightily to God. Strive with all your might.—Call upon him, and God will hear.”

He then said, “Right my feet, that I may lie straight, to resign my breath. When I am dead, do you sing me all the way, sing my body to the grave, lay me by my brother, and at the same time my spirit shall be joined to his, and to ten thousand times ten thousand of angels and spirits, singing praises to God and the Lamb for ever.”

Having spoken till he had no breath left, he paused; and in a short time began again, “Hear now the words of a dying man, a living wonder, a Christian triumphing over death! O what a God do the Christians serve! What a God I have served! Praise him with me for ever. Behold the immense goodness of our God. O that all the world knew our God! He hath now made my heart free, that I may praise him, and I cannot stop while I have breath. Go, tell all the world of this. O brethren! What a good God do we serve: Be not afraid to tell it abroad: Go, shew it to all people, that they may come and serve him too.”

When he stopped speaking, the oppression on his breast returned. This he took notice of, and said, “While I am praising God my heart is free; but when I cease I feel this load again. But I may well bear this, for this is all the hell I shall have.”—Then he broke out,

“See a soul escape to bliss,

“Keep the Christian festival.”

“He hath washed me, and I am whiter than snow. God is mine, and I am God's. I shall soon be with him.” Thus he continued till he could speak no more.



## ACCOUNT OF THE ANTINOMIANS.

**T**HIS sect is so named from two Greek words, which mean contrary to the law; signifying a contradiction between two laws, and between two articles of the same law.

The first whom we read of was one John Agricola, who lived about the middle of the fourteenth century, and who taught that the law is no way necessary under the gospel: That good works do not promote our salvation, nor ill ones hinder it. That repentance is not to be preached from the ten commandments, but only from the gospel; or, in other words, he was for carrying gospel liberty above all moral rectitude, and for slighting the motives of virtue as insufficient to further salvation.

They were not, however, in England, till after the Reformation, and there were few of them till the time of the civil wars in the last century. Some of the Scottish Presbyterians wrote against them, and Ruth-rford in particular was for having them all hang'd. Rutherford was learnedly answered by several clergymen, among whom were the following:—Tobias Crisp, D.D. who died in the year 1641. He was a good preacher and a good man; was first zealously attached to the principles of Arminianism, but changing his opinions, ran into the contrary extreme of Antinomianism. The publisher of his works says, "That his life was so innocent, and free from all evil, so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed to be designed as a practical confutation of the slander of those who would insinuate, that his doctrine tended to licentiousness." He was possessed of a very large estate, with which he did a great deal of good.

Mr. John Saltmarsh, of Magdalen College, a man of a fine active fancy, says Neale, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher, and chaplain in the parliament-army. The manner of his death, as related by Rushworth, was very extraordinary.—December 4, 1637, being at his house at Ilford, in Essex, he told his wife that he had been in a trance, and received a message from God, which he must immediately deliver to the army. He went that night to London, and next day to Windsor. Being come to the council of officers, he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not prosper their consultations, but destroy them by divisions among themselves, because they had sought to destroy the people of God, those who had stood by

them in the greatest difficulties. He then went to the general, and, without moving his hat, told him, that God was highly displeased with him for committing of saints to prison. The like message he delivered to Cromwell, and required him to take effectual measures for the enlargement of the members of the army, that were committed for not complying with the general council. He then took his leave of the officers, telling them, that he had now done his errand, and must leave them, never to see them any more. After which he went to London, and took leave of his friends there, telling them his work was done, and desiring some of them to be careful of his wife. Thursday, December 9, he returned to Ilford, in perfect health; next day he told his wife that he had now finished his work, and must go to his father. Saturday morning, December 11, he was taken speechless, and about four in the afternoon he died.

It is certain, that in the two volumes of sermons published by Dr. Crisp's executors, and to which notes have been added by the late Dr. Gill, there are many things very exceptionable. It does not satisfy him to say, that Christ's sufferings were for the guilty, but he boldly asserts, that he was even sin itself; a sentiment we know not what to make of. It is true the Apostle says, "He hath made him to be sin for us; but in another place the Apostle explains what he means by these words; for he says, "He suffered the just for the unjust." Thus had Christ been sin itself, how could he have made an atonement for it? The words mean no more than imputation, or a vicarious sacrifice, by which Christ was the substitute in the room of sinners.

With respect to the writings of Saltmarsh, they are very engaging at first sight, but upon a sober review, the force of the argument wears off. As the Antinomians were never very numerous, so there are but few particulars relating to them worthy of notice till the present age. In the time of the civil wars, the churches were filled with preachers of many different denominations: some of whom were Antinomians; but from that time till the rise of Methodism, about forty years ago, they were not much heard of in England. Perhaps there were not two meetings; but we shall now proceed to point out what they then believed; and, secondly, what they are at present.

They believed, that the whole work of man's salvation was accomplished by Jesus Christ on the cross. That Christ's blood and our sins went away together. That then all our sins were taken away by Christ, and blotted out for ever. That nothing else beside faith is required in order to justification and salvation. That there is but one duty, which is that of believing: one must do nothing, but quietly attend the voice of the Lord. The gates of heaven are shut upon workers, and open to believers. If we do nothing for heaven, we do as much as God requires. To believe certainly that Christ suffered death for us, is enough; we want no more. We are justified by our submitting in our judgments to the truth of God's grace in Christ Jesus. It is not necessary that a man do any works that he may be justified and saved. God doth not require thee to do any thing that thou mayest be saved or justified. The law sets thee to work; but the gospel binds thee to do nothing at all. Nay, the works are not only not required, but forbidden. God forbids us to work for justification; and when the Apostle Paul pressed men to believe, it is as much as if he had bid them not to work.

That the moral law is nothing to man. From any demand of the law no man is obliged to go one step, to give away one farthing, to eat, or omit one morsel. For what did our Lord do with the law? He abolished it. That a spiritual man beholdeth justifying grace in believing, without his obedience to commands for external worship and good works, Col. ii. 20. That outward things do nothing avail to salvation. If love to God, and love to our neighbour, and relieving the poor, be altogether unprofitable and unavoidable, either to justification or salvation, then these outward works, in submitting to outward ordinances, viz. the ordinances of Christ, are much less available. Those persons bring in the most dangerous kind of popery, and pervert the gospel of Christ, who persuade men, that if they do not submit to the ordinances of the Lord Jesus, he will not confess them before his father. It is better not to practise them on these gospel destroying principles, to the ruining of our souls. A believer has no inherent righteousness: God will save us to the utmost without any righteousness or holiness of our own. To look for inherent righteousness is to deny the spirit, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant. But believers have not any inherent righteousness in them. Our righteousness is nothing but the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. A believer has no holiness in himself, but in Christ only. The trials of the spirit, commonly called sanctification, such as love, gentleness, long-suffering, goodness, meekness, temperance, neither make us holy before God, nor in our own consciences, that is, we are not made good or holy by any inward qualities or

dispositions; but being made pure and holy in our consciences, by believing in Christ, we bear forth inwardly and outwardly the fruits of holiness. A believer does not increase in holiness as he increases in the love of God and man. The very moment he is justified, he is wholly sanctified, and he is neither more nor less holy from that hour to the day of his death. Entire justification, and entire sanctification, are in the same instant, and neither of them is, therefore, capable of increase or decrease. We are to grow in grace, but not in holiness. The moment we are justified, we are as pure in heart as ever we shall be. A new born babe is as pure in heart as a father in Christ; there is no difference.

In addition to this collective detail of the principles of the Antinomians, we shall give our readers the substance of a letter received from one of them, which, perhaps, is a more perfect view of the principles of the sect, and of many popular preachers, who yet do not separate from the church, or the sects with which they are united, on that account.

"This I have occasion to observe, that no sooner does a person believe and profess salvation alone by Christ, without works of righteousness, as done by him, but immediately upon his embracing such a profession, he shall be branded with the name of an Antinomian, though he should be at the same time, notwithstanding his change of profession, as to his behaviour and deportment in life, as unblameable as the strictest legalist whatever; from whence it is pretty evident, that the name of an Antinomian is given to many by way of reproach or ridicule, and that there are many so accounted, to whom the charge does not justly belong; because they disown all their own works in point of merit or acceptance with God; yet that is no proof, but what they may be found in the practice of all such good works as are necessary for good government and economy in society. They own the reasonableness and necessity of these, but that they do not make up or constitute any part of that kingdom which is spiritual, and is not of this world. As I am far from thinking that the religion of Jesus consists merely in externals, neither do I think that an intricate system of doctrines, such as are superior to a common understanding, is in the least necessary, but rather prejudicial to those who would be edified by what they profess. There seems to me to be two very essential points absolutely necessary, namely, the knowledge of ourselves, of the true state of human nature, and the knowledge of salvation, in and through the promised Messiah or Redeemer; or, in other words, that Jesus is the son of God, that he died for our sins and rose again for our justification, agreeable to the scripture testimony; that man is a sinner, reason and revelation afford us the most ample proof; from whence it is likewise evident, that he stands

convicted in his best doings and performances by the law of his maker, which spiritual and divine commandment entails condemnation on all who hope for mercy and acceptance by a partial and imperfect obedience. As opposites tend to illustrate, so does an acquaintance with ourselves, with the frailty and infirmity of our nature, serve to illustrate the beauty and extent of divine graces, as manifest in the person of Christ our Saviour. To speak with candour and impartiality for myself, without reference to any person or party whatever. As a Christian, I acknowledge Christ as the only foundation of my hope towards God, my acceptance with him, and rejoicing in him: I rest all my concerns for time and eternity with him, as my wisdom to guide me through all the mazes of life: I see mercy consistent with justice, and a plenitude of grace extending to the guilty, and all in harmony with every attribute of deity, in and through the one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. The harmony and consistency of the sacred pages I likewise see in him, of whom Moses and the prophets spake, every precept fulfilled by him, every threatening endured by him, and every promised blessing I lay claim unto, as my lawful inheritance, in and through him, my glorious and exalted head. In consequence of this relation between Christ, as the head and the church, his members, unspeakably great and extensive are the privileges which they have a claim unto, and yet with reverence they acknowledge the pre-eminence of their head in all things. The name of Jesus, a Saviour, is to me a sound more striking, more excellent, more harmonious, than the most melodious notes from the best tuned instruments. The whole creation, in its vast extent and variety, is to me as so many striking figures of that consummate beauty and perfection, which dwells in his adorable person; every amiable character by which he stands distinguished, is to me full fraught with instruction, admiration, and consolation; he is precious and honourable in my esteem, and the language of the apostle is with me very familiar; that is, "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, &c." While I hear of various sounds from the various sectaries, as having learned to distinguish the voice of the true shepherd, I know that never varies. I see no danger of running into error, while I have recourse to, and gather all my supplies from him, as the fountain of truth itself. Thus I go on in dependance upon, and intercourse with, my Lord and Saviour, as, having a glimpse of his glory, I sometimes contemplate the pleasures that must necessarily result from a happy and immortal existence. Till that period shall commence, my prevailing prayer and supplication is, that he would

teach me in all things by his influence and spirit, that, under a sense of my own insufficiency, I may rely upon his fulness; that, with a becoming gratitude of soul, I may acknowledge every instance of his goodness in all the dispensations of his providence and grace; that I may have a continued sense of his presence, which contains the fulness of joy; the views of his reconciled countenance, which makes life pleasant, and gives a true relish for every rational enjoyment, in forming a just estimation of persons and things; imploring in all submission to the Divine will, so as to be able to justify him in the whole of his dealings towards the children of men. But perhaps you may say, what is all this without the external and practical part? I answer, as the lesser must of consequence be subservient to the greater, so, where the religion of Jesus has its proper influence on the mind, every thing that is commendable and praiseworthy, every thing becoming a reasonable man, becoming a Christian, will be the natural product, as much as good fruit is the natural product from a good tree."

Perhaps persons acquainted with the principles of the modern Antinomians will be surprised at some things in this letter, and the vein of Christian charity that is visible in it. In short, the writer seems not to be willing to be called by that name.

With respect to the present state of Antinomians, they are much on the decline. God has implanted something in human nature that teaches even the heathens to shudder at the thoughts of a religion which does not inculcate morality. Why did Christ do good here below, unless it was to shew us an example, as well as to make an atonement for our sins? Why did Christ teach his followers to do good, and at the same time point out to them the nature and necessity of holiness, if it was not to make a part of his religion. All the apostolical epistles are full of injunctions of that nature.

Religion has been defined by that great divine Mr. Clement Elias, in his Scripture Catechist, to be a dedication of the whole man to the will of God. Now, surely Christ never came into this world to establish a system of licentiousness, and licentiousness it must be, unless the subject matter is bordered by sanctions. The sanctions of all religions are obligations to duty; and the word duty implies three things, viz. our duty to God, to our neighbour, and to ourselves. Our duty to God implies our attendance upon all such divine ordinances as are prescribed in his word. To be sincere and keep ourselves pure from all manner of pollution, and to wear ourselves as much as possible from the world. Our duty to our neighbour consists in doing them all the good offices we can, consistent with the nature of our consciences; and lastly, our duty



to ourselves consists in attending to those two above-mentioned, because the more we do so, the more we promote our own temporal and eternal interests.

All these things are, however, despised by the Antinomians, and they teach, that men may sin as much as they please; because however God may hate sin, yet he takes pleasure in forgiving it. This sentiment will, perhaps, appear dreadful to those who have any idea of the divine perfections, of the state of human nature, and the Christian dispensation. Those who name the name of Christ, should depart from iniquity; but what encouragement can there be for virtue, or moral duties, while people are taught to believe, that they are altogether unnecessary.

So far as we know, these people have not above two or three meetings in England, but consistent with the nature of their practices, and indeed the practices of all those who believe in such sentiments, they discuss their religion in public houses.

As morality is an unnecessary thing, and as holiness, say they, can be no evidence of faith, so some of them meet in a room in a public house every Sunday evening, having before them that much despised book the Bible. Each member pays for a pot of beer, which is drank by the company in a social manner. Then a text of the sacred scripture is read, and every one in his turn is called to deliver his opinion concerning it. A great deal of jargon, with no meaning ensues, and every thing is said that can possibly be thought of against holiness or good

works. The sacred scriptures are debased to the worst of purposes; namely, to set open the flood-gates of profaneness; and youth are corrupted under the prostituted name of religion.

A few foolish, weak and insignificant persons attend these meetings, and we may venture to affirm, that it is the worst thing they can do. They do all they can to pervert the scriptures, and to trample under foot every divine institution. Self-interest may teach or induce them to mind their duty in this world, but as for eternity, they are so unconcerned about it, that those awful thoughts which generally affect the minds of Christians, make no impression on them.

We are sorry to conclude this article with declaring, from the best information, that all the Antinomians in England, were originally what we commonly call Irregular Methodists. The warmth of the imagination often misleads the judgment, and induces men to take that to be true, which afterwards they find to be false. The knavish tricks practised by men who pretend to a superior rank in piety, prejudice weak minds against religion, and lead them into all sorts of absurdities. Constantine the Great used to say, that if he saw a bishop guilty of an irregularity, he would conceal it, lest it should give offence to those who were weak. Happy, if those who pretend to superior knowledge in religion, would attend to this maxim; but this naturally leads us to take notice of another sect not yet fully described.

## ACCOUNT OF THE CALVINISTICAL METHODISTS.

THERE was nothing more necessary than that these people should follow after the Antinomians, for the two following reasons.

The Arminian Methodists have acted upon a plan which we shall not call consistent, though it is plausible. On the other hand, the Antinomians have ran into wide extremes, and set up a system of licentiousness.

We have already seen that the Arminian Methodists make faith the condition of salvation; that is, that every person who believes the gospel as revealed in the New Testament, and practises the duties enjoined, will be saved. On the other hand, we have considered the Antinomians as overthrowing all the sanctions by which religion is bounded, and trampling upon the rights of human society. Between

these two extremes, we have seen the Calvinistical Dissenters, screwing things up to an ungovernable height, trampling on the right of private judgment, and establishing sentiments of a very disputed nature, with a dogmatical certainty.

Whether the Arminians, the Calvinists, and the Antinomians, are in some things mistaken, is not a matter of proper enquiry in this work: but certain it is, the Methodistical Calvinists have interwoven with their system something from Arminius, and something from Calvin. They were to abide by all the high points in disputed theology, but they were to draw from them what conclusions they pleased, and they thought proper to steer such a course as should take in those of different sentiments.

At the head of these Methodistical Calvinists was

the late celebrated and reverend Mr. George Whitfield. He was, in all respects, an original. He had perhaps, never his fellow in England, or indeed in the world. From what motives he acted we shall not say, for to his own master he stood or falleth. We have read those letters which give an account of his conversion, but whatever may be contained in them, we shall draw no harsh conclusions. To preach, to write, and to live, all are different things. Preaching may nourish our pride, in consequence of public popularity. Writing accounts of God's dealing with us may cause us to be esteemed as saints of God, while we have no interest in his favour, and consequently do not live a life corresponding with the holy gospel of Jesus Christ, who requires sincerity in all our actions. But all these things we have nothing to do with, on the present occasion, nor do we think them at all applicable to Mr. Whitfield, whom we believe to have been an eminent servant of God, and a happy instrument in his hand of turning many from the evil of their ways.

Mr. Whitfield had been early connected with Mr. Wesley, but they separated their interests, on account of a difference in sentiments; Mr. Whitfield holding fast the Calvinistical doctrines, while Mr. Wesley embraced the Arminian system, and propagated his notions with the greatest assiduity.

Notwithstanding, at the decease of Mr. Whitfield, in consequence of an agreement made between themselves, that the survivor should preach the other's funeral sermon, Mr. Wesley delivered a discourse to his memory, at Tottenham-Court chapel, before a very crowded auditory. Adjoining to this chapel they have a burying ground, which has been properly consecrated, and where every office is observed in the most regular manner.

Considerable collections are made at this part of the town, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields. The expences of carrying them on being very great, but the surplus is always employed in sending out ministers to various parts of the kingdom, and the residue divided amongst the poor and necessitous.

The followers of Mr. Whitfield are, in some of their practices, much the same as the adherents of Mr. Wesley. They have also their love-feasts, and preaching thrice on sabbath day, besides service at two or three times in the week.

The executors of Mr. Whitfield have the direction of these two very large places of worship in the neighbourhood of London, which we have already mentioned, and where vast numbers of people attend the ministrations of those who occasionally officiate.

These people have also a great number of other meetings, but so far as we know, they have no

stated preachers, but admit all those who offer their services.

As they have been always patronized by the Countess of Huntingdon, so that lady has caused several chapels to be erected for them in the most populous towns in England. Here however it is necessary to observe, that in those chapels of Lady Huntingdon, the service of the church of England is used; so that none are admitted, but such as have received canonical ordination. In some of those chapels, clergymen preach who have been brought up in the university; but in general, they are such as have received a private education. To make up some of the deficiencies in the want of preachers, Lady Huntingdon has established an academy in South Wales, where young men are brought up, and when they have acquired the rudiments of learning, these young gentlemen get into orders; we are not certain how much this practice is approved of by many learned men in the church, who are of the same sentiments with her ladyship.

A little learning with much reading, a good memory and a sound judgment, might easily qualify a man to be a good preacher, and a very useful pastor. If these young men really serve God; if they are what they call themselves, regenerated persons, then they will by all means, teach their people equally by their examples as by their preaching; if it makes an impression on their hearts, they will be afraid to give any offence, so as to have the gospel blamed.

It is certain that the rules laid down by Mr. Wesley, for the regulation of his societies, have more the appearance of primitive Christianity, than those of Mr. Whitfield. Why the latter did not strike into the same line, we know not, but notwithstanding, the Whitfield, or rather the Calvinistical Methodist preachers are more popular than Mr. Wesley's Arminian ones.

Their public service in their meetings has little difference, and indeed the chief distinction consists in their hymns. The Calvinists use a set of hymns for themselves, calculated according to the doctrines they maintain; but Mr. Wesley has hymns for all occasions whatsoever. There is generally much heat among new converts. And thus it happened, that some years ago persons were employed to sing hymns in support of each other's doctrines.

We have an instance of a similar nature in ecclesiastical history:

When Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople, he wrote hymns in defence of the Trinity in Unity, and employed several to sing them about the streets. The Arians did the same in favour of their opinions, and it frequently happened, that when two of these hymn-singers met, a battle ensued, a circumstance that might have been reasonably expected.

In their private families, the Methodists are all more or less, very fond of singing hymns. It was first proposed by their leaders as useful to take place of the common songs which are profanely sung, many of which contain much obscenity. In this respect the design of the Methodists seems to have arisen from pious motives; but then we should attend to what our Saviour says, "never to cast our pearls before swine."

Thus it too frequently happens, that as obscene ballads inflame the passions of youth, so the frequently singing of hymns, especially in the presence of a promiscuous company, takes off the force of religion, defeats its own intention, and without design opens the mouth of blasphemers.

We know but little of any public charities established by these people, except a few alms-houses

in Tottenham-Court-Road. As for sentiments concerning church government, they are professed Latitudinarians. They look upon all forms of church government in the same point of view, which is as much as to say, that they look upon them as not of Divine institution. In this they are not singular, for Mr. Hooker, bishop Stillingfleet, and archbishop Leighton, were all of the same opinion.

It is certain, that we ought not to contend much about the externals of religion, so as we can only attend to the internals; but notwithstanding, there ought to be a form of church government, according to the original plan. But we shall conclude this article with one observation, namely, "That loose notions concerning the externals of religion, lead to loose practices in the internals."

## ACCOUNT OF THOSE PROTESTANTS CALLED MORAVIANS.

IT is well known that every denomination of Christians in the world pretend, that their doctrine, worship, discipline and government, comes nearest to the primitive plan. And here it is necessary to observe, that the few lights we have to direct us for, upwards of one hundred years after the death of the apostles, have rendered things very confused; for we may be almost certain, that the rites and ceremonies used in the third century, were, for the most part, human inventions.

That the Moravians should pretend to the same high original, is not to be doubted; and we find them doing so, and calling themselves by the name of United Brethren.

Count Nicholas Lewis Zinzendorf, prince of the German empire, gave rise to this sect. He was born in 1700, and in 1721, when he came of age, he began to put in practice a scheme he had formed some years before when he was very young. He was joined by several persons, who were of his own way of thinking, and settled at Berthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, an estate which he had purchased, giving the curacy to a student of the same sentiments with himself.

Berthelsdorf soon came to be known for this sort of piety. News thereof was brought to Moravia, by a carpenter named Christian David, who had been before in that country. He embraced every opportunity of instilling his sentiments into the minds of the people, with a distaste for the superstitious of

the church of Rome, and an inclination to the Protestant religion.

Having engaged two or three of these proselytes to leave their native country, with their families, Count Zinzendorf received them kindly at Berthelsdorf. They were directed to build a house in a wood, about half a league from that village, so that on St. Martin's Day, 1722, these people held their first meeting there. It is said, that they foresaw that God would kindle a light in this place that should enlighten all the country. Christian David was so sure of the future growth of this settlement, that he divided the spot of ground round it into quarters, and marked out in what directions the streets were to run.

The event has not contradicted his prognostication. A good many people from Moravia and elsewhere, to shelter themselves under the protection of Count Zinzendorf, flocked to this new settlement, and built houses, and the Count himself fixed his residence there. In a few years it became a considerable village, having an orphan-house, and other public buildings. Thirty-four houses were built there in the year 1728, and in 1730 the number of its inhabitants amounted to six hundred. An adjacent hill, called the Huth-Berg, gave occasion to these colonists to call their place Huth-dez-Heman, and afterwards Herr-Huth, which may be interpreted the guard or protection of the Lord, and from this the whole sect has taken its name.



The HERNHUTERS soon established among themselves a sort of discipline, which closely unites them to each other, divides them into different classes, puts them under an entire dependence on their superiors, and confines them to customs, exercises of devotion, and to the observing of different sorts of little rules which, in some respects, may be called a proper bond of union.

The difference of age and sex, and the situation their members are in with respect to matrimony, constitute these different classes. There are classes of married men, married women, widowers, widows, maids, batchelors, and children. Each has its director chosen by its members. The same employments the men have among themselves, are also among the women, which are exercised by persons of their own sex.

Every member is daily visited by one of his class, who gives him exhortation, and takes care of the actual state of his soul, whereof he makes a report to the elders. Frequently particular assemblies are held in each class, and general ones by the whole society. The overseers, or leaders, have also their private meetings, to instruct one another concerning the guidance of souls. The members of each class are sub-divided in people that are unconverted, or, as they call it, dead, the awakened, the ignorant, willing disciples, and disciples that have made a progress. Proper progress in spiritual things is given to each of these sub-divisions: but above all, great care is taken of those that are spiritually dead.

They pay great attention to the instruction of youth. Besides those that have the care of orphans, there are others intrusted with the education of other children. Count Zinzendorf's zeal sometimes carried him so far, as to take children to his own house to instruct them, and these amounted in number to twenty, whereof nine or ten slept in his bed-chamber. There are assemblies held of little children, who are not in a condition to walk, and these are carried thither. Hymns are sung in these meetings, and prayers made, suitable to the capacity of these infant hearers.

The elder, co-elder, and vice-elder, superintend all the classes. There are likewise informers by office, some of them known, some of them kept secret, besides a great many other employments and titles, the detail of which would be too long and too tedious here.

A great part of their worship consists in singing. They pretend that children in particular are instructed in their religion by hymns. Count Zinzendorf relates a very extraordinary thing in his *Natural Reflections*, viz. "that the chanters of the society must have received a particular and almost inimitable gift of God: for when they are obliged to sing at the head of the congregation, their songs are

always a connected repetition of those matters that had been preached just before."

At all hours, whether day or night, some persons, of both sexes, are appointed by rotation to pray for the society. And what is most remarkable, these people, without call, clock or watch, are acquainted, by an inward feeling, when their hour comes in, which they are to perform their duty.

When the brethren perceive that the zeal of the society is declining, their devotion is revived, by celebrating Agapes or love-feasts.

The casting of lots is much practised among them. They make use of it to learn the will of the Lord.

The elders have the sole right of making matches. No promise of marriage is of any validity without their consent. The maids devote themselves to the Saviour, not that their intent is never to marry, but to marry only such a person, with respect to whom God shall have made known to them with certainty, that he is regenerated, instructed in the importance of the conjugal state, and appointed by the divine director to enter into that state.

All is extraordinary at HERNHUT. The most stubborn diseases vanish there without help: very rarely one dies of a fever. But it is common to die there of a cold, fluxion, or such like other indisposition. These are at least things Count Zinzendorf affirms in a writing, dated January 24, 1732, and presented to the ministry of the court of Dresden.

We do not find that the HERNHUTERS to the year 1729, pretended to be any thing more than members of the Lutheran church at Berthelsdorf. Indeed they were all of them either born among Lutherans, or converted from popery to the faith of the Augsburg confession: and if some amongst them entertained ideas of Calvinism, Count Zinzendorf took care to cure them of it. But from this time the HERNHUTERS, undoubtedly with a view to set their society off to better advantage, would pass for a sprig of those Bohemian and Moravian brethren, who, a long time before Luther, lived separated from the Romish church, and who in the time of the reformation entered into brotherly correspondence with the two great Protestant societies, but without uniting with either of them. And Count Zinzendorf has since that time ever talked in this strain. He pretends that these brethren originally were of the Greek church, and in process of time had united with the Waldenses, who derived their original from the Latin church.

He bestows the greatest encomiums on this Moravian church, so much renowned in former times, eclipsed and forgot afterwards, and at length, if credit may be given him, revived under his auspices at HERNHUT. He gives her the most pompous titles: as The Church of the Cross, The Church of the

Lamb, The Church of the Blood and Wounds, The Theocracy, A people wheremto never was seen the like, They are the hundred forty-four thousand servants of God marked on their foreheads, whereof St. John makes mention in his Revelation.

This descent would, without doubt, do honour to HERNHUTISM, but there is a necessity of proving it first. Let us examine whether it has ever yet been proved? So far from it, that even setting aside the doctrine of the HERNHUTERS, which openly contradicts this vain-glorious pretension, it has been acknowledged and proved by one of their own bishops, that the ancient Moravian brethren mixed with the reformed in Poland, and that not one of those that professed their doctrine remained in Bohemia and Moravia, where it has been entirely extirpated ever since the year 1620. The Moravians, who retired to HERNHUT, and who are the most inconsiderable part of the inhabitants of that village, have nothing common with the ancient Bohemian and Moravian brethren. They are Roman Catholics converted to the Protestant religion, as the HERNHUTERS themselves acknowledge.

As the HERNHUT society was begun upon the estate of Count Zinzendorf, under his protection, by his care and benefactions, and according to his ideas and views, it was but natural he should have a great authority over it. And so it happens; he has always been the soul, the oracle, and the primum mobile of it. He tells us himself that he has always been at the head of his sect, both in temporals and spirituals, and his disciples say the same. Though titles could add nothing to his authority, yet he has not disdained them. He has even made alterations in them at different times. From the year 1726, he was called the Trustee or Guardian of the Brethren, which happened in a singular manner, as he tells us himself.

Christian David, the carpenter, of whom mention has been made, being once in the count's apartment to talk with him, all on a sudden gave him this title, which afterwards was confirmed by the unanimous consent of the society. In the month of March 1730, he resigned this dignity. In September 1732, the society pressed him to take it upon him, delivering to him an appointment or call for that purpose, in form of an act, signed by the brethren and sisters that were of the privy council of the society. At that time he refused to comply, but granted their request some months after, upon a new appointment, dated January 26, 1733.

In 1737, Count Zinzendorf, who, from the age of seventeen, had believed he had a call from providence to an ecclesiastical state or condition in life, and who had already publicly preached in some of the Lutheran churches, got himself consecrated bi-

shop of his sect. From that time, according to the "Custom of Bishops," he made use of his Christian name, and that of his sex, viz. Ludovicus Moravianus. The prelate of this new-fashioned creation, nevertheless did not suffer himself to be dazzled by the lustre of his mitre. He tells us himself, that he had very little forwardness to make a figure as a bishop; and in the third general synod of HERNHUTISM, held in Gotha in 1729, he laid down his episcopal dignity; which however had made no change with respect to his office of trustee or guardian of the brethren. It appears at least, that he was still vested with it in 1742, because at that time the brethren discharged him from it. But this was only done with a view to give him a much more honourable title, viz. that of minister plenipotentiary and economist, with a power to nominate a successor, and an express clause, that nothing should be done or concluded without his consent. He did not accept this new promotion till towards the close of the following year. Lately we see him style himself Lord Advocate of the Unitas Fratrum.

Count Zinzendorf has very early been about extending his sect. He has sent his fellow-labourers throughout the world. He himself has been over all Europe, and at least twice in America. From the year 1733, a new society has been set up in Greenland; and before the end of the preceding year the missionaries of HERNHUTISM had already passed the line. The society possesses Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; and has a settlement amongst the Hottentots. China is entered into its plan. But it has no where made better conquests than in the British European dominions, in the United Provinces, and in Wetteravia; in the last province, however, where their views were discovered, they have again lost ground. They have also been turned out of the Danish dominions, where they had made a settlement.

A discipline so much overburdened as that of HERNHUTISM, could not very well take place but in a small society; and we find, that in proportion as this sect came to spread abroad, it was thought necessary to forgo, in some measure, the rigour of its rule, in order to accommodate the institution to the taste, humour, and ideas of the new proselytes. This gave rise to the modifications, forms, and different usages now in being among these sectaries.—Count Zinzendorf calls them tropes, types, and at this very time there are three of them, viz. the Moravian trope, or type, which is the most ancient; the Lutheran, which appears to him the most salutary to the children of God; and the reformed or Calvinistic trope, for which he also has a great regard; and whereof Mr. de Watteville, his coadjutor, was elected bishop in 1743. We cannot exactly say

wherein the above three modifications differ from each other: these are secrets probably known by the adepts alone.

Thus much they have thought fit to acquaint the public with, that the Bohemian confession is received by the first trope, the confession of Auhburg by the second, and that of the reformed churches in the United Provinces by the third. Indeed from the year 1748, Count Zinzendorf has made all the tropes receive the Augsburg confession; however, it is pretended, that this has made no confusion among these several modifications.

Condescension being what has given rise to these tropes, Count Zinzendorf, from the same motive, shews a general inclination to all Christian communions. He would have wrote to the pope, had he known what title to give him. He has even been persecuted for having maintained that the pope was not the Antichrist. He has sent a deputation to the patriarch of Constantinople, which has been very well received. He shews a great attachment to Lutheranism, whereof he constantly pretends himself to be a member. He boasts of being a minister of that church, and affirms, in spite of all that can be said to the contrary, that he and his brethren believe no other doctrine than what is taught by that communion. He is of late become more favourable to Calvinism, than he was in the beginning. It was in his power, says he, to have rooted it out from among the brethren; he however declined it. Although, according to him, the taking of oaths is not prohibited; yet the society, wherever it settles, is known to be averse to them, and that probably out of complaisance to the Mennonists or Anabaptists. He declares in general, that whoever embraces Herhutism need not change his religion. Such advances as these cannot but infinitely facilitate the propagation of the sect, which already boasts of decimating all nations, and pretends it has a right to all the children of God, of whatever persuasion they be.

Though Count Zinzendorf tells us, that he has sometimes met with resistance from the brethren, and that they have contradicted him; yet it appears, in general, that they have shewed great docility both for him and those he has been pleased to make partakers of his authority. Submission to the will of the superiors of the society is a very essential article of his system.

He teaches, in his sermons to the synod of Zeist, that God obeys the voice of his servants, that is to say, of the brethren: but that it is required, that first of all they agree with their friends, that they act in concert with their chief. The tractableness which he prescribes them must go so far as to suffer themselves to be led, step by step, like little children, by men whom he calls ministers of the Holy Ghost,

and of the church, representing them as being so many living images of our blessed Saviour. The irksomeness of thus obeying without reserve is great, it must be owned; but then it is much alleviated by the notion that is instilled into them, that their superiors receive from Christ himself the orders that are given. This the Count inculcates among his flock with equal care and assiduity. Every thing is done by the Saviour's injunction: "Jesus will have it so, the Lamb commands it:" this is the style of the ministers of the society. According to them the Saviour gives his orders on the very moment they are to be executed. He will not suffer that those who are to obey them have time to consider. "Thus business is done quickly, all at once, and, as it were, in post haste." These are the Count's own expressions, who looks upon this method of the Saviour, as a condescension he has for his children, with whose weakness he is not unacquainted. He knows, adds he, for instance, how it is with a maid, when she is apprised she is to marry; therefore he doth not willingly let persons know their destination much before-hand.

The sending of missionaries, according to this sect, is a business in which the Saviour is particularly concerned. Count Zinzendorf informs us minutely what the Saviour prescribes in this matter.—For instance, some of the society earnestly desiring that those of their brethren, who had been pitched upon to be sent away, should be dispatched a day sooner than the Saviour had appointed: the Count opposed this motion with so much steadiness, that it was dropped. It was to no purpose they objected, that the captains who were to take them on board at Rotterdam, would pay no regard to the day appointed by the Saviour: he resolutely answered, "They will do it; or if not, our missionaries will come in another manner, to the place for which they are destined." This example of the Count's boldness will appear less astonishing, when we attend to what he tells us further, viz. that he has found by experience, that the brethren, when the Saviour directed them in their travels, have performed amazing things; things which no art, no human precaution ever could attain to. He himself has once, without human assistance, made a voyage in eleven weeks, which another Hernhuter could not compass in less than sixty-six, because he was in the hands of men.

"The Saviour," continues this great apostle, in a prophetic strain, in his 33d sermon, preached at Zeist, "protects his people in a quite wonderful manner. My wishes and desires are, that I could bring it to pass, that we could have a couple of ships, no matter of what bulk, that belonged solely to the society, and which the maritime powers might not suspect of carrying on a trade, or being cur-



ployed in smuggling: which may be possible to obtain, and depends only on a favourable moment: then we could see wonders. For, at present, our affairs are too much blended with the business of men, with their interest and views; this makes a great alteration, and cannot but have, some way or other, an influence over the brethren. But were it once to become the Saviour's business alone, then he would let us see wonders on the sea. He would not only cause us to make voyages with great swiftness, but to land where never any body landed. A tempest would be sufficient to bring us to the intended place. In case leave was denied us to enter a port, we should be conveyed into some inaccessible bay, at some miles distance from the port, where we might land, and no body could find fault with it, because it would appear, that we were arrived there by stress of weather. This would cost nothing to the Saviour, it would be a play to his angels."

Count Zinzendorf tells us himself, that the commission of the society was never calculated for a general conversion of the heathen; that the time of this great event is not as yet come; but that the society being an election, a chosen people, it must have the firstlings, or first fruits, here and there among the heathens.

The little number the brethren have hitherto converted to the Christian faith, is but a comfort which the Saviour has granted them to make them amends for their labours, and they believe themselves well rewarded for their toil, if in two hundred voyages they make but one hundred converts. He also tells us, that the Hernhuters, in order to acquire the firstlings of paganism, chuse to look out for them amongst those heathens, that have had the least or no communication at all with the pretenders to Christianity, rather than among the last.

As the brethren have always a great number of labourers on the roads, oftentimes among these their chief himself with his family and retinue; and as, besides, their undertakings, and the acquisitions they make require considerable expence, it is necessary they should have what is called the sinew of all great schemes, money. Thus we find they have sometimes established a fund called by them the Lamb's or the Saviour's chest, which is become very considerable by the contributions and donations of the proselytes of Hernhutism, and its favourers. From the beginning, two brethren were trusted with it; of whom one kept the chest, and the other the key; but Count Zinzendorf has always had the principal direction over it. This addition of temporal concerns must infallibly have crushed him under its weight, he being already so much taken up with the spiritual one's of his society, had he not found in the countess, his spouse, a proper assistant to share

his fatigues with him. In a manuscript history of the society, whereof the count gives us some abstracts in the appendix of his Natural Reflections, it is said, that his lady, during a time of twenty-six years, has so well husbanded the scanty funds of the society, that nothing was ever wanting either in his family, or amongst the brotherhood, though there had been a necessity of furnishing from thence above one million of crowns for sundry undertakings.— Upon the whole, it is well known, that whoever desires to be received as a brother, is not welcome among them unless he contributes to the chest. The count says himself, "That the economists of the society may say to a young rich man, Either give us all thou hast, or get thee gone; give us all thou hast or thou shalt not be with us."

We have already hinted at the rapid progress made by Hernhutism. Here follows another curious detail, which Count Zinzendorf himself gives us in his Natural Reflections, &c. wrote in the years 1748 and 1749. This will shew if credit may be given to what he says, what situation the sect was in at that time. The society, says he, had almost a thousand labourers dispersed all over the world.— This number however, was not yet sufficient; for, in proportion as they worked, the harvest increased. Twenty-four nations had been awakened from their spiritual drowsiness, by the care of these apostles. "We preach, says he, to an innumerable number of souls in fourteen languages, amongst whom, without reckoning those that do not belong to the Protestant religion, nor the Jews and heathens, there are at least twenty thousand people that were not born Lutherans, whom we nevertheless convert to the Augsburg confession, and indeed we cannot recommend to them a better constitution, than the church of the brethren. We have, adds he, ninety-eight establishments, amongst which are castles that have 20, 30, or 90 apartments." The missionaries of the Hernhuters do not go and preach in every place, where their ministry is required. On the 28th of February, 1748, they had received above one hundred and seventy invitations, only from Easter of the foregoing year, with regard to which they had not as yet taken any resolution.— In the mean while they are not idle. In the year 1740, they had already made two hundred voyages by sea. As to the progress the sect has made abroad for these three years, I shall not venture to speak of as we have not sufficient materials for the purpose; but as for the success they have met with in these kingdoms, and are daily making, every body is an eye witness of. It is to be supposed, that their success from the year 1749, must surpass that of the two years above mentioned."

Since the publication of the above account, the Moravians have not perhaps, increased, as the writ-

ings of Mr. Rinius, and the narrative of Andrew Frey, have done them great disservice with the sober part of mankind. They were established here, in England, by an act passed in June 1749, and are in considerable numbers in this kingdom and its plantations, as well as in Ireland and Scotland. The public have yet felt no inconvenience from their admission and toleration, nor are likely to feel any, as they are in general, an industrious set of people.

We come now to the tenets of HERNUTHISM. As long as HERNUTH belonged to the church of Berthelsdorf, the society was held in great esteem, and not at all suspected to differ from the confession of Augsburg. This was the reason, for which the theological faculty at Tubingen, did not scruple to grant them those testimonials, to which Count Zinzendorf has since that time always referred himself, to prove the soundness of his doctrine. We do not know, nor is it material to enquire, whether Count Zinzendorf began to broach his new doctrine, immediately upon the beginning of the first establishment of the society at HERNHUT; it seems more likely, that as he enlarged his plan, he enlarged his notions also. Thus much is certain, that it is no easy matter to come at the tenets of this sect, on account of the great obscurity affected by their teachers. They seem to make it their study, to speak and write that they may not be understood. It is a rule among them, to speak to those that are not initiated into the mysteries of the theology of blood and wounds, that is to say, their own theology, in a manner, that they may not be able to tell again any thing of what they have heard. They act, says Count Zinzendorf himself, in the same manner as one would do, who, to catch people that are too curious, writes in a character they are not able to decypher. They succeed wonderfully in this kind of style. Sometimes they are quite unintelligible. At other times they begin to express themselves clearly, but on a sudden become too obscure to be understood. They are seldom entirely clear, and nevertheless shew often too great a clearness. For indeed those things that escape them, and are easy to be understood, do no honour either to their judgment or understanding. The reader will be convinced of it by the specimens we are going to lay before him. We shall take a great number of them from Count Zinzendorf's theological opinions, and his sermons preached in America, and at Zeist, in the province of Utrecht. These last, to the number of fifty-six, were delivered to the synod of the brethren, held at the last-mentioned place in 1746, and are printed and published by the society in one volume. The Count has not put his name to it; for, according to a letter inserted in *Siegfried's Bescheidene Belichtung*, directed by him to all kings, electors, princes, &c. he has, left off, long ago, to

put his name to his writings. But it is impossible to read these sermons, without perceiving him to be the author; besides this he declares himself very clearly in the preface, where he says, that the business of the author of these sermons is to exercise the office of syndic of the synods, to superintend the records, to administer the liturgy, to prepare matters and propose them. We the more willingly make use of these sermons, as they have been preached for the instruction of several fellow-labourers, English and Dutch, lately received among the sect, and since the preacher proposes there to himself, to put into a better light certain central ideas, by which one ought to regulate one's actions, words and thoughts. If it be possible to meet any where with the tenets of HERNUTHISM, it must be in them.

We begin with the idea this sect has of the scripture. Though Count Zinzendorf doth not, as yet, think proper to disown the scripture, yet the indifferent manner, in which he gives his opinion of it, shews what he aims at. He says in a sermon preached at Philadelphia, that the style of the scripture is sometimes like that of a carpenter, sometimes like that of a fisherman, or of a toll-gatherer. Christ himself had spoke very meanly, and used many a phrase becoming a peasant, which is now looked upon to imply something of quite a different nature, since we are unacquainted with the manner of speaking used by the journeymen of Nazareth. He prescribes a method to his missionaries, how to deal with the comptrollers of the scripture, by whom he means those that desire proofs of every doctrine out of the scripture, viz. that they ought to prove all such things by the defects or imperfections of these writings, which those comptrollers pretend to make good by the perfection and infallibility of the scripture. The reading of the scripture appears to him to be more dangerous than useful to the society.

According to Count Zinzendorf, the doctrine that God the Father is our Creator, the Son our Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost our Sanctifier, is a false doctrine, and one of the capital errors that reign in Christendom. Creation and sanctification ought not to be ascribed to the Father and the Holy Ghost. To avoid idolatry, people ought to be taken from the Father and Holy Ghost, and conducted to Christ, with whom alone we have to do. The ancients never dreamt of a Trinity; whoever adores the Father and the Holy Ghost, differs not from a servant of Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, or of any great hero to whom the ancients gave the title God. Our great doctor appears so positive of the orthodoxy of his new opinion, that he calls the theology received among Christians, a dry one, and good for nothing else than to amuse dogs and swine,

unbelievers and atheists, invented by the devil, and that such as teach us are Satan's professors. Satan has thought within himself, says he, "Men shall not come to see the Father," that is the true Father, who is the Saviour, according to Count Zinzendorf; "I'll conduct them round about the Saviour, I'll represent to them a phantom of a Father, and they shall think, as the Jews formerly did, that this is their God; thus the Saviour shall not get them.—By this means, I'll keep them in my power, whilst they think within themselves they are very wise. The mistake among Christians, adds he, arises from their not comprehending, that it is honour enough for the Father, to be the Father of God the Creator of all things, and to be his own and only Father.

The Holy Ghost is called by the Hernhutens, the eternal wife of God, the mother of Christ, the mother of the faithful, the mother of the church.—Count Zinzendorf, in the sixth part of his *Natural Reflections*, gives a long detail to justify this change he makes in the common theology. He looks upon it as important and necessary; complaining much, that, since the Reformation, people are in gross ignorance concerning the person of the Holy Ghost, and that the divines in this article commit a very palpable omission. He adds, that such as cannot comprehend the mystery of the Trinity in the manner he explains it, want undoubtedly uprightness of heart more than understanding.

Thus it appears, that the Son is chiefly the object of the Hernhutens worship. Though Count Zinzendorf in plain words calls him the carpenter Jesus, having taken along with him, into his glory, the poor figure he made in this world, yet the most tender names are given him. He is called their Lamb, their little Lamb, their little Jesus. They make his name of the feminine gender, calling him their mother, their mamma Jesus. The creation, redemption, and sanctification is the work of Christ, but the Father and Holy Ghost minister to him in all of them, which is the identical word they use in expressing themselves on this head. "Whoever believes in Christ, though he knows nothing more of the Godhead, will be saved. The apostles, to avoid idolatry, had not baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, but in Christ's name only. God had darted his Son as a flash of lightning, and the Son by his incarnation had made a parenthesis in the Godhead. What in common life is called a grandfather, a father-in-law, such was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Son had taken it as a favour, that he was allowed to become man and go out of the Godhead. Christ had not conquered as God, but as a man, with the same strength we conquer. God had assisted him, and he assists us also. Christ had not had the least power more than

we have. He had laid aside his Godhead, and wrought miracles as men are able to do."

They have a great devotion for the five red wounds of the crucifixion, but that which Christ received in his side is extolled above all the rest.—This is "their favorite wound, the very dear little holy opening, the precious and thousand times pretty little side." They kiss this wound, they kiss the spear that made it, and would kiss the soldier whose hand had conducted the spear; they thank him for it. It is in this opening that the faithful reposes himself; there he breathes, there he sports, there he lays down sometimes length-wise, sometimes cross-wise: there is his country, his house, his hall, his little bed, his little table: there he eats, there he drinks, there he lives, there he praises the dear little Lamb.

The Hernhutens have this distinguishing character of fanaticism, that they reject reason, reasoning and philosophy. The children of God do not instruct themselves out of books. To demonstrate religion, to make it as evident as four times four are sixteen, is an useless and superfluous labour.—Faith does not require the least demonstration. It is brought forth in the heart by the Holy Ghost. The children of God believe, because they find pleasure in believing. Nevertheless this faith produced without reasoning, serves them instead of all other things. No other commandment should be preached to men, than that of believing. This is Count Zinzendorf's doctrine.

Regeneration comes of itself, without our being required to do any thing towards it. It is a capital truth, says our Moravian bishop, that such as have not received grace, that are not yet children of God, that have not yet a feeling of their reconciliation, that do not know yet upon what terms they are with their Creator and Saviour, ought not to be engaged to prepare themselves for it by any action, good works, good resolutions. They must be told, that all that has been believed hitherto to be a preparation for coming to God, is rather an hindrance to their salvation. Regeneration is brought about suddenly, all at once. One moment is sufficient to make us free to receive grace, to be transformed to the image of the little Lamb.

A person regenerated enjoys great liberty. He doth what the Saviour gives him an inclination to do, and what he has no inclination for, he is not obliged to do. He doth what the Saviour makes him do, for he is the master, in whose power it is to make laws and to repeal them; who at all times can change the oeconomy of salvation; make criminal what was virtuous, and virtuous what was criminal.

It is wrong to say that a regenerated person doth any thing; properly speaking they do nothing. It



is the Saviour that acts for them. He is with respect to the Saviour as a child, whose hand one guides, yet who believes it is himself that works, and rejoices at it.

On the great day of judgment the *Hernhuters* will not be placed on the Saviour's left hand among those that are goats; this is to be understood of course. Nor will they be amongst those called the sheep on the right hand of the judgment seat, a place of honour they look upon too mean to be assigned them. Count Zinzendorf tells us, that the words, "Holy angels coming with the Saviour in his glory," denote the saints coming along with him, and that the *Hernhuters* will be those saints that accompany him. He adds, that such as do not die *Hernhuters*, will have mercy on that day, provided they think favourably upon their dying bed of those belonging to that sect.

The circumcision of the Saviour has, according to them, served to shew of what sex he was. It has likewise restored to honour that part of the human body, which as a consequence of Adam's fall, was become a disgrace to it; inasmuch, that it is at present the most noble, and the most respectable part of a man's body. The sisters are exhorted never to think of it, but with sentiments of the most profound veneration. They are even thought to make a scruple of respecting men for any other reason. The organ of generation of the other sex is no less honourable. It has been sanctified by the birth of the Saviour. We abate of the strength of our author's expressions whilst we abridge him, for fear of offending the modesty of our readers.

All the souls are of the feminine sex. There are only *anima*, and no *animi*, says the Moravian bishop with great elegance. To think that there are male souls, would be, according to this profound divine, the greatest folly, a chimera, which ought not to enter the thoughts of a Christian, were he even in the midst of an high fever. All that is of the male quality, and was adapted to our body, is detached from it as soon as it is interred. It belongs not to its natural and primitive state: it is an addition made to it afterwards: it is the seal of the office which the male sex is intrusted with. For, our sex is an employment, an office. Jesus is the spouse of all the sisters, and the husbands, in the most proper sense, are his procurators, his agents, in every respect like those ambassadors in ancient times, who, on marrying a princess in the name of their master, put a booted leg in the wedding-bed. A husband is also properly no more than a chamberlain of his wife; his office is but for a time, and ad interim. However, the titles which the count gives him are not less glorious: he is Vice-Christ, Vice-God. The sisters are conducted to Jesus by the ministry of their husbands, who thus are their savi-

ours in this world. When therefore a marriage is made, what is the reason of it? Because there was a sister, who should be brought to the true spouse by the mediation of such a procurator. Count Zinzendorf, in a conference on this subject, held at Osy with the seventh-day men, made use of the following expressions, which, to avoid scandal as much as possible, we shall soften a little:

"Christ in his person, is not only espoused, but even wedded to every believer."

From what has been said, two consequences naturally result, which have not escaped the count.—The one is, that whoever knows himself to be a man ought to acknowledge the dignity that is in him, and honour the choice that has been made of his person. The other, that marriage is the most precious depositum the Saviour has intrusted with his church; that is to say, without doubt, to the society of *Hernhuters*, and the most important mystery to which he has given them the key. Considering this we cannot at all be surprised at being told, that they look upon all that are married out of their society to live in fornication and adultery.

The male sex consists of married men, unmarried men, and widowers. According to their original plan, all that had passed the twenty-first year, should be married. After these years, say they, the state of marriage is a brutish state, a state of madness, where no one knoweth himself.

Besides this division of men into these classes, there is another more general one, by which they are distinguished into two choirs; one instructs the married people of both sexes, and the other the unmarried ones. Zinzendorf was very strict in his discipline; and indeed he seems to have had all that austerity which constitutes the founder of a sect.—In this he differed much from Christ; for our Saviour not only went about doing good, but he never refused to eat or drink with men, although of most profane characters.

Such are the outlines of the history of these people; but we shall consider them in a more extensive point of view, after briefly stating some of their opinions, as drawn up by Mr. Wesley; and then, from their own writings, we shall see whether his assertions are true or false.

"They believe and teach, says Mr. Wesley, that Christ has done all that was necessary for the salvation of mankind; that consequently we are to do nothing, as necessary to salvation, but sincerely to believe in him; that there is but one command and one duty now, namely, to believe in Christ; that Christ has taken away all other commands and duties, having wholly abolished the law; that the believer is therefore free from the law, and is not obliged thereby to do or omit any thing, it being inconsistent with his liberty, to do any thing as com-

manded. That there is no such thing as degrees in faith, or weak faith, since he has no faith who has any doubt or fear. That we are sanctified, wholly the moment we are justified, and neither more nor less holy to the day of our death; entire sanctification and entire justification being in one and the same interest. That a believer is never sanctified or holy in himself, but in Christ only. He has no holiness in himself at all, all his holiness being imputed, not inherent. That a man may feel peace which passeth all understanding, may rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and have the love of God and of all mankind, with dominion over all sin; and yet all this may be only nature, animal spirits, or the force of imagination. That if a man regards prayer, or teaching the scriptures, is commonly as matters of duty; if he judges himself obliged to do these things, or is troubled when he does them not, he is in bondage, he has no faith at all, but is seeking salvation by the works of the law. That, therefore, till we believe, we ought not to pray, search the scriptures, or communicate.

We leave the reader to form what notion he pleases of these sentiments which border near upon the Antinomian scheme; but then he must hear what they have to say for themselves, which we shall relate with the strictest impartiality, after we have given the history of their missions.



### *History of the Missions of the United Brethren, as given by themselves.*

The first mission sent out by the united brethren, was to the Island of St. Thomas, the occasion of which was as follows. A negro having come to visit Hernhuth in Germany, where these people were settled, he told the brethren that his mother, a negro woman, who lived in that island, would beglad to hear of the Saviour.

This stirred up a desire in some to go thither, and Leonard Dobec, afterwards a Moravian bishop, resolved for the sake of these poor heathens, even to become a slave himself, if he could find no other means of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. He went to St. Thomas's in the year 1732, and began to declare to them the word of revelation.

He was followed by others, and the testimony of the death of the Lord of life and glory, for the sins of the world, began to operate upon the hearts of the poor negroes. In 1736, the first of three negroes who had embraced the gospel, was baptized, and then a sort of opposition arose.

The white people, from some false principles, hindered the conversion of the negroes to Christianity. The missionaries, and those negroes who

came to them to hear the gospel, were obliged to endure and suffer much. The late count Zinzen-dorf, whose zeal for the happiness of his fellow creatures, and particularly of the heathens, could not be restrained by any difficulties, arrived in the island of St. Thomas in the year 1739. He found some of the missionaries in prison; but, upon his request, the governor set them at liberty. From that time the gospel has been preached there uninterruptedly, although the negroes have, ever since then, undergone many hardships, and borne many afflictions for the sake of the gospel.

The ministry of the brethren of St. Thomas, and the two adjoining islands of St. Crux and St. Jan, has been crowned with great success, so that many thousands of poor benighted negroes have been enlightened, and have believed in the name of the Lord Jesus, and been brought to the enjoyment of the blessings purchased by his blood.

These negroes are also a proof that a genuine reformation in principles and practice is always inseparable from true conviction, and the proprietors of the estates acknowledge this to be the fruit of the gospel; that their slaves, since they have believed in Jesus, are become faithful, obedient, and diligent; yea, the magistrates themselves have more than once declared, that the baptized nations are a greater security to them than their forts. The brethren have built chapels for the negroes for divine worship in each of the three Danish islands, and the number of negroes who are now under the care of the brethren, amount to about six thousand. Many of these poor creatures are very pious, and when they die, it is generally in a triumphant manner, trusting for salvation in the merits of Christ.

In the year 1754, some gentlemen of considerable possessions in Jamaica, being much concerned for the salvation of the souls of their poor negroes, desired that a mission might be established in that island which was agreed to; and they, with a zeal that is uncommon this age, made the mission in the beginning to be attended with great success. This mission has been the only one begun by us that met with encouragement in the beginning. It was soon seen that the Holy Ghost had prepared the hearts of many of the negroes to receive the gospel, and some fruits appeared quickly. But though the difficulties from without were not of such a nature as to obstruct the labourers of the brethren, as was apparently the case in other places, yet in a few years, the seed which had sprung up seemed to wither and die away. But these last years, there has been a most blessed revival, and the word has been preached at several places in the island with such success, that there are now several congregations of baptized negroes, who adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

In the island of Antigua a mission has also been established since the year 1756. Though the progress of the gospel has not been so rapid, nor the effects so striking here as in Jamaica; yet many negroes have received the word of atonement with joy and are become partakers of the redemption in the blood of Christ. The brethren have a house and chapel at St. John's, where, according to our latest accounts, many negroes attend the preaching constantly. The brethren preach also to the negroes on the several plantations.

The last mission sent to the Caribbee Islands was to Barbadoes. The negroes on this island were often the subject of the thoughts and prayers of many of the brethren; but when the way and manner of establishing a mission there was taken into consideration, we saw difficulties which seemed insurmountable. After making an attempt which did not answer, in the year 1765, a brother in England resolved to go thither, to attempt to bring the negroes to the knowledge of the truth. He was joined soon by another brother from America. These missionaries found favour in the eyes of some of the gentlemen of the island, and many negroes shewed a desire to hear the glad tidings of redemption from sin by the blood of Christ. The work of the Holy Ghost was soon apparent. The missionaries were enabled to purchase a spot of ground, to fit up a dwelling for themselves, and a hall in which the negroes could meet. Many fruits already appear, and some negroes have been baptized.

Besides these islands on which missions are established, the brethren have visited several others; and as the negroes, who have received the faith, are often either sold or transported to estates of their masters' on other islands, they have brought the glad tidings of great joy to the negroes there; and we have reason to believe, that they prove a good savour, even where there are no established missions.

We will now turn our eyes to Asia, though we cannot give you so joyful an account from that quarter of the globe, as you have above from America.

In the year 1759, with the concurrence of the court of Denmark and the Asiatic Company at Copenhagen, a colony of brethren went to Tranquebar, in the neighbourhood of which they formed a settlement, with a view to a mission among the Indians on the coast of Coromandel, and particularly to establish a settlement on the Nicobar Islands. At length, in the year 1768, they accomplished what they had almost given up as impracticable, viz. the establishment of a small colony in the Nicobar islands. The Indians received them kindly, gave them land to live on, and, by the last accounts, we have reason to believe, that as our brethren learn

the language, these poor Indians will reap the blessings of the gospel. Of the six who went the first time to these islands, two departed this life very soon.

Some brethren have also gone to Ceylon, at two different times, to try, if possible, to bring the gospel among the Cingalese; but they could not obtain their aim, though their abode there was not entirely without fruit.

In the year 1747, two brethren went to Persia, with the view of finding the followers of the ancient Magi or Gauri; but they could not obtain their aim, on account of the troubles of the war, which raged there at that time.

The empress of Russia having granted the brethren some land in the kingdom of Astracan, on the banks of the Wolga, a colony is now established there, and we are not without good hopes that God will bless and enable them to bring the gospel among the heathens who are on the borders of that country, and who already shew a particular affection for them.

Thus in Asia a beginning is made, and we cannot but hope that our Lord, who has opened the door, will grant us to see the same happy effects as are evident in so many other places.

The fruits of the travail of Christ's soul upon the natives of this quarter of the globe, are seen in the greatest numbers among the negroes in the American islands, who came from the coast of Guinea, and other parts of Africa. Even as early as in the year 1737, two brethren went to Guinea, to preach the gospel to the negroes there; but one of them departing this life soon after their arrival, no farther attempt was made to establish a mission on the coast of Guinea till the year 1767, when, at the desire of the African company at Copenhagen, and after an agreement had been made by the said company, and confirmed by his Danish majesty, five brethren went thither in one of the company's ships.

But very soon after their arrival, three of them, among the rest the chief missionary, were taken off by a malignant fever. The remaining two spent some time in a sickly state at the Danish fort; but last year three brethren more went to them, attended by another to assist them in settling in their proper habitation. One of the three who went last, departed this life soon after his arrival.

The Danish governor presented the brethren to the king of Achem, who received them into his friendship, and gave them leave to settle in any part of his territories wherever they might chuse. Thereupon they sought out a proper place, where, by the last accounts, they were employed in building a house, in order to enter upon the work of the mission.

An attempt has also been made to bring the gospel among the Hottentots at the Cape of Good



Hope. Our brethren lived five years among them, begun a school for the children, and baptized also seven adult Hottentots. But certain circumstances interfering, this mission could not be continued.

I could also give you an account of some other attempts of the brethren towards the furtherance of the kingdom of Jesus in Africa, but as they do not properly belong to the class of missions among the heathens, I shall only name two to you.

One of these attempts has the Copta in Egypt, and Abyssinia for its special object; and three brethren are now resident at Cairo in Egypt, for that purpose.

The aim of the other was directed to the salvation of the poor Christian slaves in Algiers. Our brother Richter went thither in the year 1740, where he, while preaching to the slaves sick of the plague, got the same disorder, which proved the means of his dissolution. Another brother staid there from the year 1744 to 1748, serving, and preaching to the slaves.

I will not take up more of your time in relating many other important and striking incidents attending our mission. But I cannot conclude this part of my narrative without mentioning our present attempts to form a mission on the coast of Labrador, among the savage Esquimaux.

In the year 1752, some merchants in London fitted out a ship for that coast, and they had the good intention of assisting the brethren to form a mission among the Indians there. Accordingly four missionaries went with this ship, and took the frame of, and materials for, a house with them, intending to stay in that country, and to dwell among the Indians. They arrived safely upon the coast, and the missionaries erected their house on a convenient spot. The ship sailed further northwards, with a view to trade, some Esquimaux came on board, and appeared very kind and loving; but at length enticed the mate, who was a brother, and some others away from the ship, under the pretence of trade, and then murdered them.

After those on board had waited some days in vain for the return of their companions, they sailed back to the place where the four brethren had built their house, and from thence to Europe. The four missionaries were obliged to return with the ship, to help to work her; though some of them left Labrador with great reluctance, notwithstanding the imminent danger to which they would be exposed, by their staying alone among the cruel savages. The same vessel sailed thither again next year, and the bodies of those who had been murdered were found: but that was all they obtained by this voyage.

Still the Esquimaux were objects of our special attention; and in the year 1764, a brother, who had been in Greenland, and had learned the Green-

landish language, being impelled in his own mind to go among the Esquimaux, went with the blessing of the congregation to Newfoundland, and from thence to Terra Labrador, where he, after surmounting many difficulties, got a sight of the Esquimaux. It was a great joy to him, and no less a surprize to them, that they could understand each other. By this means it was discovered, that the supposition of our brethren in Greenland, that the Esquimaux and Greenlanders were originally the same nation, was matter of fact; and thus a friendly intercourse commenced between the brethren and Esquimaux.

In the year 1765, the same brother, with three others, went again to Newfoundland and to the coast of Labrador, being encouraged thereto by the worthy governor of Newfoundland, commodore Palliser, by the Board of Trade and Plantations, and by the Lords of the Admiralty. Two of them went from Newfoundland in a small vessel, to reconnoitre the coast, but to little purpose. But the chief consequence of this voyage was, that at length the Esquimaux came down to Chateau bay, and our brethren had frequent opportunities to speak with them of their Creator and Redeemer. There was also a peace and treaty concluded between the Esquimaux and the English, and the former promised that they would be obedient to his majesty king George, &c. By this interval the brethren and the Esquimaux became better acquainted, and the latter invited the former to come and live among them.

As it was the wish of the brethren to be a blessing to this nation, and to reside among them, so we could not but desire to have it in our power to form a settlement among those heathens, and to have such a parcel of land, that the Esquimaux who sought their salvation, might dwell there together unmolested. Application being made to government for a grant of land, we met with all the encouragement we could wish; but the execution of the grant was delayed till the year 1769.

In the mean time a company of Esquimaux coming in the year 1768 to Chateau bay, began again their old practices of murdering and stealing. These were attacked by a party of English, and several were killed on the spot, and some taken prisoners and brought to Newfoundland. But a woman, and her son about six years old, and a boy of about thirteen or fourteen years old, were brought to England. This boy was given by governor Palliser to the brethren's society for the furtherance of the gospel. The woman and her son were treated with great kindness, and her Royal Highness the Princess dowager of Wales, the duke of Gloucester, and sundry persons of distinction took notice of her, and loaded her with presents. She was sent back with her son in the year 1769, by the officer with whom she came to England. The above-mentioned

boy, whose name was Karpik, lived some time with us in Chelsea, and was a real pleasure to all those who saw him. He was lively, docile, and of quick natural parts; and though he had sometimes fits of sullenness and obstinacy, yet in general he was very good natured. He was in June 1769 sent to our settlement at Fulneck in Yorkshire, under the care of one of the four brethren who had made the voyage to Labrador in 1765, and who could speak Greenlandish.

Karpik was taught there to read and write, and made a good proficiency. His kind guardian spoke much with him of the miserable state of an unconciled sinner, and of the love of his Creator.—His heart was touched and often affected, and he could at last begin to ask questions upon these heads himself. At length he was taken ill with the small pox. The missionary finding he was a proper object, baptized him on his sick-bed, in the presence of as many as the room where he lay could conveniently hold; and the baptism was performed in the Esquimaux language: soon after he, as the first fruit of this savage nation, departed with joy, calling upon the name of the Lord. We felt pain on account of this loss; for we loved the youth, and hoped, that he would in time prove of real service to his nation.

Every thing touching the intended settlement being agreed upon, some brethren in London resolved to form a company, and fit out a ship to carry the missionaries to the coast of Labrador in order to visit the Esquimaux, to fix upon the land on which a future settlement should be made, and to prepare every thing in the best manner they could for that purpose. Accordingly a ship was bought, and fitted out and sailed in May 1770. Three brethren went as missionaries, and several accompanied them as assistants. Our Lord's providence procured us a captain fit for the purpose. This voyage has been crowned with success; they have been preserved from great danger, and have been favourably received by the Esquimaux. The missionaries have preached the gospel often to them in large and small companies, and they have reason to hope, not without effect. Thus far the Lord has graciously helped us.

Now we are preparing to form a settlement among them, and as the Esquimaux are noted for their thieving, treacherous and cruel disposition, we trust in the Lord, that he will protect our brethren, when they live among them, and help us also with regard to the considerable expences this expedition will be attended with. Having already greatly exceeded the bounds of this narrative, we will not dwell upon other attempts of the brethren which are now in hand, but proceed to the question: By what

means are the brethren enabled to support such very large undertakings?

Our missions among the heathens have been furthered and supported with great zeal and concern of heart by the late Count Zinzendorf, from their very beginning, to his entering into the joy of his Lord. At first the missions were but few, and the expences required for their support did not amount to very considerable sums. But as the missions became more numerous from time to time, some members of the congregation, and other friends, found themselves moved to take share in, and promote, by voluntary contributions, the furtherance of the gospel; and this they did either by assisting the brethren's missions in general, or one or another mission in particular.

As these missions continually grew more and more numerous and considerable, God has caused his kind assistance also to increase. Yet now and then, particularly when new establishments were formed, the brethren who were appointed to provide for the missions, have been obliged to borrow money for the purchase of as much land as was needful for the building of dwellings for the missionaries, &c. till they were enabled to pay it off again, as it came in. But that every thing relating to the missions might be transacted in a suitable and orderly manner, sensible and faithful men are chosen from time to time, at the synods of the unity, who are appointed deputies to manage the diaconate of the missions. They have the general care of the external affairs of the missions in all parts of the world; they receive the voluntary contributions from the brethren's congregations and from other friends; for the missions have no other funds than those contributions; they do their utmost to defray the necessary expences by this means, and they keep regular accounts of the receipts and disbursements. The diaconate of the missions have not only the care of providing for the missionaries on their voyages and journeys by land and sea; of supporting them, as far as lies in their power, when they are among the heathens; but also of providing for their children in the schools appointed for the education of our children in Europe or America, and also for the widows of such who depart this life in the labour among the heathens.

The brethren who at present are employed in providing for the missions in general, have an arduous task; they serve joyfully the work of God among the heathens without any salary, and their only recompence is, that they are employed in such an important cause of our Lord, and that they assist in the propagation of the gospel.

It would be impossible for these brethren to provide all that is required for the support of the mis-

sions, if on the one hand the Lord had not unkindled a zeal in our congregations, and in the hearts of the members thereof, and of those friends out of our circle, who wish to see the kingdom of God come, and who have been informed of the circumstances of our missions, to take share in, and to lend real assistance to this work of God, so that the poorest are willing to throw in their mites: and if, on the other hand, our missionaries, and their assistants among the heathens, did not make it their concern to be as frugal as possible. The missionaries, as much as their occupation in preaching the gospel, and taking care of the souls of the poor heathens will permit, do their utmost to earn their own bread by their own hands, and thus to make the care of those employed in providing what is necessary for the missions, as easy as possible to them. This is more particularly the case in some places, as in St. Thomas, where our brethren have been able, through the regulations they have made, to provide for their maintenance almost entirely; so that now commonly nothing falls upon the diaconate of the missions, except the journeys and voyages thither and back again, and such extraordinary expences, as building of chapels, &c.

In the year 1742, some brethren, who lived in London, formed themselves into a society, by the name of the Brethren's Society for the furtherance of the Gospel, with a view to assist in this blessed work, to which they were the more encouraged, as a great part of the missionaries who pass and repass, naturally go by the way of London. This little society in the beginning did more than they themselves, at first, could have expected. It was, however, for several years in a declining state. But, about two years ago, the old members of the society formed themselves anew into a body, to which they added several others. Since then they have continued in a state of blessed activity, and been enabled, by their own voluntary contributions, by gifts from friends out of our circle, and by two small legacies, to lend real assistance to the missionaries who have passed through London, and among the rest they have defrayed the whole of the passage of the missionaries who went this year to the coast of Labrador; and they hope, by the blessing of the Lord, to lend considerable assistance to the establishment of the mission settlement on that coast next spring.

Thus they afford a great assistance to the general diaconate of the missions. You have a more full account of this Society for the furtherance of the Gospel, in a letter from J. H. to a friend, published in the year 1768.

I cannot conclude without observing, that as there is no fixed salary settled upon any missionary, nor any prospect of their ever gaining the least pecu-

niary advantage by their entering into this service, nothing but the love of Christ can constrain them to engage in this work; and their only reward is, when they see the heathens, overcome by Divine grace, bowing their knees unto, and joining already here below in praising "the Lamb that was slain, who has loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

Notwithstanding all the regulations made, as above related, we are often in pain that it is not in our power to give more effectual assistance to those who, in the service of our Lord among the heathens, venture their lives, and carry their souls in their hands, and to render their arduous work more easy to them.

Thus, my dear friend, I have given you a brief, though a much longer account, than I intended.

He who has bought the souls of men with his own blood, and who "shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession," be praised for what he has done by means of the brethren: and I am persuaded, that all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and wish for the happiness of their fellow-creatures, will join in prayer, that the Lord of the harvest may continue to bless and prosper this important work, until "the knowledge of the Lord covereth the earth even as the waters cover the sea."

The Esquimaux, who are the inhabitants of the coast of Labrador, have been hitherto known under no character but that of thieves, murderers, and savages; but the brethren of the mission found them much deficient from what they had been represented. They found they were the same with those in Greenland, from the similarity of their language, and the affinity of their customs. Many brethren offered themselves to enter upon this arduous undertaking, though they were not ignorant of the dangers that attended it. Out of these, three married couple, one widower, and seven single men were fixed upon to begin this settlement. The names of them were as follow:

Jens Haven, who was the first brother that went in search of the Esquimaux, felt that even before he went to Greenland, an impulse to carry to this savage nation the gospel of their redemption; and undismayed by the many difficulties and dangers which he had met with, and might still have to encounter, he went with his wife in his company.

The next was Christian Laersen Drahten, an old missionary, who had served the Lord twelve years among the Greenlanders, waited as a widower many years, with earnest desire that the door might be opened to the Esquimaux, and that he might end his days in the ministry of the gospel among them. He accordingly set sail the third time for the coast of Labrador.



The third was Christopher Braasin, a physician and surgeon, who was stirred up in his visit to Greenland; he devoted himself to the service of the Lord, and amongst these savages went thither with his wife.

Next to him was John Shneider, born in Moravia, who had been also several years an assistant to the mission in Greenland, but afterwards waited a considerable time in America, till the door should be opened to the Esquimaux; but at length he obtained his wish to have his wife along with him to Labrador.

Joseph Necesser was another valuable and pious assistant, who had been many years in Greenland; and along with him was Stephen Senson, who had for some time the care of the mission. To these were added, four other brethren, who were all unmarried, but who did every thing in their power to promote the gospel amongst the heathens.

These came altogether from their different habitations to Lindsey-house, in Chelsea; and their simplicity, indefatigable zeal, and elevatedness of thought, were an edification to all those who conversed with them.

At the request of some of the brethren, it was resolved upon to send out more missionaries to convert the heathens, and to collect among themselves sums sufficient for that purpose. As it was necessary that the missionaries should be provided with every thing that was wanting, therefore the materials of a house were formed at Chelsea, and constructed in such a manner that the whole could be easily taken in pieces, and as easily formed together. This was done in order to accommodate them when they arrived at a distant shore, where they might be in want of the common necessities of life. Bricks, mortar, boards, shingles, cast iron stoves, and all necessary furniture, was provided for them, partly here, and partly in Newfoundland. And as they had but very little hopes of procuring their subsistence by husbandry or fishing, therefore a quantity of suitable provisions for a year at least, and cloaks proper for that inhospitable climate were sent with them. Though what was provided was scanty, yet they received it with great thankfulness; and their joy in hopes of being a blessing to the Esquimaux, made them superior to all the difficulties and inconveniences.

Government shewed a kind attention to their safety; and Mr. Byron, who succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser in the government of Newfoundland and Labrador, was so good as to issue a proclamation, forbidding every one to molest the brethren in their settlement, or to give them any disturbance whatever. The owners, who had resolved to purchase a ship merely for this mission, had in the preceding

years sustained a considerable loss, and yet they determined to purchase a larger ship, for the carrying the brethren to Labrador, they being paid by the brethren's society for propagating the gospel.

Every thing being prepared for the voyage, they were, at a solemn meeting at the brethren's chapel, in Fetter-lane, London, on May 5, 1771, recommended in a sincere and affecting prayer, to the gracious protection and keeping of our Father in heaven, and to the grace and presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the kind guidance of the Holy Ghost. On the 8th of the same month, they went on board the ship with confident and joyful hearts, and arrived, after a tedious and troublesome voyage, at St. John's, in Newfoundland, on the first of July.

They met here with much kindness from some of the inhabitants; and having soon completed their stores, sailed on the 7th for Labrador.

This last part of their voyage was still more difficult and dangerous. They were often obliged, on account of storms, to run into bays between numberless islands and sunken rocks, with which this coast abounds. They were often environed with great mountains of ice, and ice-fields, which were terrible to the very mariners: but the Lord helped them out of all the dangers with which they were encompassed, and gave them the joy to see, meet, and speak, at sundry times, with some of the Esquimaux. As soon as the Indians heard that they were brethren who would dwell among them, and that Jens Ingoak, little Jens, so they called brother Haven, was there, they expressed much joy, and were very ready to serve them, by giving them directions how to find the harbour which they had chosen the foregoing year. They cast anchor in the desired haven, on the 9th of August; and their first business was to return thanks and praises to the Lord, whose help they had so often experienced.

They went on shore the next day, being the 10th of August, to take a nearer view of the ground, and to fix upon the spot on which they would erect their house. One of the texts appointed for that day in all the brethren's congregations was particularly expressive and encouraging. It was,

"Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary which thine hands have established." Exod. xv. 16. To which was added the collect,

"We surely are a work of thine own hand,  
 "Thy souls, on whom thou'st deign'd thy blood  
 to spend,  
 "By thy holy spirit to thee directed,  
 "A covenant people, by free grace elected  
 "To endless bliss."

They immediately set about erecting their house, inclosed it with palisades, and were so far ready, on the 22d of September, that they could enter into it and lodge in two rooms; and the worthy captain, who had, with his crew, given them all possible assistance, could set sail for England on the 24th of September.

The place which the brethren have chosen for their habitation upon the main land, is so situated, that both the Nununguak tribe, who dwell on the islands between them and the open sea, and the Esquimaux, who usually go from the south to the north and back again, pass by it, and thus they have an opportunity to hear the gospel there.

Brother Drachart began directly to preach the gospel of reconciliation to the savages, while the rest of the brethren were employed in building.— Their situation was critical, it was, as one of them writes, as if each with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon; for it was necessary for them to use all precaution, and to be constantly upon their guard against the attempts of a nation, to whom stealing and murdering were become, through habit, a second nature. But, praised be God, who preserved them with such a powerful arm, and who turned the hearts of the Esquimaux to such friendship towards the brethren, that there was no occasion to make use of any kind of weapons against them. The brethren soon discovered a very considerable difference between the conduct of these savages now, and when they first saw them. Formerly they were bold and impudent, and looked upon the Europeans as upon dogs, giving them the appellation *Kabluners*, that is, barbarians, but called themselves *Inuit*, which signifies men. Now they expressed their desire to hear the good news, and shewed, of their own accord, that they had no secret murdering knives concealed in their sleeves, nor bows and arrows, nor darts hid in their kajaks, small boats, sharp at both ends, the ribs are made of wood; these are covered altogether with seal-skin, in the middle is a hole, into which the man thrusts his legs, and the lower part of his body, and sits with his legs extended. These boats hold but one man, who makes use of a paddle, and can get very speedily forward.

They began to prove by facts, that their usual address to the brethren, when they first met them, *Ikingutegekogut*, we are friends, was truth, and flowed from their hearts. The brethren therefore conclude the journal which they sent to Europe with these words: "We have reason to thank our Lord for preserving us hitherto beyond all our expectations, and all our brethren and sisters, and friends, who hear this, will praise the Lord with us."

The owners resolved to send the ship again in

the spring of 1772, but as their former loss was considerably increased by the last voyage, they determined to send her to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, before she sailed to Labrador with the provisions sent for the brethren's use this year.

The ship stayed longer out than was expected, and did not return to London until December. This delay gave us much concern, and we were not without painful apprehensions; but our good brethren in Nain had reason to have more frightful and anxious thought on account of the ship's remaining so long absent from them.

After the departure of the ship in the foregoing year, they had enough to do to finish their house, and to secure themselves against the cold which is much more intense there than in Greenland, although their house is almost seven degrees more to the south than our settlement in that country. The ice does not thaw, so as to clear the harbour, till towards the end of June.

Though they did all in their power to obtain fresh provisions by hunting, fowling, and fishing, yet they got but a very small quantity, having shot but two rein-deers, and about an hundred ruypers, a bird a little bigger than a partridge. This was certainly but a small pittance for such a large family.

As the ship, after having concluded the fishing on the banks, had a very slow passage to Labrador by reason of contrary winds and much ice, and did not reach Unity-harbour until the end of October, the brethren began to give up all hopes of her arrival, and of their getting any provisions this year. They had but two pieces of flesh-meat left, and very little of other provisions, and had the dismal prospect of starving for want of the necessities of life. They therefore sought out and gathered all the red and black berries under the hills, dried them, and laid them carefully by. From the Esquimaux they could expect little or no assistance, notwithstanding the good will several of them testified; for these poor improvident savages suffer often themselves so great want, that some, almost every year, die through hunger.

Thus situated, their distress was turned into the greater joy, when the ship at last, contrary to their expectations, appeared in Unity-harbour on the 28th of October. In their letters they express themselves on this occasion thus:

"Had you seen the joy that reigned among us, when we heard that the ship was arrived, you would certainly never forget it; for we had given her up, and had devoted ourselves to the most extreme degree of poverty. I cannot say that a dejected spirit ruled among us before, but we were resolved to surrender ourselves up to all circumstances, hoping and trusting that he who has sent us hither, who has counted our hairs, and without whose per-

mission none of them could fall the ground, would preserve us." In another letter it is remarked,

"The ship's staying away so long had two effects; first, it convinced us that nothing was impossible to the Lord, and that he can command the seas that they should remain open, that, though so late in the year, the ship could come hither. Secondly, it made us more thankful for the provision sent to us."

Touching the main object of their settlement, one of them writes as follows:

"The word of the cross, and of the great atoning sacrifice, has been, at every opportunity, yea without cessation, preached by us unto the Esquimaux. Brother Drachart has particularly shewn great faithfulness herein; for he scarcely ever speaks with them of any thing else. They hear it, and for the greatest part wonder at it. Sometimes they will not hear, but go away from him, and begin to laugh; yet he is still patient, and goes on in hope. We discover, however, joyful traces in some, that the word of the cross, which can even melt rocks, does not return without leaving some effects on one or another of them. May our Saviour grant that it may soon take deep root in their hearts!"

Notwithstanding the excessive cold in winter, some of the missionaries ventured to go over the ice and snow on a visit, and to preach the gospel to the Esquimaux in their winter houses, which are built of pieces of snow.

The manner of forming these houses is this: they chuse a large drift of snow, dig an oval hole in it as large as they want the house. They then cut out pieces of snow of three feet long, two feet broad, and one foot thick; with these they arch over this hole. Instead of a window, they cut a hole in the arch, and fix in a slab of ice, which gives tolerable light. They dig a long crooked low entry through the snow to the dwelling, and use a slab of frozen snow for the door. They leave an elevation of about twenty inches in the midst of the house, on which they lay skins and sleep.

The missionaries were not only received and lodged in a very friendly manner by the Esquimaux, but they were constantly visited by numbers of them as soon as they could drive from their habitations on the island to the brethren's dwelling, over the frozen sea, on sledges drawn by dogs. And as soon as the ice was gone, the visits were still more numerous.

These sledges are sometimes drawn by fourteen, by twenty, yea, they have seen twenty eight dogs before such a sledge. They run all abreast. Their harness is all bound together in a thick thong, which passing through a strong ring, is fastened to a sledge. The driver also binds all the reins together; his whip has a handle of about ten inches or a foot

long, but the lash is from twenty to twenty-four feet in length, and he can govern his dogs tolerably expertly. These poor dogs are all half starved; they frequently eat their harness, and are then beaten most unmercifully.

The Esquimaux can go much more conveniently from place to place in their kajaks and women's boats, when the water is open, than on their sledges over the ice, and are not so much exposed to the cold. This is the reason of the visits being more numerous in summer than in winter.

The confidence of the savages to the brethren, had increased in such a manner, that they asked their advice in all their circumstances. A particular instance of their confidence and attention to the brethren had occurred this year. There arose such a quarrel between some of the Esquimaux of Nuengnak and Arbartok, that the latter threatened to murder the former. Those of Nunengnak therefore fled to the brethren and desired their protection.—The brethren would not disappoint their good confidence, but promised to protect them, upon condition that they would concur with them in endeavouring to make peace between them and their enemies. Not long after, one of their enemies, who was resolved upon murder, came also upon the brethren's land. By the desire of these Esquimaux, who complained of this man, and who were ten in number, among whom was Tugluina, the husband of the well-known woman Mikak, and his brother Seguliak, a meeting was appointed between him and them, in the presence of the brethren.

The ten accusers, one after the other, delivered their testimonies against the accused, and he defended himself as well as he could; but they pushed him so hard, that at length he began to weep. Then brother Drachart began to shew unto them, that God would, by this opportunity, convince them of their wretched condition, and bring them into another and happier way of thinking. He asked the accused, whether he was sorry for his wicked murdering thoughts and intentions? whether he would lay them aside, and would for the future love his countrymen as his brethren? and some more such questions. As he answered all these questions in the affirmative, and not without emotion, he then addressed the accusers, and asked them whether they would forgive all that had passed, make peace, and would also for the future love him as their count y-man? Nine of them expressed their readiness to forgive him, but one would not give an answer. Brother Drachart took this man aside into his chamber, and asked him why he would not forgive? At first he replied, that he did not believe that the accused meant honestly what he spoke with his lips. Drachart represented unto him, that God could change the hearts; that he himself had such a bad heart that



God must change it, why then would he not forgive his countryman? Through this conversation he became so tender, that he declared his willingness to lay aside all enmity. He went back into the assembly with Drachart, and publicly declared his readiness to forgive. Thus peace was not only established among them, but the Esquimaux resolved among themselves, that when any differences should for the future arise, or evil reports be spread of each other, they would go directly to the brethren, beg to have such another meeting, and make up their differences amicably. Thus the Lord approved his servants to the savages as peace-makers, and thereby strengthened their faith, that he would, in his good time, open their hearts and ears, that they may become obedient to the faith.

With this hope, and with an emboldened mind, they concluded the first year of their abode among these savages; and by the accounts received of their preservation and cheerful perseverance in the work of the Lord, the congregations of the brethren were filled with praise and thanksgiving.

We cannot help mentioning, that sister Haven was delivered of a son, who was baptized in the Esquimaux language, and called John-Benjamin.—The Esquimaux were exceeding fond of this child. Another sister was delivered, but the child was still-born.

But with a view to come more to the assistance of the mission by council and deed, both in their internal and external affairs, the brethren to whom the synod has committed the government of the churches resolved to send one of their members to Labrador in the spring of 1773. For this purpose they pitched upon the Rev. Paul E. Layritz; and notwithstanding his age being then sixty-six, he declared with cheerfulness his readiness to undertake this difficult and dangerous voyage. His wife also determined to go with him, to be a comfort and pleasure to the three sisters at Nain.

They resolved to go on board a ship that was to sail for Newfoundland, and either to stay on board while they were fishing, or to wait at St. John's till the ship should return from the banks, and then embark for Labrador.

The owners of the ship were again losers, and therefore under the necessity of making an addition of fifty pounds to every hundred of the original stock, to enable them to fit out the ship for the next voyage. However, they ventured to resolve upon the purchase of a small vessel, which could carry brother and sister Layritz, and brother Beck to Labrador, as soon as the ice would permit.

Brother Beck was the eldest son of John Beck, the oldest missionary to Greenland, but was educated from his seventh year in Germany, and some years ago was sent back to be thoroughly instructed in the

Greenland language by his father; and thus he was properly qualified to be employed among the Esquimaux.

They arrived safe and well in the harbour of St. John's on May 5th, and much kindness was shewn to them by Mr. Burnet, at that time judge of the Vice-admiralty court, to whom the worthy governor Shulldham had recommended Mr. Layritz, as also by several other worthy gentlemen. In all these undertakings they met with great success, and it may be justly said, that the gospel flourished under their preaching.

After Capt. Muford and brother John Hill had purchased and fitted out a small sloop, brother Layritz and his company embarked on the 22d of May, on board this little sloop, from twenty-five to thirty tons burden, called the *George*, commanded by Mr. Wilson, and sailed for Labrador: but after sailing three days, they were stopt by a field of ice, which extended beyond the bounds of their sight, and were obliged to run with a contrary wind, and in a storm into the bay *Notre-Dame*.

Eight days after, they ventured, in company with another sloop from *Fogo*, to sail through the broken pieces of ice but were under the necessity of returning to the bay, and got back to their former place with great danger. At length they set forward on their voyage, sailing slowly along the coast, and on the 24th of June they made the southern coast of Labrador, and the next day got sight of the Esquimaux in the eight kajaks. These, on being called to, in the manner and words usual in Greenland, soon came on board, behaved friendly, and were very attentive while some Greenland verses were sung, concerning the redemption by our Saviour. They invited the brethren to visit them on *Camp island*, where they had pitched their tents. The sloop accordingly sailed thither, and although these Esquimaux, who dwell to the south, and are called *Arbartsoks*, are of the worst kind, yet they received their visit in a very friendly manner, about fifty old and young Indians heard the gospel, which brother Layritz preached to them in their wooden tents, and brother Beck interpreted; they listened with eager attention, and promised to visit the brethren in Nain, and to hear more of these good words. Some days after, some of their countrymen, about two hundred in number, in six shallops, met the little sloop on the coast, surrounded her, and behaved so peaceably, that they did not look like the former thieving and murdering Esquimaux. They all knew of the brethren in Nain, and some related that they had slept there last winter, and that they had heard there, from brother Drachart, the very same good words which brother Layritz now told them.

At length they reached the latitude of Nain, after having escaped many dangers, and particularly one

on the 15th of July, when they run upon a shoal, and were obliged to unload the vessel upon an island that lay near them; and thus, through the grace of God, they got off without damage. Here they were at a loss, not knowing how to steer safely through the islands and rocks which extend far into the sea before Unity-harbour; but they got sight of an Esquimaux woman's boat, the owner of which offered to pilate them through Byron's-Road to Nain.

What they call a woman's boat, is a large boat, the ribs of which are made of wood, but the whole is covered with seal-skin. One of these boats will hold a whole family, with their utensils, and a great number of dogs. They are always rowed by the women, and therefore called women's boats.

Thus they arrived safe and well in Unity-harbour on July 25th, and were received with the greatest joy, which the brethren and sisters expressed by floods of tears, as their visit was quite unexpected, and particularly because a sister was come to them. The very Esquimaux, who to the number of two hundred, had pitched twenty-one tents on the strand, were full of joy. Eighteen kajaks came to meet the sloop as she ran into the harbour, and were hung to the sloop on the right and on the left, and the Esquimaux came on board to welcome the visitors.-- When they landed, they were surrounded by two hundred, young and old, and escorted by them to the house of the missionaries with every token of joy.

At the numerous visits of the Esquimaux, of whom thirty-six tents full had been there at once in the beginning of July, the missionaries were used to visit them every morning in their tents, and to inquire, whether they had kept what they had heard, in an honest and good heart? Towards evening they had always a meeting with the Esquimaux, to which they were called by the sound of a bell. In these meetings, first a verse out of the Greenland Hymn-book, was given out and sung, which many of them retain, both as to the words and tune, so that they can join very well in singing them. After this the gospel was preached to them in a concise manner. Sometimes they were asked, whether they understood what they had heard? and upon their desiring it, it was farther explained to them. The Esquimaux themselves often asked for a more particular explanation. In the first meeting, at which brother Jayritz was present, he delivered a short discourse, which brother Drachart interpreted: then one of the most distinguished heads of a family, (for there are no national chiefs or heads either among the Greenlanders or Esquimaux. They are all equals, though some Angekoks, who are cunning, and have bodily strength, have some influence upon their countrymen, but not as chief or head). The head

of a family, who has naturally an authority over his family, stood up, and answered in the name of the rest, that they were not only very thankful to the brethren that they came unto them, dwelt among them, and told them such good words, but, he added, "we will give our hearts to the Saviour," whom they call Anaursisok, "we will believe in, and love him."

They also declared the same, some days after, in the presence of lieutenant Curtis, who had been sent by the governor in a king's schooner, to see how the brethren went on, and at the same time to survey the coast.

Upon this occasion, about thirty of the heads of families were assembled. Mr. Curtis desired brother Drachart to inform them, that his excellency the governor had given orders to acquaint them, that they must leave off stealing and murdering; for whosoever should be found guilty of these crimes, for the future, must be punished with death. Further, they should go no more to the south under pretence of getting wood for their bows and arrows; but if they were under necessity to go thither, they should not do it without taking with them a certificate from the brethren. Hereupon they replied, It is right that a thief and murderer be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since they had heard the gospel of Jesus, they had no more stolen or murdered, and they would for the future, do so no more. They had not been at the south these three years, since they, the Nunengnaks, had heard the governor's proclamation; and if any of them should be obliged to go to the south, they would bring a letter from their brethren, meaning the missionaries. Mr. Curtis assured them of the love of the king and of the governor, and they expressed their thankfulness in a very hearty and friendly manner.

This testimony must, agreeable to the truth, be given to them, that they became from time to time more attached to, and more confident towards the brethren. When they go from Nain to the islands or the sea, they commit the goods they most value to the brethren to keep for them; yea, they often leave their wives and children under the inspection and care of the brethren until they return. On this account the brethren resolved to build a store-house for them, in which they can lay up such provisions as they can procure and spare in summer, that so they may be able to dwell with the missionaries in winter, and to hear the word of God daily and richly.

It cannot be said as yet with certainty that they are converted, and therefore the missionaries will not baptize any, till they find souls who are truly awakened by the Holy Ghost, and are indeed earnestly concerned and desirous to obtain grace, through the redemption by the blood of Christ. It

must however be owned, that the preaching of the gospel unto them has not been in vain. The greatest part of those who dwell around the missionaries are often much affected at what they hear of the Saviour of sinners, and have a respect and awe for the name of Jesus. But it is very hard to convince them of their sinfulness and corruption; for although they were formerly the most abject slaves of their brutal passions, and committed all manner of fleshly sins, theft and murder, yet they know how to excuse themselves with all kind of subterfuges as well as the Europeans.

The liars comfort themselves and make use of the plea, that they are no thieves; the thieves that they are no murderers; and the murderers that they are not as bad as the Kabluets. And although they have some notion that there is a great Lord, who created heaven and earth, yet they have no kind of divine worship among them, or any way of paying devotion to this Creator.

They seem to be also without any sense of condemnation, and are always very expert at stifling remorse of conscience. But since they have heard the gospel, they begin to see and acknowledge the heinousness of sin, also to confess that they are sinners, and many feel the necessity of having a Saviour. The divine efficacy of the gospel has approved itself unto them. The example of the missionaries and their assistants, and their walking conformable to the gospel, is a confirmation of what is preached unto them, and attended with pleasing effect, that the Esquimaux instead of being as formerly, like a herd of wild boars on the forest, appear now, as brother Drachart expresses it, "like a flock of sheep round about the brethren."

Formerly, no European would have ventured himself alone with the Esquimaux, or have spent a night with them on any consideration: but now the missionaries visit them in their winter habitations at a considerable distance from Nain, sleep among them many nights successively, preach there the gospel to them, reprove them on account of their heathenish customs, and even stop the mouths of their Angekoks, or pretended conjurors, ordering them to be silent, in the midst of their incantations.

Nothing can be said to all this, but, This is the Lord's doing! For the poor Esquimaux are so bewitched with the fable of Tongarsuk, the evil spirit, and their Torngaks, or familiar spirits, that they undertake nothing without consulting them, and are terribly afraid of them. They have among them even women, called Illisitsoks, who pretend to have such a spirit, that make a kind of rumbling noise in their bodies, which noise these women afterwards explain, and that is looked upon as a prediction. They are so attached to these old fables

and deceits, that it is very difficult to turn them from them. They would gladly keep their Torngaks, and at the same time believe in our Saviour. The Angekoks observe, that by preaching of the gospel, their craft is in danger of being entirely ruined, and therefore use all their cunning and influence that the poor Esquimaux may not become believers.

All this makes the following example, which occurred in the foregoing year, the more remarkable:

A man, whose name was Annauke, departed this life, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus. The brethren saw him the first time, four years before, at Chateau-bay, when the peace was made by governor Palliser with the Esquimaux. He then had all the appearance of a thief and murderer; but in the following years, heard the gospel frequently, and experienced the power thereof in a remarkable manner, so that his features were softened, and from a bear he became a lamb. He pitched his tent in Nain, stayed there, in the year 1772, till autumn, and in November removed to his winter-house, which was at a considerable distance from the brethren. He came sometime after from thence, and that on foot, to Nain, merely to hear the gospel.

Towards the end of the year and the beginning of January it is not possible, either for the Europeans or Esquimaux, to pass or repass, as there are then commonly the greatest falls of snow, the ice first sets in, but is not passable on the sea. Therefore the brethren heard nothing more of Annauke till brother John Schneider visited the Esquimaux in their winter-houses, and Annauke's wife came herself in February to the brethren in Nain. Then the brethren heard that Annauke fell sick in December, and it was soon evident that his end approached.

The Esquimaux are so extremely afraid of death, that they are shocked and terrified to hear even the name of a dead person mentioned. But Annauke turned to our Saviour, and declared that he did not chuse to stay any longer in the world, but would go unto him. His wife, Nivarsina, when she observed that his end approached, began, according to the custom of the Esquimaux, to howl and cry, and asked him, "O, my dear husband, wilt thou leave me and thy two children?" The dying Annauke answered, "Weep not, I go to the Saviour, who loves mankind so much."

This was the more striking, as he had no Christian at hand to instruct him, nor none near him whom he might be desirous to please, by speaking of Jesus and expressing his reliance upon, and love to him. And what was still a more clear proof that this was the effect of a real work of the Holy Ghost in his heart, was, that he, as the Angekoks



who lived in the same place, related to brother Drachart with displeasure, would not have an Angekok to come to him in sickness, although the Esquimaux, as soon as they fall sick, send directly for an Angekok, who acts the physician, making use of certain spells over the sick for their recovery.—Yea, Annauke since his death, is commonly described by the Esquimaux themselves, as the man whom the Saviour took to himself. The missionaries, therefore, by all that they before had seen and heard of this man, and by the manner of his departure out of this life, can justly look upon him as the firstling in that country, upon whom our Saviour certainly fulfilled his word, “Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.”

The above instance gave the brethren more courage to form a class of catechumens of some in whose hearts there appeared evident traces of the work of the Holy Ghost. In this class they are to be more particularly instructed in the ways of God.

The brethren have also resolved to erect a proper church for the Esquimaux, in which the gospel may be preached to some hundreds at once, as the room in which they have preached in their house is much too small.

Certain it is, that the missionaries and their assistants lead a most difficult, inconvenient, and to flesh and blood, uncomfortable life in this rough and inhospitable climate. The cold is, as has been already mentioned, and as the thermometer proves, much more intense than in Greenland. And although they burn in their large stoves of cast iron great quantities of wood, by day and night, yet the windows and walls are all the winter covered with ice, and the bed-clothes freeze to the wall. Run freezes in the air like water, and rectified spirits, in the coldest weather, soon become thick like oil. The thermometer is commonly from December to April seventy degrees below the freezing point. The sea freezes so far out, between the islands, that they cannot get a sight of open water from December to June. Some of the brethren ventured to go in February to the Esquimaux about forty miles distant from Nain, but they endured the most extreme hardships from the cold.

Though wrapped up in furs, yet their eye-lids froze in such a manner together, that they were obliged continually to pull the ice from them, and to keep their eyes open with their fingers. One of them returned with a pain in his side; another with his hand frozen and swelled like a bladder; and it was a mercy of the Lord whom they serve, that they were cured. The Esquimaux, who live chiefly on blubber, and who have probably fatter and more oily blood, can certainly endure cold better than the Europeans; but there are however instances that the

Esquimaux themselves are frozen to death in winter. The few summer months are, on the other hand, so much the hotter, the thermometer rising to the eighty-sixth degree. But then they are plagued with an amazing swarm of malignant musketoes, which sting so violently, that they often return home with swelled faces.

There can be no expectations of any thing like agriculture, so as to produce grain; this is evident from the trials already made. Some small gardens which the brethren have laid out and cultivated, produce some sallad, turnips, hardy cabbages and radishes, but potatoes freeze when they have shot up no higher than about half a foot.

By hunting and fishing they have hitherto been able to procure but very little provision, because their situation upon the continent is not at all favourable thereto. Besides, the great number of Esquimaux dogs, that must seek their own maintenance, prevent the success they might have in catching fish, as these half-starved dogs, at low water, run into the nets, tear out and devour the fish, and moreover tear the nets to pieces.

Thus the brethren must be supported chiefly by the provision sent to them annually from Europe, such as flour, salt meat, rice, peas and barley, and are heartily thankful, partly, that friends are always found who contribute thereunto, and partly that they can earn something by the work of their hands to lighten in some measure the expence of supporting themselves. They begun last year to build boats for the Esquimaux, and to make sundry implements for their work, and utensils for their houses, and receive in payment whale-bone and blubber, which they send hither towards their expences.

By building boats we have reason to hope that one great advantage will be obtained, namely, that the Esquimaux will be delivered from the temptation of going to the south to steal boats. And by the implements and utensils made for them by the brethren, they will be from time to time more enabled to get and increase what is necessary for their own support.

Though, by these means the outward situation of these poor savages may be greatly improved and rendered more human, yet it is certainly of incomparably greater importance, that they be brought to Jesus Christ by the preaching of the gospel: that they be sanctified by the true faith in him; and thereby, with greater certainty, be civilized and made moral human creatures.

It is this consideration that enables the missionaries and their assistants, notwithstanding their most difficult situation outwardly to hold out with cheerfulness and full of faith, in that call which the Lord has given them, until the Esquimaux, in this re-

mote part of the earth, shall see the salvation of God. Brother Layritz, on his safe arrival here with his wife on the 28th of October, assured us, as an eye witness, that this was the disposition of those brethren and sisters.

They had this last year, (1774,) by means of a sloop, an opportunity of visiting six habitations of the Esquimaux which lie farther north; they were received in a friendly and confident manner, and most pressingly entreated by the poor savages, many of whom had never seen an European before, to come and dwell among them, and to bring them the good words of their Creator and Saviour.

Is the acquiring wealth and fortunes, which last not for ever, but pass away, allowed every where, to be a sufficient motive for long voyages and the enduring great hardships? surely it is a more noble motive, yea, it is of infinitely greater use, if considered merely in a rational point of view, to endure hardships even the greatest, if souls, who are however our fellow-creatures, are thereby saved from death, brought into a state of peace and happiness, and obtain a well grounded hope of a blessed immortality. The love of Christ, who, though he thought it no robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, took upon him the form of a servant, submitted to be despised and rejected, and became obedient unto death, yea, to the death of the shameful cross, to redeem us, must certainly impel the hearts of the missionaries, stimulate their zeal, and make them willing to persevere with patience in the midst of all, even the greatest hardships.

Blessed be the name of the Lord who has not permitted the labour and trouble of our brethren among the heathens to be in vain. We have now had many years experience, that our gracious Lord has crowned the simple preaching of the gospel of his incarnation, sufferings and death, with blessing, has owned it in grace, and thereby the eyes of the heathens have been opened, and they have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the living God. What the most just and excellent moral precepts cannot effect, what all the power of philosophy cannot produce, what all the eloquence and arguments of men cannot accomplish, is done by the word of reconciliation through the blood of Christ. Of this the heathens, who have received the faith, are a living and incontestible proof.

To proselyte men from one superstition to another, from one speculative system to another, or from one sect or outward form of worship to another, whether by arguments, or outward pomp, or by any other methods, is indeed no business, for the sake of which our missionaries would give

themselves so much trouble and undergo such difficulties. But to be instruments to direct and bring souls to him, in whom the Gentiles shall trust, and to whom every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things on earth, and things under the earth, it is well worth while to venture life and limb to effect this. For it is indubitable, that when men, though ever so wild and savage by nature, are brought to the knowledge of salvation in Christ Jesus, by the Holy Ghost, they will of course become good and useful subjects, and benevolent fellow-citizens of the world.

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#### *Rules and Articles for the Government of the Churches of the United Brethren.*

Some of these articles are so plain and inoffensive, that little need be said concerning them.

ART. I. This society is not formed in opposition to any other of the like nature, nor is it to interfere with the charities of any society whatever.

II. This society is to consist of members of the brethren's church, and is properly established here in London, where they will regularly meet; yet members may also be chosen, who reside in other places of the British dominion or elsewhere.

III. But besides the aforesaid members of the society, persons who are not of the brethren's church, but are friends and well-wishers of the furtherance of the gospel among the heathens, may be chosen as honorary members of this society; to whom, from time to time, accounts will be communicated of the work of our Lord among the heathens through the brethren's missions; and such honorary members may be admitted occasionally to the meetings of the society.

There is something in this article, at first sight, glaringly engaging. It seems to promise a large share of charity; and yet, if we attend to it strictly, we shall find that it contains both ostentation and meanness. Ostentation, in holding it forth as an honour to be admitted into their society; and meanness, in looking for subscriptions to support their cause.

IV. The design of this society being to assist those missionaries and their helpers, whom the directors of the missions of the brethren's church may send to the heathens in different parts of the world, we will not confine our assistance of those missionaries to gifts and contributions only, but it will be our great pleasure to promote this amiable work with our best services, in all respects, by entertaining them during their abode in England, and

also supplying them with all necessaries for their passage to the places of their destination, and during their residence at those places.

V. Although our chief aim is to further the gospel, and assist the missionaries in the British dominions in America, and other parts of the world, yet we are also desirous to give all possible aid to the brethren's missions among the heathens in other countries.

VII. And whereas the united brethren, for many years successively, have appointed deputies, and committed unto them the care of the heathen missions and the management of the contributions, which, for the unavoidable expences attending this work of God, are given freely, from time to time, by the brethren's congregations and by others; we will therefore act in connection and fellowship with these deputies; on which account our secretary and other brethren of the committee are to cultivate a constant correspondence with them, that we may be informed of the occasions requiring our assistance, and be ready to assist.

VII. And whereas the aforesaid deputies of the brethren's church have always a corresponding agent, who resides in London, to execute their commissions, we will always be ready to give him all the assistance we can therein.

VIII. Every one of us is willing to add his mite to those free gifts made at stated times, in the brethren's congregations, for the service of the missions among the heathens. But besides this, a box shall be placed in the room where we meet, into which every member of the society may put at any time what he thinks proper; all which is to be employed for the use of the said missions. The committee is to take an account of this money as well as what may come in by way of donation, legacy or otherwise, and also how it is expended; and this account is to be laid before the society once in three months.

It is remarkable, that the gospel was propagated at first without the assistance of power, money, or, indeed, any encouragement from men. And yet the tender plant grew, and spread far and wide.—Whereas, in modern times, thousands and ten thousands of pounds, are collected to propagate the gospel, and yet few converts are made. For this there must be some reason, but whatever we may imagine it to be, we shall leave the reader to form his own judgment.

IX. If this society, or one or more members thereof, should be appointed trustees of any lands, for a settlement among the heathens; in that case we engage to be faithful to our trust, and not claim for ourselves, at any time, what shall be settled upon us in trust.

X. The ordinary meeting of the society to be

once a month, at a time and place to be determined upon by the society, and as soon as can conveniently be after the day, on which accounts of the progress of the gospel, especially among the heathens, are usually read in the brethren's chapel.

XI. The society is to chuse a committee, consisting of six members, a secretary and one or two servants; one of the committee is to be appointed treasurer, and all the ordained ministers of the brethren's church present in London, are to be looked upon as members of the committee, and each of them to have a vote.

XII. The members of the committee are to act as deputies of the society, and are to meet once a week, or as often as may be thought needful for the dispatch of business, and four of the committee are empowered to do business.

XIII. The committee may call an extraordinary meeting of the society when business requires.

XIV. The committee is empowered, upon any emergency, to borrow in the name of the society, or contract debts of any sum not exceeding fifty pounds.

We cannot approve of these money affairs in religion. There is some reason to imagine, that the passions of men, influenced by corrupt nature, have too much effect on modern religion. We are convinced, that God once gave his blessings on means of a different nature; and history tells us, that as the same means have not been used since the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, so the same ends have not been found.

XV. At the first meeting of the society in every year, the six members of the committee, the secretary and the servants are either to be continued in their offices, or others elected in their places.

This article has been copied from one of those belonging to a benefit society. There officers are very rich and greatly esteemed, otherwise they would not be eagerly sought after. All officers, court pride, and human passions will be as much gratified in a club of common mechanics, as in the first lord of the treasury, or the high chancellor of England. The reason is plain, learning and knowledge, improved by virtue and adorned by piety, lift the characters as it were, above every thing human.

XVI. Upon the decease or removal of any member of the committee, or any other incident requiring a new choice, the committee is to propose such person or persons to the society whom they think proper for the office.

XVII. Such persons ought to be members of the brethren's congregation, of a good capacity and a good character among the brethren as well as among their fellow-subjects.

XVIII. Persons proposed by the committee to



the society, for members of the committee, are to be chosen by the majority of the members of the society then present.

XIX. Whenever any new member or members are to be proposed to the society, the committee is first to consider whether such person or persons, may be of use to the society in carrying on the above-mentioned purposes; and if the persons proposed by the committee are approved of by the unanimous choice of the society, by ballot, then such person or persons are to be admitted members.

XX. But if on the ballot, there should be any negative to the choice of the person proposed, the member or members objecting, are to mention his or their objection to some member of the committee, when the case is to be reconsidered; and if the objection can be removed, to the satisfaction of the objector, such person or persons may be proposed a second time to the society; and if no new negative appears upon the ballot, he or they are to be then admitted members.

XXI. No member of the society is to acquaint any one, either of his being proposed or chosen a member of the society, for this is to be done by the secretary, or some other member of the committee appointed for it, as circumstances require.

XXII. No person once admitted into this society is to be removed out of it, but after mature consideration of the committee, and with the consent of the majority of the society; and a person thus removed, not to be re-admitted but by ballot.

XXIII. When any new members are admitted, the rules of the society are to be read to them, and each new member is to subscribe them.

XXIV. The society may form new articles, which are consistent with the tenor of the above articles and the well-being of the society, as circumstances may hereafter require.

XXV. The above rules are not to be altered but on mature deliberation, and in a meeting of the society, and by a majority of votes; and previous to any alteration a month's notice shall be given, expressing the nature and design of the alteration proposed to be made.

Upon the whole, these articles are of a very carnal nature. They point out much of worldly wisdom, but little of that which is from above. We could wish there was nothing human in religion but just the common outward means, and we sincerely believe, that the real servants of God are frequently to be among those who are reputed to have no religion at all.

*Account of all those Societies which the United Brethren have in different parts of the World.*

It is very remarkable, that these people, although not much known in England, yet are extremely numerous. Of this we shall have occasion to take notice afterwards, so as to endeavour to account for that secrecy, which prevails among them.

The places where the congregations of the Brethren are at present settled, are of different kinds, and many of these congregations are not very numerous. Some have been settled by the brethren on spots which were not at all inhabited before, merely with this intent, that only members of the congregation shall dwell there, and that they might be entirely unmix'd with others. These places are called in the strictest sense Congregation-places: for example, Hernhuth, Gnadenfrey, Fulneck, Bethlehem, Salem, Sarepta, &c.

Farther, the Brethren have built their place of worship and the dwelling-houses of the members of the congregation, contiguous to some towns and villages inhabited by other people, yet in such a manner, that their buildings stand together on one spot, or in the same street, and are, as much as circumstances will admit, some more and some less separated from the rest of the public or private buildings of the town or village. These are called in a more extensive sense Congregation-places; such as Neusalze, Nenwied, Ochbrook, &c.

Again there are other congregations of the Brethren, the members of which do not dwell together, but are scattered in the cities, or towns, or in the country round about; they however assemble in the same place of worship, and their regulations are suited to their circumstances. These are called City and Country Congregations, for instance London, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, &c.

The same distinction is to be made with regard to the missions of the Brethren among the heathens. Some of the congregations, gathered together by the gospel from the heathens, dwell together in one place; for instance, New Hernhuth and Lichtenfels in Greenland, at Langentout-nunk, that is, the City of Peace, in North America; also at Sharon on the Samaria in Surinam. These may be properly called Town-Congregations of the converted heathens. Others of the heathens, who have been brought to Christ by the ministry of the Brethren, live dispersed, as the negroes in the West India Islands, and the Indians on the Gorentyn in Surinam; but they come to the preaching, and to partake of the sacraments, to the church or meeting-house, which the missionaries have built near their own dwellings: These may be called in the most

proper sense, Mission-Settlements. By this description every reader will be able to determine, to which of these classes each congregation or mission of the Brethren belongs. Now they shall be mentioned according to the countries and governments under which they dwell.

### 1. In the empire of Germany, and first under the elector of Saxony.

Hernbuth in Upper Lusatia, on the high road between Lebau and Zittau, upon the manner of Bethelsdorf, lately the domain of Count Zinzendorf, and now of baroness de Watteville. This place was begun in the year 1722, and this congregation received afterwards a confirmation of its orders and regulations from government.

Niesky also in Upper Lusatia, upon the manor of Trebus, twelve miles from Goerlitz. This place was begun in the year 1742, by exiles from Bohemia. Here is at present the Pædagogium of the Unity of the Brethren.

Klein Welke, also in Upper Lusatia, about three miles from Budissin on the road to Berlin, was begun in 1756, and is built very near the old village of the same name. Most of the members of this congregation are of the Vandal nation.

At Barby, in the county of the same name, twenty-four miles from Magdeburg, a congregation of the Brethren has been gathered ever since the year 1748, after the government had given the palace and bailiwick to Count Henry the 28th Reuss, and others on a lease, and had granted the chapel of the palace to the congregation of the Brethren for their Divine worship. The theological seminary of the Unity is in this place; in this seminary or college, students are prepared for future service among Christians or heathens.

Gnadau, on the electoral domain Doeber, six miles from Barby, and eighteen from Magdeburg. In the year 1765, the government gave the palace of Barby, with its appurtenances, and the domain Doeber, to Count Henry the 28th Reuss, upon a perpetual lease, with a view that a settlement might be made here, after the manner of the Brethren's Congregation-places; whereupon a beginning was made to build such a place in the year 1767, not far from Doeber.

### 2. Under the government of the king of Prussia.

Gnadenberg, in the principality of Jauer in Silesia, on the manor called Gross Krausche, three miles from Bunzlau, was begun in the year 1743, after having received a special royal grant for it.

Gnadenfrey, in the principality of Schweidnitz in Silesia, about nine miles from Reichenbach, on the manor of Oberpeilan, was also begun in the year 1743. This congregation is at present the largest of the Brethren's congregations in Silesia.

Neusalz, is a new built place which the Brethren began to erect in 1745, near the town of Neusalze on the Oder. This settlement of the Brethren was by order of the king, laid out in a regular manner in the year 1744, and was in a very flourishing condition before the last war in Silesia. But in the year 1749 it was plundered in a cruel manner and totally reduced to ashes. The loss the Brethren sustained hereby in worldly goods was great, but all the Brethren and Sisters, lying-in women, the sick and children, escaped from the flames, and after many and various difficulties, they arrived in the neighbouring congregations, in Silesia and Upper Lusatia, safe and well. In 1763, the rebuilding of this place was taken in hand by the desire of government, and a congregation of the Brethren has been again settled there since that time.

These Silesian congregations have their own bishop, who resides in Silesia.

In Berlin, a Bohemian congregation of the Brethren, adhering to the Augustin confession, has been gathered together ever since the year 1744, and they declared their sentiments before a royal commission in the year 1747. They have a public Congregation-House, in which they have Divine worship agreeable to the constitution of the Brethren's congregation.

Also in Rixdorf, three miles from Berlin, in the year 1737, a congregation of the Brethren of the Bohemian nation were collected, and have built a Congregation-House and place for Divine worship. The congregation here was plundered in a very severe manner in the year 1760, but at the same time experienced from the hands of God a gracious preservation of their persons.

At Nordean in East-Friesland is also a congregation of the Brethren. They have a public place of worship, and enjoy undisturbed liberty. This congregation was begun under the government of the last prince of the East-Friesland.

### 3. Under the government of the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

Neudietendorff, fifteen miles from Gotha and six from Erfurth. In the year 1742, a considerable number of the Brethren of the Lutheran troops came together here. After many difficulties they have been in a more prosperous state since the year 1753, and received in 1764 a grant from the government.

Since then the congregation has increased considerably in the number of their members and in their buildings.

#### 4. Under the government of Count Reuss.

Ibersdorf in Voigtland. There has been in this place since the end of the former century, an Ecclesiola, a pious society, which increased from time to time, and after many vicissitudes, they sought in the year 1745 to establish an entire union with the congregations of the Brethren. Thus it came to pass, that a regular congregation of the Brethren was established there; a piece of land was ceded to them by the reigning count, that they might enlarge their settlement, and an act in favour of the evangelical Brethren's congregation was issued in the year 1761.

#### 5. Under the government of the Count of Neuwied.

At Neuwied, a congregation of French reformed Brethren and Sisters, who emigrated from Hernbagg, was begun. The reigning count gave them a grant of the necessary privileges in the year 1751, and renewed the said grant in a more ample manner in the year 1756. The Brethren were put in possession of a square of the city, for the use of the congregation, to erect on it their place of worship and Congregation-house, and other necessary buildings for the choirs and families; and since then a pretty numerous congregation is collected here. The greatest part of the congregation members are French reformed, yet as several Germans moved thither from time to time, Divine worship is performed there in both these languages alternately.

#### 6. In the United Provinces.

In Zeyst, in the province of Utrecht, a beginning was made in 1748 to build a Congregation-place in two squares between the palace and the village.—The congregation has built in the year 1768, a new Congregation-house and place of worship, and enjoy complete church-liberty under the government of the states of Utrecht. The preaching of the gospel here, both in the German and Dutch languages, is attended by many from other places.

In Amsterdam there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1738. They have had a place of worship there these many years past, and live quiet and undisturbed.

In Haerlem is also a small congregation of the Brethren, who have also a public worship.

The United Brethren have also several missions in

the province of Surinam in South America, they are the following:

In Paramaribo is a small House Congregation, who dwell there to receive the missionaries from Europe, to forward them to their posts among the heathens, and to provide them with necessaries.—They have a house of their own, and maintain themselves, as the Brethren seek to do every where, with the work of their hands.

In Sharon on the Saramica, is a congregation gathered out of the Arrawack nation. It was begun in the year 1757, and consisted of some baptized Indians, who were obliged to fly from the rebellious negroes in Berbice. The same was the case with Hope, on the river Corentyn, on the borders of Berbice; here the Indians, who live scattered on their Cassabi plantations, are ministered unto in the gospel, by some missionaries.

In Quama, not far from the head of the river Saramica, the brethren have a mission among the free negroes ever since the year 1765. This is, as may be easily conceived, one of the most toilsome and most difficult missions, but has however brought forth joyous fruit, as a negro captain Arabini, is become a believer in the Lord Jesus, is baptized, and walks worthily of the gospel.

#### 7. Under the government of Great Britain there are, in Europe, in North America, and in the West India Islands, sundry congregations and missions of the Brethren.

In London there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1742. They have a chapel in Nevil's-court, Fetter-lane, and another in Chelsea; near the last is their burying-ground.—There is divine service in both of these chapels every Sunday.

At Bedford is likewise a congregation of the Brethren; they have built at one end of the town, since the year 1741, a chapel, a congregation-house, and houses for the single Brethren and single Sisters. The congregation itself was settled here according to the constitution of the Brethren in the year 1744. To this congregation belong the Brethren's chapels and societies at Northampton, Riscly, &c. where the gospel is preached by the Brethren.

At Ockbrook, five miles from Derby, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1750. Since then they have erected on a small estate, bought for that purpose near the village, a chapel, a single Brethren's and a single Sister's house, and some other dwelling-houses.

Fulneck, near Pudsey, and six miles from Leeds, in Yorkshire, is a congregation-place, built particularly for that purpose. The beginning of the build-



ings was made in the year 1744, and in the following years the congregation-house, in which is the chapel, called Grace-hall, as also houses for the single Brethren, single Sisters, and Widows, were built. Here are also the economies or schools, in which the children of labourers, who cannot take care of their children on account of the duties of their offices, are educated.

The four following congregations are under the inspection and direction of the elders' conference of Fulneck, viz.—

Pudsey, to which the members of the congregation and societies in the neighbourhood of Leeds and Bradford belong.

Wyke, to which those who dwell in the places near Halifax belong.

Mirfield, to which those in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Wakefield belong.

Little Gumerals; but these four congregations have their own labours and chapels, in which meetings are kept on Sundays, and in the week days.

At Dukefield, a village in Cheshire, about eight miles from Manchester, is also a congregation of the Brethren: they have a new chapel and two choir-houses, one for the single Brethren and one for the single Sisters.

At Leominster in Herefordshire, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1759; they have their own chapel.

At Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, a congregation of the Brethren was also collected in the same year.

At Bristol, in the year 1755, a number of the members of the society was formed in a congregation. They have a new-built chapel in the parish of St. James. To this congregation belongs the congregation at Kingswood, which lies about four miles from Bristol, and has a chapel; and in Bath, a city well known on account of its waters, there is a new-built chapel and a congregation ever since the year 1765.

At Tetherton in Wiltshire, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1748. But as some members of the congregation came to live near the chapel, they called their proper premises Lamb's-acre. The Brethren's chapel in Malmsbury belongs to this congregation.

Besides these congregations the United Brethren have chapels in several parts of England, where their ministers preach the gospel with blessing; for instance, at Apperly in Gloucestershire, Frome in Somersetshire, Plymouth in Devonshire, Fairfield, in Lancashire, as also at Air and Irwin in Scotland.

In Ireland are the following congregations of the Brethren.

In Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, since the

year 1750, they have two chapels at each side of the river Liffy, which runs through the city, one in Great Booter-lane, the other in Stafford-street.

Upon the townland Ballickennedy, in the county of Antrim, the Brethren have begun to build a new congregation-place, which is called Grace-hill.— Beside the congregation-house, in which is the chapel and two choir-houses, several other private houses are built and inhabited.

Ballymaguigan, in the county of Derry, on the west side of the famous Lough-neagh, is also a new built congregation-place, to which belongs a chapel of the society at Lisnamara, where a congregation of the Brethren was settled in the year 1759.

Ballonderry, on the east side of the aforesaid Lough-neagh: here has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1755. To this congregation belongs the little congregation at Kilwarlin; the latter has also its own chapel.

At Drumargan, about four miles from Armagh, has been a Brethren's congregation ever since the year 1759. And finally,

At Coot-hill, twenty-six miles from Armagh, a congregation of the Brethren was collected in the year 1765.

In America, and first, in the province of Pennsylvania, are the following congregations of the Brethren.

Bethlehem, the chief congregation-place of the Brethren in North America, in the county of Northampton, fifty miles from Philadelphia, on a branch of the river Delaware, which has retained the Indian name Lechai, or Lechi. The latitude of this place has been taken at sundry times, and found to be 40 deg. 37 min. N. L. This place was begun in the year 1741, at a time when few Europeans were in this district: a considerable number of missionaries have been sent from this congregation among the heathens.

At Nazareth, nine miles north of Bethlehem, a large building called Nazareth-hall, has been erected, in which is the chapel, where the congregation of the Brethren dwelling in their several habitations about Christiansbrun and Gnadenhall, meet and have divine service on Sundays and holidays. In Nazareth-hall is also the *Paedagogium* of the Unity in America. In the year 1771, the Brethren began to build a new congregation-place near the hall.

Litiz, a new congregation-place in the county of Lancaster, seventy miles from Philadelphia. The building of this place was begun in the year 1757, and there are now, besides the chapel and congregation-house, choir-houses for the single Brethren and single Sisters, and a good many houses for families.

At Lancaster, the county town of that name,

there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1746. The congregation here has a church, a congregation-house, and a burying-ground in the town.

In York-town, or, as it is sometimes called, York on the Cadoras, twenty-four miles from Litz, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1755, who have built a congregation house, as also in

Mount Joy, formerly called Donnegal, sixteen miles from Litz. In the township of Bethel, twelve miles from Mount Joy, near the blue Mountains, a congregation of the Brethren was settled in the year 1753, but in the last war they were obliged to fly from the cruelties of the savage Indians, but after the conclusion of the peace they gathered again together around their congregation-house.

At Hebron, in the township of Libanon, sixteen miles from Litz, formerly called Quittope-hill, a beginning has been made of a congregation-place ever since the year 1757, near the congregation-house, as also,

At Emmaus in the township of Salisbury, formerly called Maguntsky, eight miles from Bethlehem. The Indian war proved an occasion, that those who had belonged to this congregation since the year 1742, and who lived scattered up and down, drew together, and erected habitations near their congregation-house.

In Heidelberg in the county of Berks, twenty-four miles from Litz, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1743.

Shoenek not far from Nazareth was erected as a congregation-place in the year 1757. The members of the congregation who live on their plantations beyond the limits of the land belonging to Nazareth, attend divine service there.

In Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoni, there was formerly a considerable settlement of the Brethren, but it was destroyed by the Indians in the year 1755, but a congregation of the Brethren now gathers again together there.

In the city of Philadelphia there has been a congregation of the Brethren, ever since the year 1741, of the English, and another of the German nation; but in time they united, and became one congregation. However divine service is performed in both languages alternately. They have a church, a congregation-house, and burying-ground.

In the province of new Jersey at Oldman's Creek, thirty miles below Philadelphia, there has been a congregation ever since the year 1765. And in Greenland, thirty miles from Bethlehem, is a new settlement of the Brethren, which was laid out in the year 1771.

In the province of New York, and in the capital

of the province, there has been a congregation of the Brethren, ever since the year 1741, which has a church, a congregation-house, and also a burying-ground in the city.

In Dutchess county, an hundred miles from New York, upon the borders of New England is Schiemo, a small Brethren's congregation ever since the year 1758.

In the province of Rhode Island at Newport, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1758, which has a new chapel and burying-ground in the town.

In the province of Maryland, six miles from Fredrick's town and one mile from the river Manakosy, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1757. They have also a chapel at Carol's manor, twelve English miles from thence, in which the gospel is preached by the Brethren to a company of English people.

In the province of North Carolina, on the lands of Wachovia, are three congregations of the Brethren.

Salem, the chief place in the centre of the land; the Brethren began to build this place in the year 1766.

Bethabara, the first place which the Brethren began to build in Wachovia, in the year 1759: it lies six miles north of Salem.

Bethany, nine miles north of Salem; the building of this place was begun in 1760.

Besides these, there are two places in Wachovia, Friedland, five miles south-east of Salem, and Friedberg, eight miles south of Salem, where the gospel is also preached by the Brethren.

The United Brethren have also established, in the English dominions, several missions among the heathens with blessed effects.

From these missions has arisen,

An Indian congregation in North America, which was gathered in Chekomekok, and was composed of Mahikanders and Wampanos. As this congregation was situated at different places from time to time, it is necessary to prevent a misunderstanding, as if different congregations were at those different places, to describe their removals more particularly.

When the above-mentioned Indian congregation were driven from Chekomekok in 1746, the greatest part of them went to Bethlehem, where many new converts from the Delaware nation joined them.—From thence they went, in 1748, to the Mahoni, and built Gnadenhuetten, twenty-five miles to the north of Bethlehem; and in 1754 they built a new place on the Lecha, a mile from Old Gnadenhuetten, and called it New Gnadenhuetten: but as this place was destroyed by the savage Indians in 1755, they fled to Bethlehem.

Part of them built in 1757, a new place called Nain: another part removed behind the Blue Mountains, and built habitations upon a spot purchased by the Brethren, on the rivulet Weckquetank, twenty miles from Nazareth. But upon the breaking out of a new Indian war, in the year 1763, they were, though entirely innocent, suspected by some white people of being secretly connected with their savage countrymen.

By these suspicions they were brought into the greatest danger, so that their lives were not secure, but were taken under the protection of government, and brought to Philadelphia, and first placed on Province Island, and then lodged in the barracks of the city. After the conclusion of the peace, they were sent by the governor and assembly up into the Indian country upon the Susquannah, at the mouth of the creek Wikilusing. Here they built a village, and called it Friedenshuetten. This proved a means that many Indians believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and part of them settled at this place, and part of them settled at a place thirty miles farther up the Susquannah, called Tschedschequanik. But when, in the year 1768, the six nations sold a large district to the English, in which lay also Friedenshuetten, the English congregation could stay there no longer.

They accordingly forsook their new and fine built village, which consisted of thirty-nine good houses, and ten huts, and departed from thence in the month of June 1772, being upwards of two hundred, to settle beyond the Ohio on the Muskingum river, between Lake Erie and the Ohio. According to the last accounts, they arrived there safe, and have laid out a new place, called Wilkikutpeke, that is, Schoenbrunn, a beautiful spring.

Another Indian congregation of the Brethren had collected themselves through the ministry of the missionary David Zeisberger, in the Indian town Gosegosching, not far from Venango, two days journey above Pittsburgh. These removed, in 1771, to the Beaver Creek, which falls into the Ohio, a day's journey below Pittsburgh, and built for themselves a village, called Langentoutennuk, or city of peace.

On the island of Jamaica, belonging to Great Britain, a mission was begun in the year 1754, and soon was branched out into several missions, on account of the distance of the places from one to another; in each of these places the gospel is preached to the poor negro slaves in the English language, and they are embodied into the Christian church by holy baptism. The places where these missions are settled are, at present, six in number, viz. Carmel, Bogue, Mesopotamia, Elinz, Eden, and Island.

On the Island of Antigua the Brethren began a mission among the negroes in the town of St. John in the year 1756. They have not only a church for the negroes in the town, but they preach with blessing on sundry plantations out of the city.

On the Island of Barbadoes the Brethren have a negro church a few miles from Bridge-town, but preach as in Antigua, upon several plantations.

This mission was begun in the year 1767.

Lastly, the Brethren made a mission-settlement under the British government in Esquimaux bay, on the coast of Labrador, in the year 1771, with a view to bring the glad tidings of the incarnation of God, and of his meritorious life and sufferings, to the Esquimaux. The place where they have settled and built a house is called Nain, and lies in the 57 deg. N. lat.

## VII. Under the Danish Government.

By royal rescript dated December 10th 1771 leave was granted to the Evangelical Brethren, adhering to the unaltered Augustin confession, to establish a congregation-place of the Brethren in the duchy of Sleswick, and at the same time was granted to the missions of the Brethren in the Danish dominions out of Europe all necessary church liberty, and other immunities. According to this grant, a new place of the Brethren is laid out and begun on the late royal domain Tysstruploff, in the bailiwick of Hadersleben, and this place is called Christian's Field.

New Hernhuth, upon the West Indian Island of St. Thomas, is the oldest mission of the Brethren among the heathens. The first missionaries went thither so early as in the year 1732. The number of the negroes who are ministered unto by the Brethren with the word and sacrament, is so greatly increased, and their dwellings so distant from the negro church in New Hernhuth, that the Brethren have built,

In Niesky, formerly called Crumbay, a new negro church, as also dwellings for the missionaries.

The baptized negroes and catechumens are divided, as the nature of their situation required, into these two congregations, and each negro belongs to that congregation which is nearest to his habitation.

Friedensthal in St. Croix near to Bassin, or the town and haven. At this mission-establishment the brethren built a spacious negro church and dwelling-house in 1753. But there were missionaries of the brethren on this island twenty years before the church was built. Here also, as in St.



Thomas, the negro congregation increased so much that it was needful to divide it into two congregations:

Therefore a new negro church and dwelling for the missionaries was built in 1771; on the west end of the island, near Christianstadt and called Friedensberg. This gave occasion to a new awakening among the negroes.

In St. Jan the mission-settlement of the Brethren is called Bethany.

As St. Thomas and St. Jan lie but a league distant from each other, the mission in St. Jan was taken care of by the Brethren in St. Thomas. But as the negroes earnestly requested, that a missionary might reside there constantly, a proper negro church and a dwelling house were built there in the year 1753. Since then the number of the baptized is greatly increased.

New Hernhuth in Greenland on Baal's River in the sixty-fourth degree north latitude, is the first congregation of the Brethren in Greenland. This mission of the Brethren was begun as early as the year 1733.

Lichtenfels, one hundred miles south of New Hernhuth on the Fisher Fiorte, is the other congregation of the Brethren in Greenland, and was begun in the year 1758.

A full account of these two congregations of the Brethren in Greenland is to be found in Crantz's Hist. of Greenland, Octo. published in Germany in 1765.

In the Brethren's Garden near Tranquebar in the East Indies, is a settlement of the Brethren since the year 1760, from whence they take care of the mission among the heathens upon the Nicobar Island.

The mission at Nancaweri, one of the Nicobar islands, was begun in the year 1768. The missionaries wait there with great impatience till our Saviour shall open the ears and hearts of the heathens for the gospel.

#### 9. In the Russian Empire.

A congregation of the Brethren was established at Sarepta in the kingdom of Astrachan in the year 1765.

The most gracious permission was given by an Imperial Ukase to the United Brethren to come into the empire and to enjoy a complete liberty of conscience, and of exercising their religion agreeable to their own church-constitution and discipline.—They chose for their settlement a piece of land twenty-four miles below Czarizin on the rivulet Sarpa, which runs into the Wolga, and since then have erected not only dwelling-houses for families, but

also a single Brethren's and single Sisters' house, and in the year 1772 a congregation-house and a chapel.

In St. Petersburg also the empress of Russia, in the year 1766, made a present of a large house to the Brethren to perform divine service in according to their rites. Since then the Brethren preach in it every Sunday.

X. Lastly, it is not to be passed over in silence, that there are also five Brethren in Africa, at Grand Cairo in Egypt, with a view to serve the Copts with the gospel, and if our Lord pleases, to go in time to Abyssinia.

#### *The present state of the United Brethren.*

The whole of those congregations whom we have now mentioned, call themselves United Brethren, or Associated Brethren, and Protestants adhering to the Augustin confession. They are however, distinguished by different appellations, and are classed in different ranks. All those who are of the Bohemian church, are called the Ancient Brethren, and take place of the others. Proselytes or converts are generally admitted into this society after they have been in the others; for there are some mysteries in this, concealed from the other societies.

It is probable that they borrow this practise from the Christians who lived about the latter end of the fourth century. For at that time the heathens who were candidates to be admitted into the church, stood at the door till all those called Believers, passed by; then the heathens were admitted to hear the sermon, and were examined as to their knowledge; but were obliged to retire, before the Believers went to the communion. This practice did great hurt to the cause of Christianity; for the heathens said that they, the Christians, met to commit unnatural practices. This will be always the case, where there are secrets, while the different sexes meet together. Let us only consider the ridiculous stories that have been told concerning the Free-masons, and perhaps all of them are false. It has also happened that the nocturnal meetings of the Methodists have induced people to accuse them of what perhaps they never were guilty; but then there ought to be no secrets in religion. Am I to answer at the judgment seat of Christ for all my actions, before angels and men? and shall I be ashamed or afraid to be seen in my religious duties here below? we should not only avoid doing evil, but we should avoid seeming to do so.

It is certain that although these United Brethren

pretend to follow the confessions set forth by Luther, yet they have embraced a variety of other sentiments.

As the Arians spend most of their time in the pulpit, in degrading the glories of the Lord Jesus Christ, so these people called United Brethren forget all that honour due to God the Father and the Holy Ghost, under pretence of extolling the Saviour. All extremes are connected with insanity; and therefore those who would understand true religion, so as to reap any benefit by it, must learn that God is not to be found in the tormenting fire, or the raging whirlwind, but in the still small voice of a holy life.

Every congregation among the United Brethren has its peculiar pastors; they are, in some measure, distinct from each other, and yet they are at the same time united. And thus to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, they have synods which meet at different times to regulate all their external affairs. The members of these synods have free liberty to declare their sentiments with freedom, upon whatever subject comes before them. Those who do not chuse to speak, may deliver their opinions in writing; but the votes are always balloted with the greatest care.

As this is a religion that admits both sexes into offices, so a great number of females generally attend. There may be many reasons for this besides natural inclinations, but we shall take no notice of them. Perhaps they are as innocent as the quakers are reputed to be, and we hope they are so.

When anything of a dubious nature is proposed concerning a disputed point in scripture, and the members of the synod cannot agree concerning the discussion of it, then they cast lots. The casting of lots is of great antiquity; but how far such a practice can be justified according to the Christian institution, the reader may judge.

In the rest of their discipline they have something like the Sandemanimans, for as there is a great deal of washing of feet, so their conduct is very severe to those whom they excommunicate. They resemble the Methodists in singing a number of hymns, and they are so much attached to this practice, that their children are asked questions in verse sung by the elders, and answered by the young ones in the same manner.

As for their keeping many things secret, we shall not judge them strictly, being willing to think charitably of all men; but this much is certain, that it cannot be done in conformity with the primitive church. The primitive Christians were obliged to meet in private in the night, to avoid the fury of the heathens, but here these people called Brethren enjoy a free toleration. Whether they lock the doors of their meetings during any part of their

worship, we know not; but if they do, they are guilty of a breach of the toleration act.

We could wish that all things were free and open, that there might be no concealment; for wherever things of a religious nature are concealed in private suspicions arise, and scandal is thrown upon men, who perhaps, may be totally innocent.

From the whole account we have given of them, we have learned but little concerning the method of treating their poor members. We have already seen, that there are several societies of Christians in the Protestant world, who take no care of their poor; and where popery is established, all charitable donations are given to the monks. The Sandemanimans pretend to take great care of their poor; but when they think it too troublesome to support them, they have an easy method of parting.

The Friends really take care of their poor, whether old or young; and although these people are often treated with much contempt, yet they are, in the great article of unaffected charity, the most respectable in the world.

"True religion and undefiled before God, is this, to visit the fatherless children and widows, and to keep ourselves unspeckled from the world."

No man will believe that person's religion to be genuine, whose heart is not open to the wants of his fellow-creatures, as well as to his brethren in his own profession. The primitive Christians were charitable to their persecutors, which was copying, in all respects, the character of their Divine Redeemer; who created bread to feed the hungry, who went about doing good.

As for the United Brethren, called Moravians, it appears they collect great sums of money, but we believe the greatest part of it, according to their own accounts, is expended in missions among the heathens. The Jesuits have done the same, and little success has attended either. Perhaps the Divine Providence frowns upon those practices, which are not undertaken in his way, and refuses to confer such upon them, because they look for the praise of men. But we will not dwell upon these things. God Almighty suffers many transactions to take place in this lower world, which our bewildered and circumscribed understandings cannot account for. Perhaps there are many things in the works of providence, which we look on as evil, but which in the end may be attended with the most beneficial consequences. It is likewise not improbable, (may we believe it to be true) that many persons in their religious characters have been grossly misrepresented, by those who know little or nothing concerning them. It was so with the primitive Christians, it is certainly so with some of the modern sects. We shall therefore take leave of the Moravian Brethren, and proceed to another sect.

## ACCOUNT OF THE MUGGLETONIANS.

IN that fertile age for the propagation of new religions, 1657, the people of this country, especially the lower ranks of them, not only turned preachers, but likewise prophets. Some pretended to foretel future events; others said they were apostles risen from the dead; while a third sort had the assurance to assert, that they were some of those persons who had been prophesied of in the book of Revelation.

Among these were Lodovicus Muggleton, a journeyman taylor, in Rosemary-lane, and Wm. Rceves, a cobbler, in the same place. These two men meeting together at a public-house in the Minories, projected a new scheme of religion, in order to impose on the people.

They knew that the religionists who had gone before them, had not carried their pretensions high enough, and therefore they gave out that they were the two witnesses prophesied of in the book of Revelation, who were to appear before the end of the world. They held forth to the misguided multitude on Tower-hill, and on all the places of eminence near the city. They were followed by a vast number of people, which gave, so much offence to the Presbyterians and Independents, that they procured an order from Oliver Cromwell to have them punished.

Oliver, it is well known, was never an enemy to toleration, and therefore, all that he would grant was, that these madmen should be whipped through the principal streets of the city. The culprits bore their punishment with that stubborn fortitude which ever distinguishes enthusiastic and ignorant characters.

As persecution is the life of religion, so these men were more followed by mad people than ever. It was found in vain to persecute them any longer; and it may be justly said of them, that they turned the brains of one quarter of the vulgar people in London. They published four volumes in 4to. which the author of this work has perused.

When we consider the nature of these compositions, and the characters of the men to whom they are ascribed, we are led to believe, that like Mahomet of old, they had some assistance. Probably some of the other sectarists drew them up, with the sole view of having it in their power to wreak their vengeance on these men; for among all interested

preachers, there is the same antipathy as between cats and mice.

When the restoration took place, the Muggletonians were frequently dispersed by the Guards, and many of them put into prison. It was the great misfortune of these people, that although they pretended to the spirit of prophesy, yet they could not foretel what was to happen to themselves. Just like the fortune-tellers of the present age, who, although they pretend to help people to stolen goods, and tell a girl who is to be her husband, yet they cannot foresee when a constable will come to take them into custody.

However, they went on with their fanaticism, and continued making proselytes till after the revolution took place, and then they sheltered themselves under the toleration act. But they had powerful enemies to contend with. The Presbyterians hated them, because they treated their poor, mean, clerical characters with contempt; and the Independents did all they could to injure them, and traduce their characters, because they led away many silly old women, whose credulity and pockets often furnished them with a dinner.

And yet these people grew the more; and their leaders, in order to keep them to themselves, declaimed against the vices of the Presbyterians, and the pretensions of the Independents. They told them, that they were all impostors, and wretches who lived on the fruits of the people's honest industry. There might have been some truth in this, but we have some reason to believe, that the Muggletonian teachers were as mercenary as those whom they opposed. Opposition in disputes concerning religion, may shift the outward character of the man, but it cannot change his nature. We may add further, that in all polemical disputes concerning the exteriors of religion, the means are changed; but the end held in view is the same.

And that end is neither less nor more, than to triumph over the credulity of the people; to procure emoluments at their expence; to triumph over their ignorance, and to represent themselves under the characters of saints, while, in reality, they are like devils. This was the case with the Pharisees of old, and it will remain to the end of the world, as long as false religion is known, and while there is an hypocrite on earth.



At present we must compare the Muggletonians to those passionate lovers, who, after being cloyed with enjoyment, become as cold as the aged and infirm. At first they were fired with unbridled zeal of religion, inflamed with superstition; but they gradually cooled, and are now a set of jolly fellows, who drink their pot, and smoke their tobacco.

There is one thing, however, relating to them, that must not be forgotten.

When their first apostles found themselves drawing towards their end, they did the very same almost that Mahomet had done before. They called the people together, and told them they would come again on earth to visit them; but they did not, like the Arabian impostor, fix the time, which undoubtedly was a master stroke of policy.

Their followers, in the present age, still retain that notion; and they believe, that these two apostles, or witnesses, will meet them when they are assembled together. They meet in the evenings of Sundays, at obscure public-houses in the out-parts of London, and converse about those of their sect who have gone before them. They have very little serious discourse, but are extremely free, sometimes going home drunk.

It does not appear that ever they had any public places of worship, for their first founders preached any where. Those Muggletonians of the present age, make no account of either faith or duty, unless it can be called faith to believe in the coming of their founders. It is a sort of faith indeed, but it is not that which Christians are taught to believe. Their conduct in treating religion in such an irreverent manner, has had very pernicious effects on the morals of the people. It has induced many of them to become deists and practical atheists; and we have known several persons, who, from Methodists, commenced Muggletonians, and at last reposed themselves quietly in the bosom of the church of Rome. These converted Muggletonians are employed by the priests to pervert as many Protestants

as they can, and they generally have but too abundant success.

The origin of the Muggletonians exhibits to us a melancholy picture of those times when England was without government either in church or state.—The people were not content with hearing the Presbyterians, Independents, Anapabists, &c. &c. who shared the church livings among themselves, but they even encouraged tailors, cobblers, tinkers, and all sorts of low vulgar mechanics to mount their stools and chairs in the streets and on dunghills.—Nay, they collected money for the preachers, which answered their end much better than their trades.—As the conduct of the ministers in the churches had induced them to lend a helping hand to carry on the work of reformation, so when the restoration took place, both the established clergy and the court, let loose their fury upon all sects indiscriminately.

Some of the Muggletonians were thrown into prison, and others were put in the stocks, where they continued preaching to the people. Some of them were transported to the colonies in America; but as the Presbyterians had great power there, they harassed them from one province to another, till death relieved them from their hardships.

The intelligent reader will be able to assign a reason for their continuance in this age, when all religions are taught, but very few duties performed.

The last thing we shall take notice of concerning these people is, that it is a melancholy consideration that men should live in the world without enjoying the smallest share of sense arising from religion:—That instead of looking forward to the blessed hope of immortality, they believe in nothing but the resurrection of two impostors. To this we may add, that there must still be a considerable number of these people in different parts of England; for only a few years ago a new edition in three volumes quarto was printed, of the rhapsodies of Muggleton and Reeves, and had there not been people to purchase them, they would not have been printed.

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## ACCOUNT OF THE MYSTICS.

WE have left our account of these smaller sects, till the concluding part of this work, because they were never (to use a military phrase,) properly embodied.

So far as we know, the first Mystic writer was St. Austin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa; but this celebrated father did not dissent from the religion

as established in the empire. It is true he collected together a considerable number of young men, who lived with him in cloisters adjoining to his church, and he taught them those notions that are to be found in his confessions.

Soon after his death, we hear of nothing but ignorance, occasioned by the inundations of the barba-

rians; and the first Mystic writer that lived after him, seems to have been Bede, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who lived in the abbey of Tinnmouth, in Northumberland.

The next Mystic writer we meet with is St. Bernard, who flourished about the eleventh century, and was employed by the pope to preach up the crusades. In latter times we meet with Kempis, Bona, and Drexilius, in all of whose writings there are many fine things. But we must now consider them as a general sect; and strange as it may appear, a woman was chiefly concerned in the institution of them.

Madam Bourignon, a French lady, and a Roman Catholic, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantz (1685), published several pieces on divine love, spiritual mindedness, the elevation of the soul to Christ, the looking above all earthly things, to reject, or at least consider, the externals of religion as mere trifles, and to retire within themselves for the purposes of contemplation.

As the popish religion consists chiefly in ceremonies, so the French clergy were greatly alarmed, and Madam Bourignon, not knowing what mischief they might do her, left her native country, and retired to Holland.

In the mean time the sect had spread far and wide, and the great Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, wrote a book, entitled, the *Maxims of the Saints*, in which he attempted to vindicate many of those sentiments professed by Madam Bourignon. The Catholic clergy were alarmed, and notice was sent to the pope.

After two years consultation, the pope, with his cardinals, condemned the book, and the archbishop acquiesced in the censure. It does not seem, however, that he relinquished his opinions: for in his posthumous works, he left a vindication of what he had written before.

The proselytes to Madam Bourignon's opinions increased daily, and some of them came over to England. They did not set up separate congregations, but they published a considerable number of books, by which they disseminated their sentiments all over the kingdom. They ran into wild extravagancies, and although they were at first very inoffensive, yet in the end they became most mysterious indeed.

As all violent disorders in the human body either kill or cure, so violences in religion have the same tendency. This was the case with the Mystics, who, by their violent attachment to things above religion, lost what reason they had. Their successors, however, have become more sober, and several great men both in the church of England, and among the Dissenters, have embraced their opinions.

Among these were the late pious Mr. Law, and the amiable Mrs. Rowe. The writings, however, of these celebrated persons, are far from being contemptible. They contain the most elevated flights of fancy, and exalted thoughts of divine goodness.

We shall conclude this article with observing, that whoever would devote themselves to the study of religion, should take a little practical religion along with them. We are such a composition of flesh and spirit, that nothing less than human means can promote divine institutions.

If men would think soberly, and look into their own hearts, they would not be led into such extravagancies as they generally are. In the present age, mistakes are to be found in many of our sects, and the greatest part of them have been owing to the multiplicity of hymns. Of these we shall just give a specimen, and leave the reader to judge for himself. We could give stronger specimens, but think the following will be sufficient.

Jesus, God of our salvation,  
Give us eyes thyself to see,  
Waiting for the consolation,  
Longing to believe on thee:  
Now vouchsafe the sacred power,  
Now the faith divine impart;  
Meet us in this solemn hour,  
Shine in every drooping heart.

Anna-like within the temple,  
Simcon-like we meekly stay,  
Daily with thy saints assemble,  
Nightly for thy coming pray:  
While our souls are bow'd before thee,  
While we humbly sue for grace,  
Come, thy people's light and glory,  
Shew to all thy heavenly face.

If to us thy sacred spirit  
Hath the future grace reveal'd,  
Let us by thy righteous merit  
Now receive our pardon seal'd:  
To eternal life appointed,  
Let us thy salvation see,  
Now behold the Lord's anointed,  
Now obtain our heaven in thee.

Upon the whole, the Mystics, who at present seem to have hearts inclined towards piety, but very confused heads, with minds susceptible of serious impressions of religion, by neglecting the use of reason they run into a vast number of absurdities.—By imagining themselves to be wrought upon by superior and supernatural influences, they neglect the use of divine revelation. They embrace the shadow for the substance, and although we would not call them criminal, yet we are certain that they are mistaken.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH PROPHETS.

**ALTHOUGH**, so far as we are able to learn, there are none of these people now in London, nor in any part of Britain, yet they made no small figure about the beginning of the present century. Their origin was as follows:

After the revocation of the edict of Nantz, 1685, not less than fifteen hundred thousand Protestants left France, and settled in Protestant countries.—These men, who were for the most part very ingenious artists, carried the manufactures of France along with them. Many of these Protestants brought the silk trade along with them to England, and they received all that encouragement which is due to persecuted merit. The elector of Brandenburg, grandfather to the late king of Prussia, invited some thousands of them to settle in his dominions; and the kings of Denmark and Sweden, who had their own interest in a better light than the Gallic monarch, assigned them places to reside in.

This therefore weakened the trade of France, by lessening her power, in depriving the country of its most useful inhabitants. Here was a noble opportunity for the French ministry to revive the interest and honour of their country by putting an end to the iron hand of oppressive power, by restoring the subjects to their natural rights and privileges. Here, however, bigotry got the better of self-interest, and the love of superstition triumphed over all those duties which men owe to their fellow-subjects.

An edict passed, that every man who should be found making his escape out of France, should be condemned to the galleys for life, and some thousands of these people were apprehended and suffered the prescribed punishment. The violence of the persecution raged with the greatest severity in the south of France, which induced the people who had no opportunity of making their escape, to take shelter in those barren mountains called the Cevennes.—There they suffered many hardships, which naturally filled their minds with notions altogether superstitious. Fixing carnal senses on the most reputable providential passages in the Old Testament, they began to imagine they were divinely inspired, and assumed the name of prophets: pretending, at the same time, to that sacred character which ought always to be treated with respect.

Necessity furnished these people with an opportunity of making their escape to Geneva, where

they were kindly received, and furnished with money to carry them to Holland, by the way of the Rhine.

From Holland, a whole cargo of these enthusiasts came over to London, and they began to shew their importance in a very remarkable manner indeed.—They laboured at the ends of the most remarkable and most conspicuous streets in London, declaiming against popery, and condemning, with the bitterest violence, the whole frame of the church of England. They denounced the severest judgments on queen Anne for not extirpating all the papists in Europe; and they prophesied, that within a few months England would be destroyed.

On this subject of religious madness, Voltaire, contrary to his usual way of writing, has a very just remark. “Queen Anne (says this author) was well known to have a strong attachment to the church of England; and although a little superstition might be found in her conduct, yet she did not choose to have her favourite church ridiculed. She therefore ordered her attorney-general, Sir Thomas Parker, to proceed against these enthusiasts in a summary manner. Accordingly they were ordered to be whipped round St. Paul’s church-yard; and at every lash they received, they prophesied a curse against her majesty, and against the nation.” But this conduct had not the desired effect, for they had daily great numbers of converts, so that for some time London was little better than in a state of confusion.

It was not, however, sufficient for them to make converts in London, they sent missionaries as far as Scotland. Here one Cunningham, a common mechanic, preached in the streets of Edinburgh, to a tumultuous mob; and the Presbyterian ministers began to imagine, that the French Prophets were devils indeed. They were afraid they should lead away their people from their churches, and bring their ministry into contempt.

The magistrates of Edinburgh acted more prudently, for they caused Cunningham, and about a dozen of his followers to be apprehended and committed to prison, and like the Muggletonians, they were so ignorant of future events, that they did not know what was to happen to themselves. During his confinement, Cunningham wrote a book full of rhapsodies, bordering on blasphemy, pronouncing a thousand curses on Scotland; but the magistracy



took no farther notice of it, than to order him to be whipped through the city.

For some time after Cunningham had been released from his imprisonment, his followers attempted to disseminate their sentiments in the different towns in Scotland, but the Presbyterian ministers formed a plan to have them all knocked on the head. It is, certain that enthusiasm will carry men to great lengths, even in a bad cause; but the French Prophets in Scotland had not fortitude sufficient to submit with patience to be massacred, according to the plan laid down by some zealous Presbyterian ministers. They had less zeal and more prudence than one would have expected from men, who, in all other respects, were darkened in their understandings.

Stimulated by motives of self-preservation from the fury of the enraged Presbyterians in Scotland, they wisely crossed the Tweed, and joined their friends in London. It does not appear, that, properly speaking, they had any meetings; for in their opinion, temples built with hands were places too profane for them to exhibit in. They had tents erected in the fields leading towards Islington, where they harangued every day to a promiscuous multitude. This created many disturbances, and frequently led the Middlesex Justices from their bottle to see them set in the stocks. Sympathy for the sufferers operated on the minds of the vulgar, and their bold pretensions to the spirit of prophecy induced the ignorant to consider them as divinely inspired. In proof of this, we shall mention the following fact, related to the author by an eminent surgeon now alive, and who enjoys two considerable places in public hospitals.

One of these madmen having asserted, that in proof of his divine mission, he would die on a particular day, and on the third day he would rise from the dead; a wag present, laid him a wager on the strength of his prophecy. The prophet, who knew not in what manner the materia medica operated, resolved to try the experiment, and the day was fixed. In the mean time the enthusiast went to the father of the gentleman already mentioned, who

kept an apothecary's shop in Old-street. He asked for as much opium as would make him sleep one night. Having obtained that, he bought twice as much, vainly imagining that if one-third part of the quantity would make him sleep one night, consequently the remainder would make him sleep two nights more, after which he would arise from the dead, and give a convincing proof of his mission.

Accordingly he swallowed the three doses of opium, and his friends, who had been let into the secret of his design, and who were as ignorant as himself, had him interred in the burying-ground belonging to the parish church of Cripplegate, situated in White-Cross-street. The fraternity of prophets continued singing hymns round the grave till the expiration of the three days, and the people in the neighbourhood were driven to such a state of expectation, that they neglected their lawful employments to behold this miraculous event.

At last the appointed time arrived; thousands and ten thousands of fools attended, and the grave was opened; but, alas! instead of the prophet making his appearance in the land of the living, the coroner issued his warrant for a jury to be summoned, to inquire in what manner he came by his death.—The verdict was found self-murder, and he was buried with a stake drove through his body, in the cross-way near Doghouse bar.

This was a most fatal stroke to the French Prophets; their credit sunk into contempt, and they soon after dwindled away. Indeed, for some time, the London prisons were filled with them; and the pillories exhibited scenes of amazement for the idle and the profligate. Some of them were transported to America, but they were soon driven out of that country, because both the Presbyterians and Independents threatened to have them brought to punishment. It is very probable this would have taken place, had not the civil governors taken part with these unhappy enthusiasts, and sent them again to England.

It seems that about this time, they began to cool in their zeal, and they dwindled away in such a gradual manner, that no remains of them are left.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN, COMMONLY CALLED MILLENARIANS.

**I**T is probable that many of our readers never heard of this sect, and therefore it is proper we should say something concerning them, especially as they are not only of great antiquity, but are likewise numerous in the present age. It is true, they are not considered as one body of people, because they are scattered through the different denominations of Protestants, and some of the same sentiments have often been found among the Roman Catholics.

It is not our business here to enter into that sort of controversy which might distract the minds of our readers; but we could say a thousand things concerning the conduct of the council of Nice, which, in the year 325, settled the canon of the sacred scripture. Mr. Toland has asserted, that if the council of Nice had a right to determine what was the canon of the sacred scripture, they must have been divinely inspired; for all the living witnesses and writers had been dead many years before the oldest members of that assembly were born.

Now it is well known, that even the council of Nice rejected some of those books which we now consider as canonical. And this has given rise to a question, viz. whether if the scriptures acknowledged to be canonical by the council of Nice were written by Divine inspiration? And secondly, whether Divine inspiration should guide the hand of every transcriber?

We shall not enter into the nature of this controversy; the learned are well acquainted with it, and we know the weak cannot bear it. There are subjects which particular persons may discourse on, but we must not make them known indiscriminately.

This leads us to consider the origin and progress of these people called Millenarians. The Apocalypse, or the book which we now call the Revelation of St. John the Divine, was not recognized in the church as canonical, till the end of the fifth century. It is certain, there are some expressions in that book which bear strong marks of a Divine original; but it is upon a particular expression that the doctrine of the Millenarians has been founded.

The passage alluded to is in Revelation xx.

"And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand,

And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan, and bound him a thousand years,

And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that, he must be loosed a little season.

And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them:

And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, nor his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,

And shall go out to deceive the nations, which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.

And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them.

And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophets are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

Now it is very probable, that these expressions are rather figurative than otherwise; for days are often mentioned as years in scripture; and it is said, that a thousand years are in the sight of God but as one day. However, it will appear that some of the ancient Christians, who never saw the book called the Apocalypse, or Revelation, believed the same sentiment contained in the above passage. The first of these was Irenæus, an author whose goodness of heart was far superior to the clearness of

his head. The notion itself was carnal, but it was easily embraced and greedily swallowed by the weak Christians in those early ages.

But with respect to what had been advanced by Irenæus, it was trifling to the notions broached by Origen. That father, celebrated for his learning, became equally celebrated, or rather despised for his preaching doctrines unknown to the Christian church before his time. Origen had learning without knowledge, and piety without prudence. He was acquainted with human wisdom; he loved that which was divine; but his passions were too strong to be brought under proper restraints.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,  
Drink deep, or taste not the pierian spring;  
Their shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,  
But drinking largely sobers us again.

However, it became an established notion among the primitive churches, that Christ, at his second coming, was to reign with his saints on earth a thousand years; and then the whole plan of redemption was to be completed. We are not certain how far this sentiment operated in the middle ages of Christianity; but we are certain that it was received soon after the Reformation from popery. We shall therefore proceed to consider in what manner these sentiments were propagated, who the persons were who embraced them, and by whom they are countenanced in the present age. This leads us into the history of the civil wars, an age when new religions grew up as fast as mushrooms do from their beds, and who vanish away like Jonah's gourd.

When the civil wars broke out, the views and designs of the Puritans were discovered both by the church-men, whom they opposed, and by the Republican party, who countenanced them. They had before that time been considered under the general name of Puritans, as men who sought for a purer reformation than had taken place in the reign of queen Elizabeth. To promote the destruction of church and state, they concealed their real sentiments; but no sooner had they got into the possession of the church livings, than they pulled off the mask, and, like Pandora's box, as many religions flew out as were sufficient to have darkened the air.

Among some of these Pseudo reformers were a great number of Fifth Monarchy Men, or Millenarians; and so fond were they of this notion, that they excommunicated their hearers who refused to be of the same sentiment with themselves. Many books were written on the belief of Christ's coming to reign with his saints a thousand years on earth, and it was considered as much an article of religion

as the existence of God, or the incarnation of Christ.

Some of those men who taught this notion were, in other respects, considerable in the literary world; but whenever new religions are broached by men of learning, they must not expect to find it wholly engrossed by themselves.

They will find competitors to enter the lists with them, and it will frequently happen, as it too often does in the physical world, that the quacks will have more followers and greater fees, than those who have been regularly bred to the profession.

This was the very case with the Fifth Monarchy Men in England; for no sooner had they published their sentiments and procured a considerable number of followers, whose imaginations they wrought up into a state of confusion, than many of their hearers turned preachers, and taught for themselves. It might have been supposed, that a person of such a cool disposition as Oliver Cromwell certainly was, would have done something towards suppressing these people; but then it must be considered that the Independents, whom he always esteemed, supported his government. Now he could not, with propriety, have attacked the spawn of his own party, without giving them offence; and as mere nominal preachers have no mercy, consequently he might have been, for such an action, deprived of his life and his dignity.

The more sober part of the Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy Men, only believed that Christ would reign a thousand years before the general resurrection; but the madmen who sprung up under them, carried the notion much higher. They were not content to wait till Christ's second coming; they had fixed a time for setting the crown on his head. Of this the following is a remarkable instance.

In 1660, and on the very day on which king Charles II. was crowned, a considerable number of these madmen met in Coleman-street, in London, where they were headed by one Venner, a fiery, ignorant preacher. In the morning he delivered a discourse to them, in which he told them, that the day was come when Christ was to ascend his throne. Having fired their imaginations with the highest raptures of enthusiasm, and finding them ready to obey him in every thing, he ordered them to sally forth into the streets, and kill every person who refused to join with them.

This was readily complied with, and these infatuated men made a more than dreadful havoc in the streets. The guards were brought to disperse them, and several of them were killed. A considerable number were taken into custody, among whom was Venner, the ringleader, who, with nine of his deluded followers, were executed in different parts of the city.



This instance of madness afforded a pretence for the corrupted court to wreak its vengeance upon the whole body of Non-conformists, although it is certain that they had no concern in it. Whatever might have been the sentiments of many of the Dissenters at that time, this much is certain, that they never intended to act in the same manner as Venner. They kept their opinions to themselves, but Venner reduced them to practice. This was a dreadful stroke to the Fifth Monarchy Men, and from that time they have made no great figure in England.

At present they are confined to writers, and there is now in the church of England a learned bishop who has embraced the sentiment concerning the Millenarians. We acknowledge the sentiment to be of a disputable nature, but still we think it too carnal to make a part of the Christian religion.—However, we shall leave every one to his own opinion, without pretending to judge of things above our comprehension.

## ACCOUNT OF THE HUTCHINSONIANS.

THE further we proceed in our accounts of sects and parties in religion, the more the curiosity of our readers must be stimulated, because we are of opinion, that many of them were seldom heard of before. However, that they either exist, or did exist, we can make appear.

To understand the nature of this sect, we must consider, that about the time of the Reformation, or at least soon after it, there were some feint attempts made to improve the study of the Hebrew language. Laudable as a proposal of this nature might have been, yet it might have been entangled with a variety of difficulties, had not the attempts made to suppress the inquiry, defeated its own intention.

All the Hebrew manuscripts were written without the points or vowels, and these points or vowels were, at the same time, used by the Jews. The grand question was, whether the Hebrew language was to be read with the Masoretic points, or whether the letters *Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, and Gvair*, should be substituted in place of the common vowels.—These different methods of reading created much confusion; and the Jews, by the use of the points, had fixed a sense upon the scripture which had never been known before.

Our first reformers had learned the Hebrew according to the Jewish method, by the use of the Masoretic points; and as these points put a wrong construction on the sense of the scripture, consequently the deists took the advantage, while the Jews triumphed over the weakness of the Christians. In particular it was objected by the deists, that the Mosaic account of the creation was, in all respects, inconsistent with the principles of natural philosophy, according to the experiments that had been

made in latter ages. Hence the interests of divine revelation were concerned, and therefore it was either necessary, that we should acknowledge that Moses never taught a system of philosophy, or that he was not divinely inspired, because he concealed from us those things which can be easily known by common experience, at least by the use of modern philosophy, which has been for some time reduced to a system.

This naturally leads us to the investigation of the sect of whom we are now treating.

John Hutchinson was the son of a farmer in Yorkshire, and as his father's sole design was to bring him up to be a land-steward to some nobleman, he sent him to school to be educated in those rules of mechanical science which naturally leads thereto. When he had completed himself in mensuration, and the other practical parts of the sciences, he returned from school to his father, and at that time the following circumstance took place.

In the village where Mr. Hutchinson's father lived, a stranger unknown to any person in the country, came to ask for lodgings, and old Mr. Hutchinson took him into his house. It was never known who this stranger was, but after he had been about three weeks in his new lodgings, he told Mr. Hutchinson, he would for his board and lodging teach his son the languages.

The father embraced the proposal, and in the compass of four years our young student was enabled to go through not only the Roman and Greek classics, but likewise to make a considerable figure in the Hebrew. The education of the young man being completed, the stranger left the place, and never was heard of afterwards. There are circumstances of this nature to be found in history, and reasons

may be assigned for them, which none but the intelligent can answer.

Furnished with all the learning of the schools, though disseminated through the channel of a private education, Mr. Hutchinson made an amazing progress in the study of the ancient writers, and between all of them he ran such a parallel as to point out the difference between the Mosaic economy, and the mythology of the Greeks. To the knowledge of languages he added that of philosophy, and by comparing the ancient with the modern systems, he formed those notions which have made no inconsiderable figure in this nation. By inconsiderable we mean, that some celebrated persons, who shall be mentioned afterwards, have embraced them.

Mr. Hutchinson being, as it were, at leisure in the enjoyment of a secure place, under the duke of Somerset, master of the horse, began to compare the ancient and modern philosophy, and found that he could not find the truth in either. He examined the Hebrew language with great care, and from his inquiry, published a book under the title of *Moses Principia*, which he laid down as the ground work of all his other compositions.

The design of this work is to prove that Moses laid down a perfect system of philosophy; that the sacred scriptures of the Old Testament had never been rightly translated; that Moses never taught any thing contrary to the planetary system, but really established it; and whereas Sir Isaac Newton instituted the notion of there being a vacuum in nature, he opposed it by asserting there was a plenum. That all heavenly bodies went round the sun by a sort of compressure.

With respect to the terms of acceptance with God, he asserted, that they were clearly revealed by Moses and the prophets; but he strongly opposed the imputation of Christ's righteousness. He leaned more to the Arminian than the Calvinistical side of the question; but his notions were a mixture of both.

From these sentiments a new sect was formed, which has continued ever since. There are many learned men of his opinion, and three Hebrew Lexicons have been published to support all his sentiments. The Hutchinsonian writers are more severe against their antagonists, than the papists are against the Protestants. There is a certain harshness of expression used by them, that does not become the mild doctrines of the gospel. We know but of one single exception to this general charge, and that is, in the lord president Forbes. That learned gentleman has dressed the Hutchinsonians in the most amiable characters indeed. While he illustrates the principles laid down by Hutchinson, he vindicates, at the same time, all the great truths of the Christian religion, and supports divine reve-

lation upon principles little attended to by Christian divines, and utterly unanswerable by the deists. It is certain that his works have been of more service in promoting the cause of religion and virtue, than one half of the books in the present age.

At present the Hutchinsonians are rather a sentimental than collective body of people; they are to be found among almost all denominations of Protestants, and the notion itself has been the means of reviving the study of the Hebrew language. It has stimulated many persons to inquire into the sacred oracles, and notwithstanding the levity of the present age, yet we are certain, that there are more persons in Britain at present acquainted with the oriental languages than ever were known at one time, since the Reformation.

As for places of worship, properly speaking, they have none; for those of the lower sort who reside in London, meet, like the Muggletonians, in public-houses. We have been present at one of these meetings, in a club-room up stairs, at a noted public-house in the Strand. The members consisted, for the most part, of discarded Methodists, Independents, and Sauterianians; but we could not find one person that had made choice of this scheme till he had been expelled out of another. And this leads us to consider the vast impropriety in the conduct of our modern Calvinistical Dissenters, in excommunicating their members.

The action is weak, foolish, and wicked. It is weak, because they turn out from among them those who have it in their power to expose some things that will not bear a proper scrutiny. It is foolish, because they turn away those who contribute towards supporting their ministers in a state of idleness. And, lastly, it is wicked, because no sooner have they discarded one of their members, than they do all in their power to promote his ruin. Here is a complication of guilt, attended with many aggravating circumstances. Some of them know themselves to be very irregular, and why then should they hunt down those who only go halves with them in a course of practical impiety?

This conduct of some Dissenters has been attended with two consequences: First, it has made the discarded members form schemes of new religions; and then finding nothing but knavery wherever they joined themselves, they have commenced either papists or deists.

At present, when the Hutchinsonians meet in their public assemblies, one of them reads, and another explains a passage of scripture as well as he can; then a third prays, and when they have drunk a little porter they are dismissed.

Having already taken notice that most of our new religions are formed of the excommunicated members of other societies; we must now declare these

members were once celebrated for their high attainments in piety and divine experience. They were celebrated for traducing the words morality, or good works. Grace, experience, the state of their souls, and such like expressions, made the whole of their conversation; but let them be once discarded, they treat with contempt all their boasted experiences, and when they are tired with dabbling in religion, they give themselves up to all manner of profaneness.

There are but few instances where it is otherwise, and where that does happen, it should be ascribed more to a gracious Providence, than to any thing else. This should caution young people to be upon their guard against the force of temptation, which will be sure to assault them if they are not serious in the matter of religion. If they can overcome the temptation, it will be to their everlasting honour, of which we shall give a single instance, wishing we had it in our power to produce many more.

About sixteen years ago, a person of an extraordinary turn, had read almost every book that he could lay hold of; and what was still more remarkable, he remembered almost every thing he read. Instructed in his early youth in the principles of Christianity, he had always the highest value for every thing of a serious nature. Brought up a Dissenter, and in sentiment a Calvinist; he entered into communion with the Independents. He had not been long among them when he began to point out to their leaders the necessity they were under of reforming many abuses; and among other things, that of providing for the poor. This was strongly opposed, and one of their ministers observed, that as they paid the poor rates, so the parishes ought to take care of those who were in want.

Another proposal was made by this person in the meeting, which met with the same fate as the former. It was, that the ministers should keep a list of the names of his people, their places of abode, and their circumstances; and that they should intimate upon their removal, what places they went to. That the minister should visit every person, at least four times in the year, to inquire into his circumstances, and to invite such as were poor, to come to the meeting, and in a tender and affectionate manner, be relieved by their brethren.

This was a dreadful proposal, and every means were thought of, to get rid of this troublesome guest. The worst of all was, he had done rather more good than any of them, so that it was difficult to fix the charge, so as to get him excommunicated. They had frequent consultations concerning these matters during the compass of six months; and at last, two favourable opportunities presented themselves.

London was at this time in an uproar, concerning the playing at blindman's-buff, and this obnoxious Independent went frequently to see their madness. As he was always free in his conversation, and sometimes imprudently satirical, he frequently ridiculed his brethren, so that he was reputed to be a Soudimanian. The next plea against him was, that in consequence of having a large family, most of whom had been long confined to sick beds, he had been under the necessity of contracting some debts. A peremptory demand of payment was made upon him, at a time when it was well known it was not in his power to comply, and thus the affair was brought to a conclusion. The offender was ordered to make his appearance before the congregation: but as he made it a fixed rule never to go where his temper might be ruffled, and well knowing what was plotting against him, he was immediately excommunicated.

As for this mean exercise of clerical power, the man would have made no account of it, but no sooner were they got quit of him, than they went about wherever he was known, and traduced his character in such a manner, that he was left with his family in distress. But notwithstanding that more than heathenish cruelty, yet this man never despised true religion. He gave up all connection with religious societies, and minded only religion itself.—He considered religion as a living principle, which must be reduced to actions, and traduced as a heathen, he went on in an uniform course of duty.

As what has been here advanced is the most solemn matter of fact, so it is hoped it will have a proper effect, and teach people, in the words of the apostle, to be well grounded in their own minds, before they change their religious sentiments.





## ACCOUNT OF THE QUIETISTS.

OF all the sects we have hitherto treated of, this bears the nearest resemblance to that of the Mystics, only that this sect has been long confined to the Roman Catholic church, whereas the Mystics joined the Protestants.

The founder of this sect was one Michael de Molinos, a Romish priest, and a man of some learning, who lived in France, and afterwards in Italy, towards the latter end of the sixth century.

The name is taken from an absolute state of rest and inaction, which the soul is supposed to be in, when arrived at the state of perfection. This state of perfection is called by them the inactive life.

To arrive at this, a man is first to pass through the progressive way, that is, through a long course of uniform obedience, imposed by the fear of hell. Hence he is to proceed into the illuminative way before he arrives at perfection. He must go through combats and violent pains, that is, not only the usual business of the soul, and the common privations of grace, but also infernal pains.

He must believe himself to be damned, and the persuasion that he is so, must if he lives, be upon him several years.

St. Francis de Salis, a Jesuit says, the Quietists are so fully persuaded of this, that they will not suffer any body to convince them to the contrary. And indeed it is needless to make the experiment, for enthusiasts are seldom convinced, even by the most rational arguments that can be made use of, but remain obstinate to the last. They shut their eyes against the truth.

These men believe that they shall be amply repaid for all their sufferings, by the embraces of God, which they imagine will raise them to a state equal to their maker.

Their sentiments concerning God, are wonderfully pure and disinterested. They say they love him for himself, on account of his own perfection, independently of any rewards or punishments. The soul, says he, acquiesces in the will of God, even at the time when he precipitates it into hell. Nay, instead of begging mercy on this occasion; one of them, whose name was B. Angelo de Poligny, cried out, "Haste Lord to cast me into hell, do not delay if thou hast abandoned me; but haste my destruction and cast me into the abyss."

At length the soul, after long enduring many sufferings, enters into rest or quietude. Here it is wholly employed in contemplating its God. It acts no more, thinks no more, desires no more, but lies perfectly open and at large, to receive the grace of God, who, by means thereof, draws it where it will and as it will.

In this state it has no occasion for prayers, or hymns, or vows: because where the spirit labours, and the mouth is open, the soul is the most weak and impotent. The soul of the spirit is as it were laid in the bosom, and between the arms of God; where without the making motion or exerting any action, it waits and receives the Divine grace. It then becomes happy, quitting the existence it had before. It is now changed, and it is transformed, and, as it were, sunk and swallowed up in the Divine Being, inasmuch, as not to know its being distinguished from God himself.

Bishop Burnet gives the following account of the Quietists, or Molinists, in one of his letters from Rome.

"The new method of Molinos doth so much prevail in Naples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in this city; and since this has made some noise in the world, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a Spanish priest that seems to be but an ordinary divine, and is certainly a very ill reasoner when he undertakes to prove his opinion. He hath writ a book, which is entitled il Guida Spirituale, or, The Spiritual Guide, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our prayers and other devotions, the best methods are to retire the mind from all gross images, and so to form an act of faith, and thereby to present ourselves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of religion to this simplicity of mind.

He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in religious houses, but even to secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great reforma-

tion of men's minds and manners; he hath many priests in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his methods. The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the empire that superstition hath over the minds of the people, that it may make religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to enthusiasm: they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a schism in the church. And because he saith, in some places of his book, that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the doctrine of Christ's humanity, though it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts.—Upon all these heads they have set themselves much against Molinos; and they have also pretended, that some of his disciples have infused it into their penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to confession, which they thought weakened much the yoke, by which the priests subdued the consciences of the people to their conduct: yet he was much supported both in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; he hath also many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jesuits, as a provincial of the order, assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great king that is now extremely in the interest of their order to interpose, and to represent to the pope the danger of such innovations.

It is certain the pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of Molinos's sanctity; yet upon the complaints of some cardinals, that seconded the zeal of that king, he and some of his followers were put in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the pope hath of him, who saith still, that though he may err, yet he is certainly a good man. Upon this imprisonment Pasquin said a pleasant thing in one week; one man had been condemned to the gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and Molinos was put in prison, whose doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness, from which the name of Quietists was given to all his followers. The Pasquinade upon all this was, If we speak we are sent to the gallies, if we write we are hanged, if we stand quiet we are put up in the Inquisition; what must we do then? Yet his followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this trial victorious."

Some years after the cardinals had condemned the opinions of Molinos, most of them were driven out of Italy; but this persecution caused them to increase rather than decrease. Some of the popish clergy became converts to their opinions, which induced the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, to write against them. They might, indeed, have suffered much in France, but the clergy were too much engaged in persecuting the Protestants.—However, no sooner was that persecution over, than the priests, who are seldom found idle while any one opposes them, let loose all their fury upon their own brethren the Molinists; for however mad these Molinists might have been in their speculative notions, yet they never denied the papal supremacy, nor did they refrain from any of the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome. They set up no separate form of worship; they made no schism in that church; but the Roman Catholics punish people as well for their thoughts, as for their words or actions.

Some of these Quietists fled into Holland, where they published several books, but they still attended the Romish chapels in that country; for we do not find that any of them ever embraced the Protestant religion.

But notwithstanding all this, the Romanists never considered them as sound in the faith, nor did they always agree among themselves, so that it would be impossible to form a system of their speculative notions, without running into a variety of wild, absurd contradictions.

Many of these Quietists went up into Germany, where they were persecuted with as much violence by the Lutheran clergy as they had been formerly by the Romish priests. The pulpits thundered out against them; the learned wrote books, and drew up long lists of their heresies; and then gave them by derision the name of Pietists, and their religion Pietism.

These people are taxed in general as being indifferent to all the exteriors of religion, and in Germany despising the symbolical books of the Lutherans. Their notions concerning the Trinity are said not to be orthodox, and they look upon creation and providence as an inundation from the Deity.

They are accused of being Millenarians; of pretending that all religion consists in the contemplation of God; that in this state the soul is no ways guilty of the offences committed by the body; and that all actions are necessary, good or bad.

Jacob Bohlen, a native of Poland, having read some of the books written by the Quietists, resolved to turn author himself. He was by trade a shoemaker, but he had acquired some knowledge in reading cabalistical and chemical books. His mind was well turned for enthusiasm and fanaticism; he bragged of visions and dreams, which he displayed

in matters of divinity and philosophy; all which he pretended to clear up in a book entitled "The Grand Mystery," which is a theological, chemicall comment on Genesis, written in the German language. This being printed, made a vast number of enthusiasts.

It is likely that this shoemaker, notwithstanding the superior genius he pretended to, did not well understand his own meaning. For he is always absurd, and often ambiguous, like one who has but confused notions of the subject. His followers endeavoured to clear up his notions, by substituting some of their own. Thus, for instance, they owned a perfect unity in the divine essence; and yet they imagined it contained a three-fold principle of all things. Thus fire was God; the light of the fire, the knowledge and wisdom of God, the son of God; and the Holy Ghost is the unity by which the light enlightens. This opinion was embraced by many of the ancient heretics, as well as by some of the heathen philosophers; for according to this system, God and the whole world is but one complete being. They have many other wild notions, and there are many persons in the world who read their raptures of enthusiasm.

It does not appear, that there are any of them among the Roman Catholics in the present age; but vast numbers of sects have sprung from them

in Germany, for almost every town or city has its meeting for them. They have no forms of worship, but in that particular pretty much resemble the Quakers. Indeed it would be unnecessary for them to have forms of worship, seeing they never pray but when they imagine themselves to be divinely inspired. It is the same in their sermons, which are always rhapsodies of wild nonsense, communicated as it were by madmen.

Although in some things they bear a near resemblance to the Mystics, yet those of the latter persuasion whom we have now in England, are far from being so extravagant as these. It is certain, however, that the English Mystics have given encouragement to the printing of some of Jacob Bohem's books, but what success they have had we know not.

Thus we have given the best account we could procure of the Quietists, which is extracted from impartial histories written of them; and here it appears that a system of enthusiasm, consisting of dreams and visions, has been embraced by a great number of Protestants, even after the Roman Catholics, who broached it, had returned back to the bosom of their holy mother church. Enthusiasm will be always sure to gain a great number of followers, but reason and good sense, we are sorry to say, seldom make many converts.

## ACCOUNT OF THE PRE-ADAMITES.

WE have already taken notice of some ancient heretics who were called Adamites, and who were such abominable wretches, that they met naked in their assemblies, and committed the most indecent lascivious actions. This brought much trouble to the Christians, who, because they also met in the nights, were all included under the general censure. But the sect we are now going to treat of were very different; for their notions were purely of a speculative nature.

About the middle of the last century, one Pyrrhus, a foreign Protestant, wrote a book, in which he attempted to prove, that there were men in the world long before Adam; that when he was created, there were many thousands of people on this habitable world, and that God's making the world at that time was merely an allegory. He said, that Eve's being called the mother of all living, implied no more than that the whole race of the elect should

descend from her. That as Seth was but the third son of Adam, it could not with propriety be said, that men should call upon the name of the Lord when he was born. These words, "Calling on the name of the Lord," mean no more than that men began at that time to call upon God by another name than that by which he was known before.—To this he adds, the account of Cain's marrying a wife in the land of Nod, and this he advances as a proof, that there were many families at that time in the world.

To these arguments, which have been made use of by many deistical writers, it may be reasonably supposed, that as the birth of Seth was not till many years after the fall, so there can remain little doubt but Adam had many children in that time.—But of these things we shall take particular notice afterwards, when we have stated more at large the history and sentiments of these people.



In the mean time, as the Pre-Adamites made some noise in Germany, the people of England sent for copies of the book written by Pyrierius; and as they were daily broaching new religions in this country, so they made one of this. It might be said of the sects in this country at that time, that, like Noah's dove, they could find no rest for the soles of their feet; that is, their various changes from one form of religion to another, had gradually disordered their minds, and the frame of moral duty was every day sinking into a state of weakness. This made them lay hold of every new scheme of religion that presented itself, but the more they sought to enjoy rest, the less they could find. They were, in some sense, like the ancient Athenians, who, having set up altars to all the gods they could hear of, and not being able to find a new one, erected an altar in one of their public places, with this inscription, "To the unknown God."

Several books were written to prove the doctrines advanced by Pyrierius, and many converts were made to his opinions. Some of these English Pre-Adamites had been Presbyterians, others Anabaptists, but all of them belonged to the sects.

They continued to increase till the restoration, but wonderful as it may seem, it does not appear, that even in those unsettled times, when every blockhead mounted the pulpit, that any of them obtained church livings. Perhaps there were none vacant, or which is more probable, Oliver Cromwell did not chuse to give encouragement to any new sects who would oppose the Independents.

At the restoration they were included under the general name of Dissenters, and some of them suffered the same hardships with all the other religious sectaries.

Having said thus much concerning their origin and progress, we shall now proceed to consider the remainder of their sects at large; and here we are sorry to say, that it most commonly happens, that those who undertake explaining the sacred scriptures, without understanding them, generally run into errors. There are two things to be attended to in reading the sacred scriptures, which must not be forgotten by those who would reap any advantage from them.

First, that there are many things in them above human comprehension, which so far from weakening their authority, serves only to confirm it. For if men cannot always understand the secret things of nature, how shall they comprehend the hidden mysteries of God.

Secondly, there is a sufficiency in them to make us wise unto salvation, and this is what we should give proper attention to.

Sin and death, according to this system, was long before Adam, but they did not live and reign over

all mankind. Sin and death were dead, they had no sting. This is, say they, expressed by St. Paul in these words, "Until the law, sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed where there is no law."—And by consequence, death hath no power over mankind. But the same apostle says, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men." However, to maintain this very strange and unaccountable system, they are obliged to admit, that before Adam men lived like beasts.

The election of the Jews is a consequence of the same system, for it began at Adam, who is their father; God is also the father of the Jews, having espoused their church to himself. He is likewise their mother, for the Gentiles are only adopted children, as being Pre-Adamites. The scriptures call them only men, or children of men; and sometimes they are compared to unclean beasts; whereas the Jews are said to be the children of God, as having been made of a more perfect nature than the other nations which he had created.

This distinction was very flattering, in regard to the Jews, who were thus raised to a superior order of men. The whole has the appearance of a wild romance, and yet they attempt to prove it.

In order to this, he compares the first chapter of Genesis, where it is said God created man by his word, with the second, wherein Adam is introduced as the work of God's own hands.

Again the forty-seventh psalm joined to the forty-ninth, in which the Gentiles are expressly called the sons of the earth; and this they believe to be an evident proof that God created two sorts of men; the Jews then being made of a finer mould, had all the reason on their side not to be inquisitive about the other nations, who drew their origin from the Pre-Adamites. This was not an effect of their pride, but a self-consciousness of their own dignity. They were by this second creation to live eternally, whilst the Pre-Adamites and their posterity were doomed to death, as a natural consequence of the corruptibility of the matter of which they were composed. Moreover, the Jewish genealogies are clearly traced from Adam their first father; whereas, in the pedigrees of the Gentiles, no order is kept, no knowledge is preserved of their origin.

From these proofs, as they call them, drawn from the scriptures, they proceed to others out of the Jewish Rabbies.

Adam, say the Rabbies, had a tutor named Sambocker, and who could this be but a Pre-Adamite?

Cain having killed his brother Abel, was afraid lest he should kill himself. He became captain of a band of robbers, who were they? He married, yet Adam had no daughter. What wife could he get? He built a town; what architects, masons, car-

penters, and other workmen did he employ? The answer to all these questions is, in one, *Pre-Adamites*. They add further, that the Egyptian and Chinese chronologies, reach many thousand years backward before Adam was created; and the people who lived then must have been *Pre-Adamites*. It is certain that the Mahometans believe there were *Pre-Adamites*, and they have actually given us the names of some of them. The *Pre-Adamites* believe further, that there was to be two Messiahs, one of whom is come, but there is another in time to be sent to the Jews.

These are all the particulars we have been able to collect concerning this extraordinary sect; and the notion seems to have been collected in part from all the heresies that ever yet sprung up in the world. It is surprising that such men should call themselves Christians; for all Christians, let their notions in other respects be ever so invidious, still profess to believe the Bible.

Now, had no notice been taken of the creation and fall of man, except in the Old Testament, there might have been some reason to doubt; but throughout the New Testament the Mosaic account of the fall is frequently referred to, and considered as the fundamental article upon which the necessity for Christ's making an atonement is built. As for Cain's marrying a wife while Adam had no children, is but a silly objection; because this event might have happened above one hundred years after the creation of the world, and certainly Adam might have had many daughters in that time.

Their notion that men lived like beasts before Adam was created, they have taken from the pagan mythology, as appears from many of those poets; but what will men not do when left to the indulgence of their own corrupt fancies? The truth does not give them satisfaction, they seek out for something new; and then they are less satisfied than before.—They add one fiction to another, till their religion, if it deserves that name, would put a heathen to the blush. It is even more ridiculous than that of Sommono-Codom in the East Indies, or any of those we have treated of in other parts of the world.

We shall conclude this article in the words of the late learned lord president Forbes, in his excellent thoughts on religion, where he supports the Mosaic history with a strength of argument not known before.

“The thing Moses begins with, is the creation of the heavens and the earth by the Deity; which though true to the conviction of all mankind, no ancient wise-men ever found out. Here is no ridiculous theogonia, no eternal chaos, no fortuitous concourse of atoms, but a fair and true declaration,

“In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.”

He further takes notice of the institution of the sabbath; which, though the ancients observed, they knew not the reason or occasion of.

The declaration of this undiscovered truth gives strong prepossession in favour of the rest.

The next important thing is, that man fell from a state of innocence. This, as has been said, every living man must find to be true upon examination; and yet none of the wise, whose works have come to us, ever thought of it: nothing more certain, nothing more important to be attended to; nothing less known: but this Moses distinctly relates as the cause, or at least the occasion, of every thing that followed.

The third thing he remarks is, the confusion, and desperate state, in which man was upon the fall; ashamed of his fault, without hope in the mercy of God, and therefore studious to hide himself from him. This, the fall being true, must necessarily be true too; and therefore we readily believe Moses.

The fourth thing he relates is, that God revealed his purpose of mercy to mankind, and thereby delivered them from dread, despair, and confusion. The words, in which Moses relates the promise of mercy, are, that “the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent,” and “the seed of the serpent shall bruise his heel.”

These words, which are all that is said, do not, it is true, say that this seed of the woman should be sacrificed; though “bruising the heel” looks mighty like the suffering of the lower and least noble part of that seed; nor do they say that sacrifice, and the observances of the law, were then instituted. But it appears plainly, that soon after, Cain and Abel offered, and that at a stated or appointed time, it appears Noah sacrificed, and that, in his days, man was commanded to abstain from eating blood, as a thing sacred; it appears the patriarchs did so, without any precedent, institution, or commandment, recorded, and that their sacrifices were respected by the Deity; and it appears that all the nations of the earth, who sprung from the first parents, practised sacrifice with nearly the same rites: wherefore, it may fairly be concluded, that sacrifice, and the rites thereto belonging, were instituted upon the first promulgation of the evangelium, the tidings of mercy, and from that institution were transmitted to all mankind, and it would imply an absurdity to suppose, that this emblematical, commemorative observance was instituted without man's knowing the reason and meaning of it.

We know by history, without the help of Moses, that all mankind sacrificed in hope of mercy; from reason we discover, that those hopes must have been

founded on revelation, and that sacrifice, which of itself could signify nothing, must have been no more than a memorial, by institution: and now from Moses we learn, that those hopes were actually founded on explicit revelation by the God of nature; and that sacrifice, which the same God says in itself signifies nothing, was practised just after, by the favourites of the Deity, and acceptable by him; and that he gave a new model of that institution, correcting abuses, in the wilderness.

We learn next, from Moses, that God was pleased at different times to appear to, and converse with men, Adam, Enoch, Noah; and that nevertheless, men corrupted themselves so monstrously, an early instance whereof is Cain's killing his brother Abel, that the Deity brought on a flood, which destroyed the whole earth, and with it all men, except Noah and his family.

This flood all ancient nations have confused traditions about; and though exuvie, still remaining near the surface of the earth, give very strong evidence of it, yet there is no sensible account of it, from the ancients; which strongly raises the credit and authority of Moses's writings.

By the direction to take into the ark a greater number of clean than unclean beasts, and by Noah's practice, immediately after the flood, of sacrificing of every clean beast and bird, it is evident the distinction of clean and unclean does not depend originally on the law of Moses, but has its origin be-

fore the flood, probably at the first publication of grace to Adam.

As the flood destroyed all the corrupted, and to Noah and his family was a demonstration of the power of, and obedience due to, the Deity, this great event was a total extirpation of all false religion; and, humanly speaking, it was to be hoped the faith and religious service of men would have continued long pure.

But that was not the case; for, as Adam's son Cain sinned early, so did Noah's son Ham; he merited to be pronounced accursed of his father, soon after the deliverance from the flood. And before the memory of that dreadful judgment was lost, men meditated the setting up a false religion and service to the heavens at Babel; which the Deity disappointed, by confounding and dividing their imaginations, so that they separated and dispersed at that time.

Such were the sentiments of this great man, and whoever reads his account of the creation of the world, will cease to reject the Mosaic history. It is the misfortune of all our Deists, and framers of new religions, that they set up their own reason in opposition to divine revelation. And they seal their argument with a fixed resolution not to pay any regard to what is proposed to them, so that they are left to the wickedness of their own hearts, and justly forsaken by their maker.

## ACCOUNT OF THE LABADISTS.

**L**ABADIE had been brought up a Jesuit in France, then became a Protestant, and was made a minister at Middleburgh, in Zealand. He was eloquent, but not very learned; which defect was supplied by art and cunning. His dispute against Wolsogue, minister at Utrecht, on account of his treatise concerning the interpretation of scripture, shews him to have been contentious and even seditious. His behaviour in that quarrel was unfair and deceitful; so that his enemies were not quite in the wrong, when they described him as an haughty, proud, self-conceited, stubborn hypocrite.

Yet he had admirers, who praised his humility and modest carriage, and undertook his defence with so much warmth, highly approving his project of reforming even the grand Calvinistical reformers

of the United Provinces, that a schism had like to have ensued in the church of Middleburgh. But his design failed, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his friends. He was deposed from his ministry by the synod of Dort, in May 1669, having before that been suspended from his function by the synod of Norde.

The sentence of his deposition says, "That from his first coming into Holland, he designed to reform the church, and maintained that this was to be brought about by a separation, and setting up a new church of the elect;" which he actually began at Middleburgh, and in other places. He taught that whoever could, or thought fit, should have free liberty to speak in their assemblies, on whatever text was proposed.



"God has been pleased to hear at last the prayers, tears, and groans of his little ones, and opened a way to a happy separation. This separation has been and now is very advantageous to us, since we are about three hundred well chosen members in our assembly all elect, and breathing a true Christian spirit.

We give thanks to God who hath chosen us, all of one heart and soul, unanimous in speaking openly all truths, remedying all abuses, in doctrine, in administering the sacraments, and in morals, with a full intention to reform ourselves according to the model of the primitive Christians. We meet twice a day, morning and evening, and thrice on Sundays.

We do not preach in pulpits, but all sit on benches without any difference between the rich and the poor, excepting that the pastors, elders, or those who speak, sit on a bench made like the rest, but somewhat higher, in order to be seen and heard.—Modesty, union, humility, zeal and piety, are such amongst us, that we daily give God due praises for the establishment of our church. We have several doctors and eminent persons, humble, fervent, and pious.

No abuse is tolerated, no excess allowed in dress, ornaments and vanities; nor are the trades subversive to them encouraged. Our lives are marked in every point by the rule and standard of the gospel and apostolical doctrine, being firmly resolved to become a living representation of the primitive church, in our belief and practice.

Many are astonished, but many are drawn in from other places; for God has almost every where admitted some to us, and to our spirits.

Even this day, being the first of the year 1669, we met before day-light to explain the sixth and seventh verses of the fifth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and are fully bent on casting away the old leaven."

Notwithstanding the opposition which Labadie met with, yet there were several persons of note who embraced his doctrines, and joined themselves to his party. Some of whom were expelled France.

Labadie and Madam Bourignon were contemporaries, but their spirits did not unite. Labadie was not spiritual enough to be her colleague, and too stubborn to become her disciple. Both were of an artful, troublesome temper, and therefore it was impossible that they should agree together. The enlightened woman despised the regenerated man.

At last Labadie died at Alena, 1674, in the arms of his beloved Scharman, and left Peter Yvon to succeed him, who brought the Labadists together at Wiwert in Friesland, a manor belonging to the family of Somerdyke. He had before spread his fanaticism from Middleburgh to Amsterdam, and he

had likewise a settlement near Ukrahist, where he set up a printing-house. From thence he went through Westphalia, and at last to Hamburg.—Every where he made proselytes of both sexes, till one Anthony de la Margue published his reasons for leaving his sect, which although it threw them into disrepute by the discovery then made, yet they are not extinct, for some of them are still to be found in Friesland and Groningen.

These Labadists were always by the Dutch considered as a sort of Quakers; but although they may resemble them in some things, yet in others there is a vast difference. We do not know that there were ever any of these Labadists in England, and the reason seems to be, their notions were not known during the civil wars, when the soil for new and unheard of religions was so rich, that every doctrine, however absurd, was embraced as soon as taught.

Connected with the Labadists were two small sects, formed by Voet, a great lawyer, and Cocceius, a celebrated divine. At first, they agreed in many things with the Labadists, but at last they quarrelled concerning a whimsical method of explaining the scripture. Cocceius pretended to teach the people to preach without study or labour, which strange things are always taking with the vulgar, and they think them sublime, for want of understanding them, and look upon them as deep mysteries, because they are obscure.

This singular method is reduced to the following heads.

First, the periodical changes of the church. Of the New Testament, which they find in every text.

Secondly, the types and figures without end or measure, drawn from the ancient history and worship.

Thirdly, an everlasting affectation of applying to Christ and the gospel.

Fourthly, discovering modern events in the ancient prophecies.

Lastly, the numberless and exaggerated distinctions betwixt the faithful under the Mosaical dispensation and Christianity.

The explanation of these types and figures always serves to amuse the vulgar, whereas to morality and sound divinity frequently prove tiresome. After all, we are not to condemn one side or the other, only that we must, according to the design of this work, take notice, that the followers of Cocceius maintain, that the command given to the Jews to keep one day in seven for rest, is part of the ceremonial law, from the observance of which Christ has freed us. That Christ will reign temporally on earth, after the destruction of Anti-Christ, and that the Jews are to be converted at that time.

One of the chief tenets of these people, is to banish morality from their sermons, which they look upon as unreasonable. For as St. Paul often mentions, that the law is abolished, and its opposition to the gospel; so they pretend, that preaching up duty and obedience, the justice of God and his rights, the awe in which we ought to stand of him and his judgments, which are relative to the law, is the same as giving a new law to the spirit of slavery, by reproaches and threatenings contrary to the gospel, which breathes only sweetness and grace.

They say, that Christ dying for us has not only taken upon him the punishment due to our sins, but our very sins themselves, and drawn from thence consequences against the necessity of repentance.

To conclude our account of this sect, we must observe, that many of the ancient heathens and primitive heretics were such; nay, they are to be found among the heathens in the East Indies, and among the Mahometans. All these novelties take their rise from an unsettledness of mind, from a vain desire to be wiser than God has ordained; and in this people copy exactly after the conduct of their first parents, who, to satisfy their curiosity, eat the forbidden fruit, and so involved themselves and their whole posterity in ruin.

From the beginning, a rational being, unaided by learning, and the experience of former ages, could easily discern the hand of an intelligent, wise, powerful, and very bountiful creator, in the whole and in every part of the fabric of this system that fell under his ken; and could as easily discover his own obligations to, and his dependence on that Being. And accordingly we see, by the earliest accounts of time that have come to our hands, all mankind, full of a persuasion of their dependence, full of reverence to the Deity, soliciting his favour and protection by prayer, by ceremonies, by sacrifices, sometimes human, nay, of their first-born; and imputing all their favourable or cross incidents that happened to them, to the good-will or displeasure of the sovereign Being whom it was their chief study to please.

It is true, that the notions they generally entertain of the Deity were imperfect, as well as their manner of serving him corrupted; circumstances that can easily be accounted for from the weakness and per-

verseness of those who took the lead in directing their religious opinions and practices. But still it is undeniably true, that the gross of mankind were serious in their belief of the existence of a Deity, of their dependence on him, and of the occasion they had for his protection and favour.

To this general disposition of mankind it was in part owing, that the gospel, upon its first publication, made so rapid and surprising progress. No man at that time doubted of the existence of a Deity, or of man's dependence on him. It was easy to satisfy every one who admitted these propositions, that mankind, by the corruption into which they had fallen, stood mightily in need of some intercessor, some means by which they might be saved from the weight of their sins. And it is no marvel, that evidence given to men so convinced, that salvation might be had through Jesus Christ, should be received with gladness.

And accordingly we see, that in a trifle of time, the herd of mankind, in defiance of all discouragement, and of the most severe persecutions from power, greedily embraced and professed this faith; and continued stedfastly in the profession of it, notwithstanding the monstrous absurdities with which the teachers of that faith loaded it, and the more monstrous and shocking lives and manners of the teachers; until of late years, that what ought to have been improved into a blessing to mankind, has unfortunately turned out to their destruction.

In the period just mentioned, wicked and voluptuous men pursued wicked and voluptuous courses; and many gross villanies and abuses were daily committed by profligate men, which the degenerate condition of mankind produced. But still these wickednesses were disguised, disowned, or some how sought to be atoned for. The villain dissembled at least, and was forced to wear a cloak of hypocrisy. No man dreamed of professing, openly, that he denied the being of a God, or his dependence on, and being accountable to him. And, if any one was indeed so foolish, as well as impious, as to entertain such a notion, which by-the-by is with us a question, there was no temptation for uttering it; because there was no chance that any one should concur in supporting such an opinion.

## ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO ARE CALLED IN HOLLAND, COLLEGIANTERS AND RHYNSBURGHIERS.

THESE people have been settled at Rhynsburch above one hundred years, and they meet twice in every year.

This is not known in the country, for they seldom hold their assemblies in public; and it is not much to be wondered at, that foreigners should hardly be able to know their names. The following account, however, is authentic, as the author says he had been for several years one of the chief members of their society.

We must first take notice, that they are much mistaken who take it for granted, that the Collegianters and Rhynsburgiers are the same; but to clear up this matter, we must put them in mind, that the Collegianters owe their name to the manner in which their small societies were first formed.—The nature of these religious meetings cannot be better described, than by comparing them to the friendly societies which we call clubs. They have likewise some resemblance to the mystical schools, which we have already mentioned in our account of those people; but we shall call them clubs.

In these clubs, therefore, every man may, and has a right to speak concerning whatever religion he may outwardly profess, what system soever he may follow; and this he may do, let his notions be ever so much out of the common way of thinking. But this is only granted on condition that he allows the scriptures to be divinely inspired. Whether churchmen or laymen, every one explains what text he thinks proper, and may utter freely whatever he thinks concerning religion, either in general, or in regard to any particular sect. Women are not allowed the same privilege as among Quakers; for they must hold their peace, and, indeed, these clubs do not pretend to have any thing to do with the spirit, or with its impulses.

When any one of the club speaks, he pretends that it is the effect of his meditations on the sacred scriptures, or of his own ingenious discoveries.—Nor is the club to be kept under subjection by any one doctor, or by three or four, who in most other assemblies, keep all the discourse to themselves.

Besides the club at Rhynsburch, where they are most numerous, there are many others in several towns and villages in Holland, at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haerlem, Groningen, Lewardin, and many

others. As to the villages, the most noted club meets at Sardan, and is remarkable for being composed of members who belong to various sects.—For, lest our readers should forget it, we must once more put them in mind, that in those clubs only one essential point is agreed on, the divine inspiration of the scripture. They are at full liberty to explain it in what manner they please, and to build any system they think proper upon it.

Their public exercise begins by reading a psalm in prose, and singing one in verse. Then a prayer is repeated, which being ended, the text appointed for the Christian entertainment is read. The brethren present are then invited to make use of the freedom granted in those clubs, in stating such objections, in making what remarks, or giving what admonitions and exhortations they please. If no one rises to speak, then those who were appointed to handle that subject, rise and speak to it; for lest the club should separate without any discourse, two are always appointed to speak: when they have done, silence is kept for a considerable time, then any one may make what observations he pleases, to what has been said. The whole ceremony concludes with a suitable application and prayer.

No register is kept of the names of the members belonging to the club, and in reality they are composed of people borrowed from all sects, in order to meet every Sunday and Wednesday. If the divine authority of holy writ is owned, none of them are to be called heretics; just like the sectaries in England, who all acknowledge the authority of the sacred scriptures, and yet in their explications all differ from each other.

These clubs were begun about the year 1619, and owe their beginning to the spirit of persecution which then raged in Holland, and drove many of the people, as it always does, into the wildest extremes. Three brothers, of the name of Codde, all Arminians, were the first founders of these clubs; one of them was a professor of Hebrew, and the others were plain husbandmen. They were well versed in the scriptures, which they had carefully studied.

Arminianism was then at a low ebb, both because it had been condemned at the synod of Dort, and likewise upon political accounts, so that when any



of that profession were discovered, they were treated as the enemies of God and society. The Arminian ministers were forbid preaching under the severest penalties. Many of them were banished, and others were thrown into prison. Many of them had their goods seized, and rewards were offered for apprehending their persons, while their wives and children were left unprovided for. All this was occasioned by the cruel acts of the Calvinistical synod of Dort, which had no more right to decide on such things than the man in the moon.

The first of these clubs was established at Worman, a village where one of the Vander Coddes lived. A great number of Arminians, who could not then meet openly, nor indeed privately, for fear of being cast into prison, were overjoyed at meeting with this opportunity of assembling together as friends, under the name of a society very common in that country, and in which religion is never supposed to be concerned.

When the heat of persecution abated, several of the Arminian clergy returned into their own country, and offered their services as pastors, but were told by Vander Codde, that their new institution being on the model prescribed by St. Paul, did not admit of pastors.

This club was soon removed to Rhynsburch, where it increased considerably, and was joined by two famous pastors belonging to the Arminians.—Several other places in Holland followed this example, and had also their clubs, which at first were frequently disturbed by the civil power, but at last connived at.

This is the best account we could get of these clubs, though others pretend that they are of an elder date, though established on the same plan, governed by the same rules, and grounded on the same expressions of St. Paul. This dispute may be ended by owning that the oldest of these clubs were made up of Baptists, and some other sectaries, and that after all, such meetings may be held during all persecutions, as has always been the case, and probably always will be.

But these clubs were not confined to Holland.—Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, gave great encouragement to them. Of these we shall say a few words by way of digression.

The time of their meeting was once a month, sometimes twice, only church-men were allowed to speak; the subject, and the persons who were to handle it, were appointed before-hand. The youngest of those preachers began, and the others followed according to their age, so that the oldest preached last, recapitulated what the others said, commended what deserved it, and censured faults with mildness.

Their whole discourse was in order to compare the text in hand with others, to settle its true and genuine sense to the sacred writers' aim, the exact confirmation of the words, the various translations, the consequences that flowed from them, and to expose the false glosses of heretics and quibbling doctors, who turn the meaning of the sacred scriptures to any sense they think proper.

But let us now return to the Dutch clubs.

They made an open profession of toleration so far, that in 1677 and in 1680, most of those clubs in Holland, contributed largely to the enriching and endowing at Amsterdam, the college of Orange, which is founded also for the maintenance of orphans, not only of their own sect, but of others, and the same has been done in other places of Holland. A glorious effect of that humane disposition which ought to influence men, notwithstanding all the disputes about religion.

As for the Rhynsburchers, they are composed of people of many different opinions, who from all parts meet at Rhynsburch, as they did in former times at Jerusalem. They assembled only twice a year, viz. at Whitsuntide, and on the last Sunday in August, to partake of the Lord's-Supper; and whoever leads a regular course of life according to the scripture precepts, may be admitted, whatever opinion he may otherwise have, even about the nature and essence of the sacrament.

The evening before the communion they are to spend in self-examination, and in reviewing their hearts and lives. Two discourses are preached before they receive it, the first on the Lord's Supper in general, and the second on the death of Christ in particular. They likewise explain their motives for meeting together in that village, to unite themselves as Christians and brethren, without distinction of parties, without declaring themselves some for Paul and some for Apollon, as the Jews celebrated their assemblies in their temples together, not minding the disputes between the Pharisees and Sadducees.—They deplore the evils which flow from schisms. "Is it not much better, say they, to admit every Christian, who believes the scriptures, and endeavours to live up to its rules according to the law of Christ, we therefore invite them all to take the communion with us, without minding the odious appellations with which they are bespattered, and without giving any room in our souls to that gall of bitterness, which most men look upon as a proof of their zeal for the doctrine of Christ."

These, and such discourses being ended, they perform the communion service in the same manner as the Calvinists. The alms collected from the faithful are deposited in the hands of the sexton of that village, who gives a receipt and distributes it to the poor of Rhynsburch. This solemnity is con-

cluded with a thanksgiving sermon, just in the same manner as among the Calvinists.

Next morning they take leave of one another, with mutual exhortations to perseverance in the true religion and faithful service of God. All may speak, teach or administer the sacraments, yet their functions are generally performed by men who are prepared for it, and appointed thereto.

Next to the Lord's Supper, the only remarkable ceremony observed by them, is their baptism, of which one of their own members gives the following account. The candidate makes publicly his profession of faith, on a Saturday in the morning, before an assembly of the people held for that purpose. A discourse is delivered on the nature and excellency of baptism. The minister and candidate go together to a pond behind the house belonging to the sect which on some occasions, is used as a lodging-house for travellers who have no money to pay for resting at the inns. In that pond the catechumen is baptized by immersion; if he is a man he has a waistcoat and drawers; if a woman, a bodice and petticoat, with leads at the bottom, for the sake of decency, which is rather necessary than otherwise.

The minister, in the same dress as the men wear, is also in the water, and plunges them in it, pronounc-

ing at the same time, the form used by most Christian congregations. This being over, they put on their clothes, go back to the meeting, and hear an exhortation to perseverance, in complying with the precepts of Christ. A psalm is sung, and the whole concludes with prayer.

These are the most singular customs observed by those people, who in Holland are called Collegianters and Rhynsburgers. Some have asserted, that these sects are much diminished, but this is only in the outward appearance, for all our modern sectaries have learned to dissemble better than their ancestors, and that this disguise makes some over credulous, but devoutly inclined people flatter themselves with the hopes that heresy and libertinism lose ground. But probably they are most in the right, who think that the religion of Manmon does get a superiority over all. We must, however, suspend our judgment, and desire that the grace of God may be granted to all mankind. This should be the pious wish of every Christian who desires the salvation of the human race, without spending his time in contentious controversy, which can never minister to edifying. Talking of religion is one thing, obeying its rules in sincerity is another. Let this mind therefore be in us, which was also in Christ Jesus, and let us be followers of him as dear children.

## ACCOUNT OF THE POLISH BRETHREN.

THESE people are a sort of Unitarians, and in other points of their doctrines they may be ranged among the Socinians; for they come the nearest to them of any sect whatever. They are called Polish, because they took their rise in Poland, although at present they have churches in many parts of Europe.

They assert, that the doctrine of the Trinity destroys the Unity of the Godhead, and the simplicity of the Supreme Being, adding, that if there are three persons, there may be three hundred: and thus a perfect system of Polytheism, or a plurality of Gods is established. They pretend likewise, that the texts made use of in support of the Trinity, ought to be understood in another sense. Thus, when Christ says, "I and the father are one," they say it means no more than that they had one object in view in the plan of man's redemption.

As for the incarnation of Christ and his two natures, they believe that doctrine to be useless to mankind, and maintain that it cannot be proved by

scripture. For, say they, had it been necessary for obtaining eternal happiness to believe the mystery of the incarnation, the Bible would have mentioned it as clearly and distinctly as the other truths we are obliged to profess openly. But we must not dwell too long on such dangerous blasphemies. They say that God does not know before-hand what will happen to men, and that the cause of predestination is not in God but in man.

Christ's body was mortal, and therefore it was necessary that he should suffer death in common with the rest of mankind; for like the Arians and Socinians, they will not acknowledge his divinity.

In the preamble of their discipline, they give a definition of the Christian religion; it is, they say, a rational worship, God being the eternal reason, can require nothing unreasonable or absurd to be paid to him through Jesus Christ, there being no other name by which men are saved, in spirit to exclude ceremonies, and in truth to reject the types and shadows of the Mosaical law, with the hope of an

immortal life, because such a worship must ensnare us with a study of trust in God's goodness and expectation of immortality, in consideration of our faithful compliance with it.

But for this end two things are required; first, to admit no doctrine but that of the gospel, and to own no other teacher but Christ. The other to raise no building, but upon the foundation of Christianity, that is, the true doctrine of Christ, who is, and ought to be, the theme of all those who profess it. Christ being gone to heaven, it became necessary that in his absence this doctrine should be preserved, and the faithful governed by wise, pious and learned persons, who should not be the masters, fathers or princes of the church; for there is one only father and sovereign which is God; one only master which is Christ; but they take up the deposit of faith, and deliver it to others as they received it. Our dependence is not on them but on Christ; we do not obey them, but Christ.

They ought not to exalt themselves above others, nor ought the faithful to prefer the one to the other, out of a bias or prejudice, in favour of a particular person, to the detriment and injury offered to another. Such behaviour would be a pernicious occasion of amission in the church. Obey those who are set over you, that is, shew them due respect, as being the dispensers of truth. Submit to this same doctrine they preach, as from Christ. In a word, the church is a monarchy, and Christ is its only monarch.

One of their writers divides the whole church into six different parts, of which four are to take care of the ecclesiastical policy.

- I. Patrons, or Protectors of the church.
- II. The Pastors.
- III. The Elders.
- IV. The Deacons.

The last-mentioned and the patrons, are to provide for the bodily wants; the pastors and elders are to take care of the spiritual wants.

We shall call those patrons or protectors of churches, who either build them or keep them in decent repair at their own expence. Whether they are the first founders or only carry on the work by others. Those also who provide a maintenance for the pastors or elders, or raise charitable contributions for the poor belonging to a particular church, are considered as props of the church. We detest anarchy as the root of great evils, but we do not allow any to usurp the supreme authority, which belongs only to Christ.

The protectors and pastors must, or ought, mutually, to support and pay a deference to each other, and all unanimously consent, with joint endeavours,

to promote the glory of God, and the cause of religion. Pastors are the ministers of Christ, and dispensers of the mysteries of God. They hold the rudder of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, and watch for the safety of the church, along with the elders, and the other members of the consistory.—The pastors are all equal; their age and labour may draw respect and veneration, but do not give them any arbitrary authority. The young ones must pay great regard to those advanced in years; but they ought not to take occasion from thence to behave haughtily to their younger brethren. Age and experience must have some weight, when it promotes the interest of the church, but the advice of the younger must not be despised, when by common consent their counsels are found both profitable and adapted to the state of the brethren.

Such is the account that these people give of themselves; and were their doctrines equal to their discipline, we should not have much reason to find fault with them. But to bear the name of Christ so often mentioned with terms of respect, by those very men who mock at his mediatorial office, and despise all his glories, we are led to say with the psalmist, "All men are liars."

Their elders are described as persons of known probity, and great experience, who are jointly commissioned to govern the church. Age and riches are not considered in that choice, but virtue and abilities. The functions of deacons are well known; they are the treasurers of their respective churches, and are to give an exact account of what they receive for the maintenance of widows, orphans, and other poor.

These are the duties of the four orders, who govern the policy of their churches.

The chusing or ordaining of pastors, belongs to the synod or assembly, who meet by authority of their church, in order to examine representatives on this important occasion. Elders and deacons are chosen in the same manner. A good life and a solid judgment, are the chief qualities required in elders, preferably to learning. Their piety is a tacit condemnation of vice, and hinders its progress. A solid understanding helps them in giving advice, and composing differences. Deacons likewise may perform their duties without learning. Good sense and a good conscience, with tried fidelity, are the only necessary dispositions to that office.

When a pastor has a call, his election and ordination is performed in the following manner:

Whether this be done in a general convocation of the faithful, or in private and before a small assembly, prayers and a sermon, with psalms, are requisite as in the Sunday's office. They begin with singing and prayer; the faithful are warned and disposed by an exhortation, to the ceremony. The sermon is



always concerning the duties of a pastor, which being ended, three pastors rise from their seats, and go to the person who is to be ordained, and who at that time is kneeling. They lay their hands upon him, and hold them on his head till prayers are ended. These prayers being finished, and the ordained person still kneeling, one of the three pastors desires the faithful to pray for him. Then all kneel, and conclude the ceremony with singing a psalm suitable to the occasion.

The sermon includes the mutual duties of pastors and elders, with those subsisting between them and their flocks. The union that should be found among them, which is not to be a blind obedience, or slavish, the pastors ruling like fathers with patience. That they prefer the interest and welfare of the flock to all other considerations, serving the church with joy and freedom, not as mercenary hired servants, but giving good examples in order to enforce their instructions, and avoiding to be concerned in temporal affairs, and worldly cares, lest their more essential duties should be neglected.

Pastoral functions consist in preaching, administering the sacrament, visiting the sick, exhorting and praying for the faithful. Preaching is one of the chief parts of their discipline. Prayers and psalms, which are said and sung before and after sermon, raises their hearts to the most elevated pitch of devotion, and inflame their minds with devout zeal.—The instructions are to be,

First, without any shew of erudition, wholly tending to edification.

Secondly, without disputes, and nothing to be mentioned in them but what is necessary to salvation.

Thirdly, without eloquence, or any ornament by flowers of speech, or any choice or fine expressions.

Fourthly, without confusion, clear and methodical, the arguments conclusive, earnestly moving sinners to repentance.

Lastly, without enlarging much on particular topics.

All their notions concerning divine things are very loose and carnal, and it may be justly said of them, that they have no more than the outside of religion.

As they deny all sorts of mysteries in religion, so they make very little use of the Bible but to suit their purpose.

In celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they are plain and simple. They sit round a table covered with a linen cloth, on which is placed some bread, cut into small pieces, and an empty chalice, into which the deacon pours some wine; all this is decently covered till the hour of communion service.

The pastor stands at the table, and having admin-

istered the communion to the others, he then takes it himself sitting. Exhortation, prayer, and singing of psalms, accompany this ceremony, which ends with a general blessing.

They reject infant baptism, nor will they admit any to that sacrament till they have made a profession of their faith. When they meet for that purpose, the pastor explains the effects, excellencies, and dignity of baptism; makes an exhortation to the candidates, and desires that God will baptize them with his holy spirit. When all the people present have said Amen, the pastor goes into the water, and those who are to be baptised, go in likewise, and kneel. The minister then says, "I baptize thee with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and may the Lord Jesus baptize thee with his holy spirit." While he pronounces these words, he puts one hand on the head, and another on the chin of the persons to be baptized, and dips them. He then comes out of the water, and a psalm is sung, and the whole concludes with prayer.

In the funerals of the Polish Brethren, the following ceremonies are observed. The relations of the deceased are left to their choice to bury either in church-yards, or any where else; for they consider that as an indifferent thing.

The body of the deceased is placed in its coffin, at the door, or in the ground-room of the house, till the time of burial. The pastor then begins a psalm, and sings it with the faithful present. He then preaches a sermon, to comfort the relations for their loss, and to exhort them to reflect on the uncertainty and short duration of human life.

Then prayers are said, but not for the deceased, for they never pray for the dead. All this being over, the assembly go out, and the pastor, standing at the door, takes leave of the company in the name of the deceased. Before the body is put into the ground, another exhortation is made, accompanied with a short encomium on the virtues of the deceased, which is generally a piece of fulsome flattery. The ceremony is concluded by eating and drinking. Wine is given in plenty to those who honour the funeral with their presence, to drown sorrow, as is the custom of all the northern countries, and as it was with many nations of old.

From what has been said of these people, it appears plainly, that they are a compound of Arianism and Socinianism. There is no doubt but they think they do God good service by inventing a new scheme of religion; nor is there less doubt but that they look with the most sovereign contempt on all those who differ from them in sentiment. We have our Saviour's authority to assert, that many shall say unto him, Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils

in thy name, and in thy name done wonderful things? but he will say unto them, depart from me, I know ye not, ye workers of iniquity. It would be happy for mankind, were they to attend more to the spirit and power of religion, than to the externals. But human nature has been the same in all ages, and will be the same to the last.

We shall conclude with one remark, which we do not remember ever to have heard made, and that

is, that the numerous sects to be met with, all professing Christianity, and yet all in one thing or other differing concerning its most important articles, are a proof of its authenticity. Were there no real coin in the world, there would be none counterfeited; and had not Christianity been a divine institution, we should not have found so many men, from motives of interest or pride, setting up new imitations of the genuine original.

## HISTORY OF DEISM.

**B**y Deists is meant those who acknowledge the being of one God, but deny all supernatural revelation.

We shall consider them in a two-fold light: first, as to their principles in general; and, secondly, their present state in Europe.

The generality of mankind know no difference between Deists and Atheists, yet they are widely different; not to say it is hard, even next to an impossibility, that there should be any real Atheists. The existence of a Supreme Being is so evidently proved, the distinguishing characters of good and evil, and their consequences, are so deeply engrained in the consciences of every man, that they cannot entirely throw off the notion of a God. Accordingly we find, that the most unpolished and barbarous nations have always entertained some belief of a godhead, and cannot be looked upon as Atheists. The same must be said of the Chinese, of the inhabitants of Japan, and of all idolaters; for though Tertullian says, truly that there is no God if he is not one; yet it does not follow that all those who worshipped more than one, thought that there was none.

Atheism then is a chimera, but Deism is not so: to own the being of one God, to worship him, yet so as to embrace, out of policy, what religion soever is most in vogue, and favoured by the government, is as natural to the general bent of mankind, as to live under that government as long as our affairs require it, or our inclination leads us. As for those, if there be any such, whose principles are destructive of public society, they might be thought to go beyond Deism; but either they are not serious in their lawless schemes, which, if successful, would prove their own ruin, as well as of the rest of mankind; or rather they act against their own knowledge, to acquire an empty reputation of senseless wit.

On the other side, both in civil and ecclesiastical societies, several are accused of Deism, who are no ways guilty of it; and the more they complain of such usage, all their protestations serve only to strengthen the prejudice conceived against them.—Thus an indifferency as to the various opinions which divide Christendom, too extensive a toleration of all sects, persuasions of divers kinds, such as those of the Baptists, Socinians, Remonstrants, &c. Even too much freedom in censuring the faults of church-men, and the quibbles of the schools, are looked upon as the worst of Deism by fiery zealots, or over-scrupulous Christians.

But the sect we are now giving an account of, is, of a mixt Deism, as is evident by their tenets. The founders of it, were Pontian of Hattem, and another Dutchman named Woutelaer, who, they say, added some of their own notions to the system of Spinoza, and interlarded the whole with some mystical opinions of the Pietists. This sect of Hattem still meets, but with so much privacy, that no one is admitted to their assemblies unless he can give evident proofs of his being a trusty member of their society. This precaution is necessary to avoid the grievous penalties inflicted upon them by an edict of the states of Holland and West-Friesland, which orders, that they shall be banished or cast into prison, and severely punished as enemies to virtue, to divine worship, and disturbers of the public peace; that their books shall be suppressed, and the authors, printers and publishers proceeded against as directed in the edict about Spinosism.

Our curious readers may find a full account of Baruch or Benedict Spinoza in Bayle's Dictionary, to which may be added his life, published by Maximilian Lucas, one of his disciples; he was born at Amsterdam, son of a Portuguese Jew. His bold explications of scripture occasioned his being excommunicated, and cast out of the synagogue; to avoid

their persecutions, after they had obtained his banishment, he retired to Rhynsburg, then to Voorburgh, and lastly to the Hague, where he died. Lucas praises much his morals, as to his forgiving injuries, outward neatness, and disinterestedness.

He seems likewise, by a conversation which Lucas relates, to have been of opinion, that God had a body, and that there are no substances merely spiritual.

Pontian of Hattem had been a minister in Zealand, in the foggy air of which country he invented the system afterwards published by his disciple Wotelaer, who lived at Amsterdam beyond the age of thirty-four, and vented his doctrine whilst he sold linen. In the clandestine assemblies which he held, he entertained his audience with the following unintelligible paradoxes.

1. Every criminal thought, word, or action, is the effect of sin; sin is a privation of God, of soul, of life, it is the death of the soul; whoever is sorry for a bad thought or desire, is not sorry that he is a sinner, but that his sins are discovered, and that God has made him know the state in which he is.

2. Owning criminal thoughts, words, or actions, is not a confession of sins; on the contrary, it is a denial of being a sinner, since it is a denial of being dead; for to be dead and to be a sinner is one and the same thing.

3. All sinners are equally dead, being all equally sinners; sin may shew itself in one more than another; but it is essential to man, whoever is a sinner this day, shall not be more so to-morrow; the action of man is not to be called sin, that appellation belongs only to his state of death.

4. Actions therefore do not make the sinner; but they are sins only, because he was a sinner first; sin is the death of man, the actions are only his corruption, such corruption as manifests itself when bodies are naturally dead.

5. Works, good or bad, do not change a man; they only shew whether he be good or bad, as fruits change not the tree.

6. God is immutable, and suffers no change in regard to us, not even by our most criminal actions. "He is not angry at man because he has sinned, but man sinned because God was angry with him." Satan says, "Man has sinned, let him be punished." God says, "Man is a sinner, that is, he is dead, I must raise him to life." No man can be pleasing to God, till after his renunciation.

7. From thence he concludes that they who condemn their brethren are like the devil, and those who are merciful to them resemble God. Man is dead by sin, actions which are bad are the corruption flowing essentially from death: to be angry at

bad actions is as extravagant, as to be angry at a dead corpse for stinking.

8. He calls Christ Peace-maker. It is foolish to enquire what faith a man professes; there is but one faith. Whoever thinks himself just is quiet, he rests, and works no more; his repose is the effect of his faith. Those who do not enjoy rest, and go on with works, and do not think themselves just yet, but endeavour it, those divide themselves into sects, as Catholics, Mennonites, Socinians, Arminians, &c. they even belong to religions entirely opposite to Christianity, as Judaism, Mahometanism, and Paganism; yet all these divisions make no difference among them; they are all alike, says Hattem, they condemn Christ, crucify him over again, and make him a liar and an impostor.

9. Three persons are one God, who denies one, denies all three. Jews, Mahometans and Socinians deny the son, who is the second person of the Trinity; and therefore they reject God, therefore they are Atheists. Catholics, Mennonites and Arminians are Atheists, says Hattem, because they are not at rest in quiet, but take pains to give God glory, and to do his will.

10. God alone can do his own will, man worships him and does his will only passively, by receiving his impressions, &c. Then all religion is only passive.

11. Whoever pretends to any other but this passive religion is an Atheist, by calling the will of God any other will but that of the Creator.

12. All those who believe that God has within himself a law which men are required by God and obliged to fulfil, are Atheists and idolaters; because all religion consisting in this being passive, it must be a wild and vain imagination, to pretend that religious worship consists in obeying laws, supposed to flow from God.

13. Then he concludes no one can believe in God, unless he is insensible, immoveable, and has no desires.

14. They have no faith in God, who are displeased at any thing that happens; who are not satisfied either with their own conduct, or that of others: who think they can do more, be more holy and happy, and enjoy a more desirable state.

15. So that whoever desires to be any thing else than what he is, does not believe in God, even though he should wish a sick person to recover, or a drunkard to leave off drunkenness: censures and punishments, repentance, desires and endeavours of amendment are useless; men by such sentiments resist the will of God, and become inflexible to it, and consequently are without true faith and Atheists.

16. This indifference ought, according to Hat-



tem, to make a true faithful equally satisfied whether virtue or vice is predominant in himself or others; passiveness and quiet will be his only virtues, these will keep him even from knowing evil, and render him pleasing to God the Creator, whom by the first article of the creed we are to believe.

17. The actions of men are their fruits, and are such as those who do them: good fruits cannot be expected from bad trees, men are essentially bad; it is therefore a wicked opposition to the will of God, to require good fruits, and good actions from men.

18. The son is the word of God and his wisdom, our prophet and doctor, &c. all the expressions of scripture teach us, that believing in him consists in receiving his testimony as infallible. Now the testimony of the Son of God is that the will of God is not in precepts, that our actions are not the obedience we owe him; we obey by faith, and the will of God is his eternal decree. We are neither better nor worse by our actions.

19. The corruption of man is according to God's will, man is naturally dead, naturally wicked, naturally damned, &c. yet our works are the works of the Son of God, by which we know we are sinners, dead, without soul, without God, in a word, perfect Atheists, &c.

20. But a true faithful is not sorry for his sins, he owns them, humbles himself in the sight of God, acknowledges that he is dead, and that as such he can only spread infection, (commit sins) and this is all the repentance and confession required.—So says Hattem, and adds "That no one believes in the Son of God, but owns that he rejects the divinity; to own a God is to deny that one is dead. Who can understand this nonsense? and what dreadful consequences flow from such principles?"

21. The love of God and our neighbour does not consist in actions. This would be a denial of God's justice; and prove only as a disguise of our hating the Supreme Being.

22. The love of God consists in faith, and that is shewn by being pleased with the punishments he inflicts, and those are our bad actions. Probably Hattem himself did not understand his own expressions.

23. The faithful alone are filled, glad, and content, &c. All is the work of God, therefore every thing pleases them; they are always perfect, because they are such as God thought fit they should be. Their works: re their punishments, they own it and thus are justified: they alone are the regenerate children of God, his heirs, and are intimately united to him by the most tender affection; which Hattem and most Mystics express after the model of

Solomon's Canticle by the most endearing words employed in love affairs.

These are the chief tenets of Hattem, a strange jumble of Quietism and other heresies, with which no doubt, our readers are sufficiently tired. These sectaries were accused of Atheism and libertinism, and no wonder; they supposed every body else to be Atheists, and by retaliation the same was objected to them: again, it was reported that they enlisted men in the devil's name, and made them swallow, in a glass of wine, a paper with the word devil wrote upon it; that their teachers were wizards, and used conjurations, which calumnies, if we believe this their apologist, had the desired success in reducing the Hattemites to fly their country, or to abscond. We must not omit letting our readers know that Pontian of Hattem had frequented the Cocceian schools.

Some pretended wits who have lately renewed in Holland the system of the soul of the world, and the eternity of both, might with justice be reckoned Spinozists and Deists more than Hattem. One of them indeed pretends to be far from a Spinozist, by establishing some difference betwixt God and nature. The same writer maintains also, that the Trinity is only three modifications of the Supreme Being, that extension is essential to God, and is the second person; that creation is from all eternity, &c. He and some others, namely one Daurhof, have had some followers, and held, as they do still, some assemblies, in a very private manner, to avoid the persecutions which the magistrates might make against them.

The ancient and modern wits have always endeavoured to bring into contempt the religions settled in every country; but never thought fit to break society upon that account with the rest of mankind. And after all their arguments, have been forced at last to own the necessity of some religion, not only to keep men in awe, and out of fear, but because they were convinced of the being of a God by dint of demonstration; when forced so far, they have denied revelation, yet could not avoid acknowledging that God might reveal himself by some means or other, that being so much above our reach of understanding, his authority must overcome all objections; thus these libertines, Deists, pretended wits, with their bold enquiries, are reduced to own the weakness of their boasted reasonings, and to humble themselves under the powerful hand of God. They ought likewise to be reckoned Deists, who believe that all religions are equally agreeable to God, provided they are not opposite to the laws of nature. God they say loves variety in religious worship; but if he has revealed any religion, that only can be agreeable which he has prescribed; and how

can man know, without revelation, what exterior worship is acceptable to the Supreme Being? They also must be deemed Deists, who, as Toland and Woolston, under pretence of crying down superstition, have attacked religion itself, as being loaded with ancient errors, ancient frauds, ancient lies which by length of time have been taken for truths, and which the old heathenish Romans highly prized; and I wish, says Toland, I might not be forced to say that Christians do likewise. Superstition is no doubt a great evil, fables and stories have brought religion into disrepute, and cannot be countenanced by any rational man, unless actuated by avarice, ambition, ignorance, or an over-credulous fear. We must then conclude, that a truly religious man renders to God what is due to him, submits himself, and the whole extent of reason, to his infallible word; adores him in spirit and truth; loves him, without servile fear, out of gratitude, and duty; expects all good from his bountiful hand; despises the terrors of death, and rejects all false notions of an inexorable fate.

We come now to consider the present state of Deism in Europe, with its causes and consequences.

In Italy almost all the learned are Deists, except the clergy, whose interest it is to be otherwise.—The Italian Deists are, however, arrant hypocrites, for they conceal their real sentiments while at home, and go regularly to confession and mass. However, when any of them come into Protestant countries, they pull off the mask, and condemn the whole of Christianity.

In France they are more numerous than in Italy, and many of them have written considerable works, but then it must be remembered, that they get their works printed in Holland. There is not, that we know of, one polite French author in the present age but is a Deist, and we are sorry to add, that the worst of their books are translated into our language, and many of them have been recommended by a noble lord, more celebrated for what is vulgarly called wit, than for either virtue or piety.—Some of these books have been brought into our schools, and the youth of both sexes have greedily drank the deadly poison. What is here said, the author knows to be true; for going one day to visit a young person to whom he was guardian, he heard the dancing-master recommend some of these deistical books. Fired with indignation, he threatened to take the person under his care, together with five more, away from the school, which had such a good effect, that the books never made their appearance.

As for the cause which promoted Deism in Roman Catholic countries, we shall now consider them, because they differ much from what is attended with the same effect among Protestants. And here we

are extremely happy in being assisted by the German traveller Keyser.

Every one knows, says Mr. Keyser, that no books in defence of the Protestant religion, are permitted to be sold in Roman Catholic countries.—Now as these men of learning read the Bible in the original, and as they are well acquainted with the fathers and church history, so they are convinced, that the Romish church at present, has no connection with what it was at the time of the emperor Constantine the Great. Under these circumstances they have no Protestants to converse with, nor have they an opportunity of perusing such elaborate treatises as have been written against the pope and the church of Rome.

Thus left in the dark, the poison sinks deep into their minds; their prejudices become strong, and although they dare not openly mock the priests and their trumpery, yet they secretly despise them, and in their writings let loose against them all the effusions of wit, and the virulence of satire. In vain are these men referred to the writings of Protestants, when they come into countries where they can be procured. These prejudices have sunk too deep, they shut the eyes of their understanding, and unfortunately it happens, that most of our controversial writings are not the most engaging. This is undoubtedly much to be lamented, but we have many things to lament that cannot easily be remedied.—Such are the causes which promote Deism in the Roman Catholic countries, and let us now see what are the effects.

A disregard for divine revelation first leads to a settled levity of temper, and that levity gradually carries on the person to pay but little regard to moral duties, although they profess themselves to be professors of natural religion. They loath every thing that is serious, because they have found the Romish priests to be erroneous. They have not that strength of mind to consider that the truth is not lost, though many impostors have done all in their power to darken it. Devotion is considered with them as a trifle, and their conduct, as well as their conversation, poisons the rising generation.

Let us now consider the state of Deism in our country, with its causes and consequences.

The first Deistical writer that ever appeared in England, was lord Herbert, of Cherbury, a great statesman, and brother to the pious Geo. Herbert, author of the Divine Poems. This learned nobleman, in his early youth, contracted the most inveterate prejudices against the Christian religion, and the cause seems to have been the following. When his lordship was a young man at the university of Oxford, he saw many melancholy instances of the abuse of clerical power, in the bishops of the established church persecuting the Puritans. He knew

that this was contrary to the spirit of the gospel, and here was the rock upon which he split. Had he considered things in a calm, dispassionate manner, he would have been led to believe, that the unworthy conduct of corrupt priests should never injure the cause of Christianity; on the contrary, it seems rather to establish it, for if there was no truth in Christianity, why so many impostors from time to time, attempting to impose, under that sacred name, upon mankind?

His sentiments, however, took the wrong bias, and he considered the whole of Christianity as a cheat, and yet this nobleman was one of the most ardent enthusiasts in the world.

The next Deistical writer was the famous Hobbs, of Malmesbury, who opposed Christianity in consequence of having read some treatises written on absolute predestination. He said, that if God had appointed all things, consequently mankind laboured under an invincible necessity. In this instance, perhaps, Hobbs was not a fool, at least he acted consistent with the nature of the principles laid down by the Predestinarians; and we will venture to affirm, that no man can believe that doctrine, without admitting of a necessity. And if a necessity is once admitted, then there is an end of all exhortation, because the freedom of the human will is destroyed.

But the most striking case we shall mention is, that of lord Bolingbroke, and we may venture to affirm, that it applies to almost all the cases in Deism during the present age.

Bolingbroke had been brought up in the house of his grandfather, Sir Henry St. John, who was lord keeper of the great seal under Oliver Cromwell. The young man was of a lively disposition, but there were seldom less than thirty dissenting ministers at his grandfather's table every day.

The young man saw into the duplicity of some of these, he became tired of their insignificant exhortations, and more than mock prayers. He imagined that the Presbyterian ministers visited his grandfather with no other view besides that of filling their pockets and their bellies, while their poor at home were not considered. And is this Christianity said he? then let me be a heathen. We are sorry to say that his lordship was as good as his word; for he had no sooner completed his studies, than he undertook to publish a work in order to prove the falsity of the Mosaical history. It is certain, that his lordship's treatise on that subject is one of the most feeble in argument that ever yet was attempted. That celebrated Deist Voltaire, with all his errors, was sensible of what is here advanced, and therefore in his philosophy of history he has recourse to another way of argument.

Bolingbroke was gross in his attacks, merely because he had detected some hypocritical ministers; but Voltaire was sly and artful, because he knew that the only way to undermine the Christian system was to act in a double, concealed manner. This naturally leads us to consider the concluding part of the argument, by pointing out those modern practices which promote Deism in the present age.

It may perhaps seem strange to those who have not given themselves much trouble to think, that men, who have had the advantages of a liberal education, who have investigated every part of civil and ecclesiastical history, who know the tempers and dispositions of men, who are not in the least unacquainted with those evidences which support divine revelation; we say, it may seem strange, that such men should reject the Christian system. But there are causes, which although little understood, yet really exist.

And first, the conduct of many of our clergy contributes towards promoting Deism. The cold and indifferent manner in which they perform their duty, the little regard they pay to the pastoral care, and above all, their avaricious dispositions open the mouths of blasphemers, and induce them boldly to tell the clergy, that if they were not impostors, they would act in the same manner as they taught.

Again, in the second place, the wicked lives of those who make pretensions to high attainments in religion, serve much towards the promoting of Deism. The Deists have learned what is asserted in the New Testament, viz. that every Christian is a new creature. Now as these high pretenders to religion are so far from being better in their conversation than they were before they assumed this new character, consequently they tell them that their religion is no more than a system of imposition; for, say they, unless religion serves to make us better than we were before, where is the necessity for a change? Here the Deists do not consider that all mere pretenders to religious attainments, have no religion at all; whereas the life of the real Christian is hid with Christ in God. They should consider the tendency of religion, and not the conduct of its corrupt professors. Let them say, is it of divine origin? then let me embrace it, although I shall be obliged to sit down in this world with hypocrites, and be ranked among many thousands of those, who, professing the name of Christ, would put him to death were he to come in the flesh a second time as the Jews of old did.

Thirdly, as there is not a single crime that can disgrace human nature, but has been committed by those men who are called religious, so our poor, unthinking young gentlemen, who have received a good education, look upon the whole Christian re-



ligion as a cheat. The consequences flowing from all these baneful principles are many, but we shall only take notice of a few.

First, as men are led to consider religion with contempt, so they pay little regard to moral duties; and we have thousands of Deists amongst us, who know not the meaning of the word. To despise religion is no new thing, for ever since man lost his original righteousness, he has had a stronger desire to evil than to good. Strange contradictions in human nature, to prefer misery to happiness; for men to set their own knowledge up as superior to that of God.

A second consequence is, that men neglect, in general, all those duties they owe to their families; why should a man labour in this world who has no hopes in death. The believer looks upon himself as an accountable being; the Deist, notwithstanding his pretensions to a belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, dies without hope; not giving himself an opportunity to inquire, or time to consider things in a proper manner. He forms his notions of Christianity not from the religion itself, but from the wicked lives of corrupt professors.

A serious inquirer after truth would never seek for information but at the fountain head. He would go to the sacred scriptures; and having examined the evidences which support them, he would rest satisfied, and leave false professors to answer to God. We shall conclude this article concerning the Deists, in the words of the late pious and learned lord president Forbes, a gentleman who saw deeply into human nature, and who defeated the Deists with weapons they were unacquainted with.

"Atheism, Deism, and the whole train of opinions that attend what is commonly called free-thinking, flow from a settled disbelief and contempt of revelation.

"This belief is, in a great measure, owing to the want of a fair and unprejudiced examination of the numerous and various proofs and evidences, that support the truth and authority of the scriptures.

"But it is chiefly grounded on a firm persuasion, that human understanding is a sufficient guide to man, and the test and measure of matters of all belief: so that we are at liberty, nay indeed bound, to reject whatever does not answer those notions, which, by what we call reasoning, we have fixed.

"That modern discoveries, the fruit of genius and application only, have fixed and determined to a certainty the laws and causes of the principal operations, and phenomena of nature, which were wholly unknown to the ancients, and mistaken by the authors of the books which are received as revelation.

"That therefore these books, so far as they give accounts of nature, contrary to experience, and de-

monstration resulting from it, are false; and consequently can, in no other point, pass for infallible.

"That the scriptures relate a great many marvelous, improbable, nay incredible transactions, which do not seem to be directed to any purpose, suited to sovereign wisdom and goodness; and to contain a world of institutions, laws, observances, and ceremonies, which to freethinkers appear absurd, frivolous, and ridiculous; unworthy the supposed author, and improper to attain the proposed end.

"When any apparent mistake in natural philosophy is objected to the scriptures, the answer commonly given is, in my opinion, stronger than the objection, according to the views of the disputants on either side; that these things, being incidental only, are spoken *ad captum humanum*, and accommodated to the understandings of those to whom they were only delivered; though I confess, it would be a much more comfortable answer, if it could be said and proved, that the things objected to are true.

"When freethinkers ground themselves upon any improbable, or, as they will call it, incredible or absurd relation, there is no answering them without bringing together and laying before them, the whole evidence that serves for supporting revelation: which, when poised in the scale against all objections of this kind that ever have been made, in my opinion, may certainly outweigh them; but, the misfortune is, the objectionable glares can be taken in by a very moderate capacity, and requires no learning, and but little attention to comprehend it; whereas, without long study, great learning, close attention, and a dispassionate and unprejudiced examination, the evidence for revelation cannot be collected and weighed. Whoever, therefore, lets in the strength of the objection, and, for want of learning or attention, not to speak of natural prejudices, either cannot, or will not, give himself the trouble to collect and weigh the proofs on the other side, must necessarily give it against revelation, and fortify himself in his incredulity.

"And to this it is owing, that all those, who, in this indolent and luxurious age, pretend to politeness, and aim at knowledge, and the reputation of, understanding and science, without any interruption to their pleasures or pursuits, take up with objections against revelation, without the painful examination of the evidence that supports it, look down with contempt on believers, as a parcel of prejudiced enthusiasts, and insist themselves with freethinkers, as the honestest, wisest set of men living.

"And when men, carried by pleasures, or sunk in indolence, settle once upon these notions, every institution, ordinance, or ceremony, appointed in scripture, for which Christians cannot, or do not, assign an adequate use or end, becomes fresh matter of objection, and tends to rivet and confirm infidelity.

"This facility of receiving and taking up with objections, and the criminal indolence and neglect of those who do not give themselves the trouble to examine, with due care, the merits of the answer, has been long complained of, and lamented by all who wish well to mankind, but hitherto in vain: something more than argument must intervene to cool them in the pursuit of pleasures, to rouse their attention to their real interest, and to determine them to search with care and industry, before they will let in so much as a suspicion that their objections are ill founded; or those objections must be overthrown by some other and shorter mean than the

complicated evidence for the authority of revelation, else the objectors will never give themselves the trouble to discover their mistakes."

To what has been here advanced concerning the Deists, we must add, that they have for some years had a chapel at Mary-le-bonne, where we can only say, that the discourses delivered are far below heathenism. We take up the writings of a Seneca and an Epictetus, &c. with pleasure, and we can find no fault with them, because they knew no better, but we lament to find men living under the gospel advancing notions subversive of it.

## ACCOUNT OF THE PHILADELPHIANS.

**T**HERE is not in the whole world, either a trade or a profession, whether civil or religious, but engrossers will be found among them. We have popular physicians, popular lawyers, and popular divines, all of whom may be considered as engrossers. But here we have an instance of one single sect engrossing as it were, to itself a title claimed in common by all the rest.

Philadelphians signify Lovers of the Brethren; and it is well known, that all sects whatever love their brethren, if we may believe themselves; nay they all acknowledge it as a duty to do so, although we know that very few of them pay any regard to it, unless they are rich; then indeed they have many friends, but to use the words of the wise man, "The poor is abhorred of his neighbour." However, let us proceed with this new religion.

The Philadelphians took their rise only a few years ago, having at their head a disaffected clergyman of the church of England. Their form of worship resembles that of the Dissenters in general; but as for their preaching, it is perhaps the most extraordinary thing in the world. But of that we shall take notice afterwards.

In the mean time, we have made ourselves perfectly acquainted with every thing belonging to these people; and so far are they from being what they call themselves, viz. Lovers of the Brethren, that properly speaking, they have no brethren at all.—This will appear the more evident, when it is considered, that they are not incorporated into one body, as most of the other sects are. Their congregation consists of all those who please to come, let them be of any denomination whatever. Indeed, there is one thing constantly expected, and that is, that they

would bring some money along with them for the support of the preacher. And here it is necessary to observe, that among all the sects in this nation, we know of none who preach gratis, except the Friends and the Sandimanians. All others must have money, otherwise they can have no accommodation. Nothing is more common than to hear some of our modern sectaries condemn the conduct of Simon Magus, for offering money for the Holy Ghost, and yet we never find that they refuse to take money when they administer their spiritual consolations; nay, they frequently demand money, and that in a too peremptory manner.

All the money collected at the Philadelphian meeting is given to the minister, who agrees to pay the rent out of it; but he generally insinuates himself so far into the good graces of his hearers, that they pay it for him.

They have no church discipline, which indeed would be altogether unnecessary, especially where there is not a church; for these Philadelphians are not a church; they are not a body collective, but their meeting is open to all comers. The people do not so much as know one another, and the minister is so sensible of this, that he frequently advertises his sermons in the public papers. The novelty of the name leads many people to the place, who generally return as uninformed as they went.

When they first made their appearance, we were led to believe that they had chosen their name from the common meaning of the word, namely, that they lived in love and friendship together, as all Christians are commanded to do. But no such thing was intended, for the minister is with respect to church government, a Latitudinarian, that is, he

does not desire to have any connection with church fellowship, but to range at large, submitting to any form that his people may chuse to prescribe.

This indeed is too much the characteristic of many modern sects. It discovers no small share of worldly wisdom, for when people enter into connections, as all churches should do, then it is generally expected that they walk by some rule and mind prescribed duties. And among these, what could be more important than that of providing for the poor. Now, in order to avoid this very disagreeable and very troublesome duty, nothing can better suit the purpose than to preach at large, without being concerned with any church whatever; for if the people will not come to hear them, and give them money, they can keep their sermons to themselves.

We come now to consider their manner of preaching, and previous thereto, we must ask our readers a few questions; for we have some reason to believe that we have more sorts of readers than one.

And now good reader, if you are a Roman Catholic, there can remain no manner of doubt but you have read Dr. Chaloners Catholic Christian instructed. If you are a Lutheran, you must have read Dr. Rambachs treatise on the sufferings of Christ. If you are a Church of England man, you must have read Haywood and Attersole; and, if a Dissenter, Keach and Mather undoubtedly grace your library. These are admirable writings in their own way, and we are certain they have their admirers. But now reader we will lead thee within the veil, and shew things unknown to thee before.

The preacher of the Philadelphian meeting, not content with what has been advanced by the writers already mentioned, has improved the notions of all those who have gone before him. The fundamental principles upon which his religion is founded, are the following.

First, that there was an oral tradition, or unwritten law from the fall of man to the days of Moses: and that this unwritten law was what the patriarchs adhered to.

Secondly, that the delivery of the law to Moses, was nothing but a republication of the old oral law, and that there was no difference between the service of the tabernacle and the worship performed by the patriarchs.

Lastly, that there were so many mysteries contained under the Levitical ceremonies, that if people would carefully attend to them, they would every thing find in the gospel concealed under them.— Thus for instance, the crossing the Red sea, points out conversion; the journey through the wilderness, human life; the crossing of Jordan, death; and taking possession of the holy land, everlasting happiness. But these are trifles to what we are going to relate.

The Philadelphian minister sees wonders in the sounding of the rams horns, in the new moons, in all the washings of the priests, in the turtle doves and young pigeons, in clean and unclean beasts, and a thousand other things too numerous to mention. This allegorical interpretation of scripture has however a strong effect on the intellects of weak people. And here it is surprising to consider, in what manner we poor bewildered creatures form our notions of religion on many occasions.

Thus we are not content with common explanations of the obvious sense of scripture, but we must have recourse to far-fetched allegories and hidden mysteries. However, the ceremonies were in part a type of the gospel, yet divine wisdom had something else in view, in prescribing them; namely, to keep the Jews a distinct people from the heathens around them. Nay, in some cases there was a physical necessity in it. Such was the state of the country, such was the effect of the climate, that had they been permitted to eat swine's flesh, it might have proved fatal and prejudicial to their health.

It was the same with blood, which they were prohibited from eating, because it filled the body with corrupt particles. Some of the types indeed were significant, but we are of opinion that a single allusion to them in a sermon occasionally, is enough. To dwell half an hour or an hour upon them, is to prevent the preacher from making practical improvements. It leads the people into all that wilderness which is calculated to seduce their minds from the truth, and makes them believe they see wonders where none ever existed.

It is allowed, that in private meditation, allegory is delightful, and it may even serve to kindle devotion in the heart: but those things should be kept within proper bounds. There are many things that we may know, that ought not to be made public. We ought to be extremely cautious in all things of that nature, and therefore let our words be few.

We shall conclude our account of these people by observing, that as they are not properly a community, so there is reason to believe, they will die away with the present generation. We have, in the course of this work, said so much concerning new religions, that we shall not here re-assume the subject. If a general toleration of all religious sentiments has increased in this country the number of new religions, we must acknowledge that these new religions have soon fallen into decay. And here we cannot help remembering the words of the wise Dr. Gamalial; "Let all new religions alone, for if they are of men, they will vanish away to nothing; but if they are of God, they will flourish and be established."

When the toleration act first took place, there were but few sects among the Dissenters in Eng-



land, but they increased amazingly soon after. The reason is obvious. Before the revolution they had no opportunity of planning schemes for new religions; but no sooner did that desirable event take place, than they all set up for themselves on separate foundations. And yet although some of these were greedily embraced at first, yet many of them

are now sunk into oblivion, and probably more will soon follow their example. This much is certain, that the people of the present age have become as it were, tired of new religions. They have made experiments, and they have cut their fingers. In other words, they have been misled, and they are determined to be on their guard for the future.

## ACCOUNT OF THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN, COMMONLY CALLED GYPSIES.

THIS sort of people being the dregs and sink of all nations, our readers may wonder to see them placed among fanatics and enthusiasts; yet we are obliged to give an account of them, by reason of their origin, which has some remarkable particulars in it. We give them the appellation of Bohemians, but the Germans call them *Zigenners*, from which the Italians name them *Cingares*. Borel informs us, that Boem, in the old language of the Gauls, signifies bewitched, which seems to agree with the notion of common people, that they can foretell what is to happen, discover hidden things, and are well versed in witchcraft. They go from place to place, having no fixed abode, as the ancient Germans did, and, in the north, the Druidesses, the Sybils, the Voles and Fairies, so often mentioned by the Gauls. Their first rise seems owing to the remains of the Druids, who were brought into so much contempt by Christianity, that having lost all credit and power in the towns and cities, they were obliged to dwell in caves, and to wander about the country. Beggars and vagrants are apt to associate together, which renders it probable, that others from Africa and Asia may have joined themselves to those Druids; for instance, the Kaulits of Persia, who, like our Bohemians, run about the country, live in other solitary places, and have no religion or public worship, or rules, or any laws. They swarm over all Persia, and from thence spread southward to Arabia and Egypt, northward to Tartary, and more distant places. Accordingly they are called Gypsies, upon the same account for which the Saxons call them Tartars.—Our over-credulous ancestors vainly imagined, that those gypsies or Bohemians were so many spies for the Turks, and that in order to expiate for the crimes which they had committed in their own country, they were condemned to steal from and rob the Christians. A rare penance! We have performed such another, though in a nobler and more heroic manner, by taking the cross, and making war against

those infidels. But our opinion, that the Bohemians come from the southern parts of Asia and Africa, which our forefathers did not distinguish from Egypt, before the way of going to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was found out, is grounded on the testimony of one of the most ancient authors who wrote concerning them. He relates, "that in 1433, the Cingares, who pretended they were Egyptians, came into Germany;" and, according to another writer cited by Pasquier, they likewise came into France much about the same time. The story is somewhat curious. "They were (says that author), by extraction, of the lower Egypt, and having abjured the Christian faith, were driven from their native country, became miserable, and an abomination to all mankind; the then emperor rejected them also, as other Christian powers had done, and told them they should go to the holy father at Rome. They went, confessed their sins, and he enjoined them to go and travel about the world, doing penance, not lying in a bed, &c. This they performed for five years before they came to Paris; the chief of them arrived there on the 17th of August 1427, the rest on the day of the decollation of St. John." The same writer says, that the ears of all of them were bored through, and had a ring, sometimes two at each ear; their complexion was very black, and their hair frizzled; the women also very black and ugly, and their hair like a horse's tail. The habit of these women was of old coarse flax; some of them were witches, and looked into people's hands to tell them their fortunes. In a word, these Egyptians, banished apostates, despised by all mankind, and condemned by the pope to a wandering life, bear a vast resemblance to our Bohemians. After all, the said author cited by Pasquier says, the pope did excommunicate them, and all those who had their fortunes told them, and that from Paris they went to Potoise, on Lady-day in September, 1423.

We are inclined to trace the origin of the Bohe-

rians still higher than those Egyptians, the ancient Druids, the Kaulits of Persia, or the Uxians of Armenia: Why may they not owe their rise to the Messalianians, wandering and dispersed in Thracia, Bulgaria, &c. who were mistaken for sectaries and heretics of divers kinds, under the name of Manichæans, and upon whom the compilers of heretical catalogues have liberally bestowed a great number of odious appellations, by which, in process of time, they became more black and hateful to orthodox Christians, than the very devils in hell. The Messalianians are supposed to have had their beginning under the reign of the emperor Constantius: They were but few at first, their number increased gradually, and when they were taken notice of, as the writers of the fourth age charged them with the most of the Manichæan principles, they were reckoned amongst those heretics. The first penal laws against Schismatics and heretics were enacted at that time, and put in execution against the Messalianians, who being prosecuted, from pagans and idolaters, as they were thought to be, rather than Christians, became most orthodox Christians out of fear or self-interest.

As the Messalianians are mentioned here only as bearing some resemblance to the Bohemians, we shall only relate what may evidence their conformity of sentiments and practices. They did not work, and lived by the alms which they received, to imitate the apostles whom Christ had forbid having any possession.

This constant idleness, their voluntary poverty, their contempt of all the conveniences of life, and of all government, could not but lead them by degrees into a total neglect of discipline, and of all laws: This occasioned great crimes and disorders in their society; and among the sincere Messalianians, many others crept in who minded nothing less than their prayers. They were therefore accused both of living together without observing any order, any rule, or even the most common decency, and of being true Cynics, who after wandering all day in the fields, met at night, and lay in the same place, without any regard to age, sex, &c. The orthodox moreover charged them with maintaining that we ought always to follow the dictates of nature, to eat, to drink, to ease one's self when it requires it, and that no fast is to be observed, but when necessary for the preservation or recovery of health:— Besides all this, the orthodox of those days reproached them with their meetings and nocturnal feasts, in which the Pagans had heretofore taxed the Christians, and which have since been laid to the charge of other modern heretics, to render them more odious to the Roman Catholics.

We find in Italy about the close of the thirteenth century, some Fraticelli, who were also called Bi-

zoqui, that is, bigots or clownish; upon account of their unpolished way of life, or because they pretended to a greater and more refined devotion. The other name of Fraticelli, that is, little brothers, either was given them because the first of them were monks, or rather it is the same as the name of Adelpiani, which was bestowed upon the Messalianians.— We shall soon see that there was some conformity of sentiments betwixt them: Their chief doctors were Pietro Maurato and Pietro di Fossombrone; but an apostate monk from the convent of Pongilupi, was their ringleader; at least it is so reported. Be that as it will, these Fraticelli wandered about the country like the Messalianians, to avoid the persecutions raised against them, upon account of their lewd life, and of the errors which they held, the necessary consequence whereof was their shocking disorderly behaviour. Both the Fraticelli and Messalianians pretended that all goods ought to be in common, and condemned living by the work of one's hands. They denied all obedience to magistrates, allowed a plurality of wives, and those to be in common; to which the Grecian and Italian orthodox added the heinous imputation of holding their meetings in the night, to be more at liberty to commit all sorts of crimes. We have informed our readers, that some ringleaders of the fanatical Baptists, and several of their followers, were guilty of those three capital errors; which may serve both as an indirect proof that the Fraticelli and Messalianians probably might not be accused without some grounds; and, by consequence, as a justification of the severities used against them. But, after all, it must be owned, that some particular persons might live and die in that sect, without being acquainted with the bad principles of their evil tendency, as but too many do even amongst the orthodox; and though heresies ought to be detested, certainly the inveterate hatred against the persons is highly to be avoided.

But to return to our Messalianians of Greece and of the East, and to our Italian Fraticelli. If there were amongst them so many professed libertines, as the historians and controvertists of those times mention, ignorance, joined to the persecutions raised against them, may have been the occasion of their actually putting in execution all the enormities of their false doctrine. A young person, for instance, commits a crime, and by that infamous action loses his reputation; he is despised, abandoned by every one; so out of despair runs head-long into ruin and misery. This example needs no further comment.

We must likewise take notice here, that both ancient and modern controvertists have often represented sects and heretical systems as more dangerous than they appear to have really been. Some may pretend to excuse this fault under colour of an unbounded zeal against heresy; but zeal ought not to

be bitter, or to destroy charity; and whilst a fiery and subtle controvertist inveighs too harshly against the venom of an erroneous opinion, he often does more mischief to public society than the very person who had taken it up without much consideration; and probably might, as easily have dropped it, if pride and shame had not, such is human frailty! prompted him to maintain it with obstinacy. This same false zeal has often made the said writers tax one and the said sect with maintaining inconsistent and evidently contradictory opinions; it cannot be denied that iniquity belies itself; scripture says it, and we daily experience it. But that so many inconsistent propositions should so often be justly charged upon one and the same sect, is not very much to be credited. The authors of those imputations have been sensible of this defect in the accounts by them given; and instead of owning honestly their mistake, have invented new names of derision and contempt, to upbraid the sects which they had accused wrongfully of such palpable contradictions. Thus the Manichæans, the Messalians, &c. were called by a name which in Greek signifies a mixture of all sorts. Thus the Albigenes, the Waldenses, the Lutherans and Calvinists, have been nicknamed the sink and dregs of all prior heretics.

The name of Adelphians, bestowed on the Messalians, was taken from Adelphius, one of their teachers: Flavian, patriarch of Antioch, having with great art envigiled him to discover the most secret articles of the doctrine which he held and taught, obtained that he should be banished from Syria.

But to conclude our account of these sectaries; by wandering about, they in process of time went further and further, from the place of their origin. The persecutions they suffered, and ill treatment they received from the Catholics, and as we have said before, had as great a share in banishing them from cities and great towns, and rendering them

as odious as their erroneous opinions and wicked life. As they spread, so did their doctrine; and it is highly probable, that in Europe, as well as in Asia, they met many libertines who gladly associated themselves with them, upon account of the idle and lazy life so much recommended by that sect. Tares soon grow amongst the good corn, and the common people, who are apt to form their judgment not from particular instances, but general conclusions, easily mistook the good corn for tares. Thus they settled in Greece, in Thracia, Bulgaria, Transilvania, Hungary, and at last in Bohemia. In all the countries where the Sclavonian language is understood, the Messalians took, or their enemies in derision gave them, the name of Bogomiles.

Their abode in Bulgaria and the neighbouring countries, has rendered the word Bulgare odious throughout Europe, chiefly in France and Italy.—It may likewise be presumed, that they went from Bulgaria and Hungary into Bohemia, at a time when the Bohemians began to rebel against the church, and upon that account the orthodox took the Bohemians to be the same as the Bogomiles or Messalians. This being also a critical time for the church of Christ, and many beggars and miserable wretches taking part in these divisions, all were blended under the same denomination. Thus at last the name of Bohemians is universally given to vagrants and runaways, who have no settled notions, laws or religion, who in well governed kingdoms are banished from all cities or towns, and dwell in caves and solitary places, and live only by begging or stealing. If the romantic stories mentioned in the public gazettes concerning some of these Bohemians, who, within a few years, have made inroads through high and low Germany, were of any authority, or to be credited, the proofs of courage which they are said to give, must appear very singular and strange.

## HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN OF THE ROSY-CROSS.

**T**HIS society took its rise in Germany.—About the year 1394, a young man, who from five years old had been brought up in a convent, became acquainted at the age of sixteen with some magicians, learned their art, travelled into the East as far as Arabia, where the doctors of that country taught him wonderful secrets, and foretold him he should be the author of a general reformation. From Arabia he went into Barbary, and from thence to Spain, where he frequented the Moors and Jews who were versed

in the Cabala. He there pretended to begin his reformation, but being banished from Spain, he came back into his native country Germany, and died in the year 1484, being one hundred and six years old. His body was not buried, but only deposited in a grotto. Fate or some oracle had ordered that the corps should remain in that state one hundred and twenty years; in consequence of which decree, it was not found out till 1604.

A German chronicle of the Rosicrucians, relates



this discovery as follows : A Rosicrucian being probably more cunning than his brethren, took notice of a stone with a nail in it. He took out the stone, and found the grotto in which was deposited the body of their founder, with this inscription, " At the end of one hundred and twenty years I shall be manifested." Over the monument, after these four letters, A. C. R. C. these words were written, " In my life-time I have chosen this compendium of the world for my tomb," and several hieroglyphical figures about them. The body held in its hand a book in gold letters, which contained the praises of the founder, and gave an account of the vast treasures he had found, and of his dying without sickness or pain, when aged above an hundred.

This discovery occasioned the establishment of the Brethren of the Rosy-Cross; and in 1615, a German printed and published their apology and profession of faith.

At first the number of the Brethren was only four, then eight; but it increased very much afterwards. They were to remain in a state of celibacy, and to make themselves known to the world by no other name than the enlightened of the Rosy-Cross.— Their laws and rules forbade them to receive any reward for practising physic, and ordered them to do it out of charity; to do good to all mankind; to apply themselves to wisdom and piety; to reform the religious worship, by retrenching all superfluous ceremonies; to maintain steadily all the principles of the confraternity, which was to subsist to the end of the world. Their chief customs and opinions were, to dress according to the fashion of the country in which they lived; to be present at least once a year at their meetings, or to give a good reason for absenting; to wear constantly the character or impression of the Rosy-Cross, as a token of the brotherhood; to look upon themselves as appointed to reform all things, and as having the whole and sole right to all the gifts of nature, upon that account. They were to declare openly, that the pope was Antichrist, and that a time would come, when they should pull down his triple crown. They rejected and condemned the doctrines of the pope and of Mahomet, calling the one and the other blasphemies of the east and west: they owned but two sacraments, and admitted only the ceremonies of the primitive church. They called their society the confraternity of the Holy Ghost. They pretended to a right of naming their successor, and bequeathing to them all their privileges and virtues, as being their representatives; to know by revelation those who were worthy to be admitted as members of their society; to keep the devil in a state of subjection, and to discover hidden treasures. They moreover said, that their confraternity could not be destroyed, because God always opposed an impenetrable cloud

to screen them from their enemies. Neither hunger, thirst, sickness, or any other infirmity, could hurt them; if any brother died, his burying-place and their assemblies were to be kept secret for one hundred and twenty years. They believed as a fundamental article of their faith, that if the sect failed, it might be renewed at the founder's monument or tomb. They bragged of having invented a new language, by which they could describe the nature of every being; yet they did not make use of speeches or parables; they avoided being thought the inventors of novelties, and the account they gave of their wonderful performances, was not to be deemed either imprudent, foolish, malicious, or deceitful. But their bare word must be taken, and these enlightened Brethren very much resemble quacks and alchemists in this point, as they did in their jargons, and their boasted mysterious sciences: Accordingly they were all instructed, and had their education in Arabian or German schools.

Moreover, the Rosicrucians said, that another sun which borrowed its light from the sun of this world, enlightened the grotto in which their founder was deposited, and served to discover all the wonders of the said grotto, some of which were engraved on a copper-plate placed upon an altar; where, for instance, four figures are to be seen, with these four inscriptions, " Never empty, The yoke of the law, The liberty of the gospel, The glory of God." We shall not omit other strange things, which deserve and require the learned comments of some alchemists, or visionary cabalists; several of which have promised, as the Brethren of the Rosy-Cross, to repair the breaches and defects of the world; as if nature was subject to decay, or the divine providence by which it is governed, could possibly be so far weakened, as to suffer its own work to be destroyed. They likewise flatter themselves that they shall be able to restore the primitive strength of constitution, and innocency of life in mankind; plenty and community of goods, the universal knowledge of the sciences, and the general agreement of all nations, in an unity of the gospel, in unity of religion, and holiness of life.

Morhof mentions a diminutive sect, or a small swarm of the Rosicrucians, to which he gives the name of Collegium Rosianum, or society of Rosay, who was a visionary fanatic, and endeavoured to settle that confraternity in Savoy, near Dauphine about the year 1630. Their number was not to exceed three; one Mornius tried all possible ways of being admitted for a fourth, but was rejected, and could only obtain the favour of being reckoned as a servant. This small society was entrusted with three important secrets, perpetual motion; the art of changing metals; and an universal physic.

What can be thought of such a society, which is

supposed perfect in itself, adorned with universal knowledge, possessed of all worldly treasures, except from all human infirmities; yet no more seen than if it had been composed of pure spirits? all we can say is, that it bears a great resemblance to, and deserves to be ranked among fairy-tales. We must own nevertheless, that the common people are delighted, and love to entertain themselves with such fooleries. So the world is like to be for ever pestered with quacks and fools.

The Rosicrusians were much talked of in France in the first fifteen or twenty years of the last age, and several who pretended to be of that society, were cast into prison. The foolish credulity of the people was raised by the following bill posted up in all public places: "We who are deputies from the Rosicrusians, and dwell visibly or invisibly in this town, by the grace of the most High —, shew and teach without books or notes, to speak all the languages of the country where we please to live, to deliver our fellow creatures from deadly error." In 1613, a Rosicrusian of Barbary, named Muley-Ibrahimet, with a handful of men, having overcome the king of Fez and Morocco, was, they said, to conquer Spain. Some pretended Enlightened Brethren appeared then in Spain, but were soon quelled by the Inquisition.

Much about that time, the pretended Enlightened Brethren, before mentioned, occasioned some tumults in Spain, as the Rosicrusians had done; and we must not omit giving our readers some account of them. The singularity of their notions, some points in which they either did, or other people were resolved to believe they did agree with the Rosicrusians, made them be esteemed one and the same sect. Neither shall we pretend to multiply parties and divisions, but rank these Enlightened

Brethren amongst the most dangerous kind of contemplative men, and the most wicked Quietists; if what is reported of them be true, that they believed that when the mind is wholly absorbed in prayer, and intimately united to God, it does not become guilty of any of the crimes committed in that state by the body. They moreover held, that the sacraments were useless, &c. that all good works were supplied by raising the heart to God. The Inquisition taxed them with maintaining seventy-six, erroneous opinions; and this is not to be wondered at, since that tribunal is known to be very nice, and to require an extraordinary exactness in religious matters. These Enlightened Brethren made their appearance about the end of the sixteenth age; but the Inquisition put an early stop to the progress of their fanaticism. They shewed themselves again in the neighbourhood of Seville, in the beginning of the seventeenth age, at which period of time they were esteemed to be Rosicrusians.

The Low Countries and Picardy, produced likewise, about 1525, some such Enlightened Brethren as those of Spain. A tailor named Quintin, and one Copin of much the same trade, were the ring-leaders of the Enlightened Flemish men; for in those days, every man was thought qualified to preach. They are accused of holding, that intention alone makes sin, that the spirit of God partakes of all the actions of men, and that innocency of life consists only in being calm and easy, without giving way to any doubts or scruples. This intention, which alone makes the sin, does not differ very widely from the mind intimately united to God, whilst the body wallows in crimes. What dreadful consequences might not follow, from such doctrine, in a state governed by fanatics so united to God, and so perfectly weaned from matter.

## ACCOUNT OF THE MODERN ANTI-TRINITARIANS.

WE have already taken notice of the Anti-trinitarians in the primitive times of Christianity; and likewise of those among the Protestant Dissenters. We shall now proceed to give an account of another set of Arians, which have sprung up in the present age; nay indeed, not many years ago. It is well known that this vast species of Arianism, Socinianism, and Deism, has induced many of the clergy to seek to be excused from subscribing to the thirty-nine articles. This was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary efforts of madness that ever took place; for how could those men expect to enjoy

pecuniary emoluments from the church, while they refused to comply with her commands. They knew that every civil establishment of religion has its system, which must be subscribed by its members, particularly the clergy. This is done in order to preserve uniformity, that they may all preach the same doctrine, and not broach new opinions.

Had these men laboured under any scruple of conscience, they would have left their livings, and either joined the Presbyterians, or set up separate meetings. But no such event took place; for they went and took possession of their livings. It is true

we have two or three exceptions; particularly in the conduct of a clergyman in the north of England, who resigned his living, and was received in London by those who longed for something out of the common way.

This was a happy event to our Arians, for although, in order to point out his disinterestedness, he boasted that he had left a benefice worth three hundred a year, from motives of conscience; yet he had no objection to accept of double that sum from those who followed him in London.

A nobleman of a very popular character, became one of this preacher's first hearers in London, and his example was followed by several persons of considerable rank. As our preacher had been brought up to read prayers, and consequently could not pray without book, and as the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England, every where asserts the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, so he could not with propriety make any use of it, as it would have condemned his own principles.

To remedy this defect, he set to work and compiled a liturgy, partly out of the Common Prayer-book, and partly from his own invention. This liturgy suits all the purposes for which it was intended; for it is made according to the sentiments of the Arians and Socinians.

Great care has been taken by the compiler to convince his hearers, that he does not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. In some of his collects he blesses God for sending his son into the world to save sinners; but it may be asked, what does he mean by salvation here? The answer is neither less nor more than that Jesus, as a created being, came to shew us a good example both in his life and sufferings.

That he did so is certain, but surely this could never constitute a mediatorial office. A mediator is one who stands between the offender and offended, to reconcile the difference that has taken place. Now, according to the whole scripture account, Christ was to execute these offices for sinners.

First, he was to be unto them a prophet, to convince them of sin, and point out to them the whole will and purpose of God.

Secondly, in order to restore the honour of a broken law, and reconcile sinners to God, he was to suffer what no created being could suffer, namely, the whole wrath of God for sin. This is called his priestly office, and it was for this reason that he took upon him a human body, and a rational soul.

Thirdly, as a king and supreme head of his church, he was, by the power of his spirit, to subdue the wills and passions of his people; he was to make them a willing people in the day of his power; he was not only to rule over them, but he

was to rule in their hearts, by the Holy Ghost.—To renew their nature, to fill their minds with a desire to do good to their fellow-creatures, to be clothed with humility, and to go on from one degree of perfection to another, till such time as they arrive before the Lord in glory.

Now, what has been here advanced concerning Christ's offices, could not have been performed by a human being. Part of the prophetic office might, indeed, have been performed; but no mortal could have executed that of the priest, or the king. What human being could endure the whole wrath of God in his body and soul, for the sins of a guilty world, it was utterly impossible for any person less than God to make an atonement. If sin was committed against an infinite being, then it must be a power equally great that could satisfy Divine justice.

But according to the notions of the modern Anti-trinitarians, there was no necessity for such an atonement, nor did Christ come to do any thing more than to shew us a good example, and to instruct us in the way of duty. Why, the apostle Paul could have done this, and so could the other apostles; for we are certain they taught the same doctrines as were taught by our Saviour, and so far as we know, every one of them sealed his testimony with his blood, except St. John the evangelist.

These Anti-trinitarians are composed of persons who have no knowledge, in general, concerning religion. Many of them are in very elevated stations in life; and they have of late built a grand meeting for their preacher, with an elegant house for his residence. And here we would observe, that any man who can strike out something new, is generally sure of success. This will in all respects, apply to the case of religion; and for the honour of our Anti-trinitarian adventurer, he is endeavouring to make hay while the sun shines.

Thus, besides a considerable subscription from his hearers, he has as much provision, of the best sort, sent him in from different parts of the country every week as would support several families.—There are no poor belonging to his meeting, for charity and new religions seldom have much connection together. This we know to be true, and much more, though we would not be thought too censorious.

Before we conclude this account, we would willingly make one observation, and the rather, because it is new. And that is, that in most cases in religion, the vulgar enthusiastic preacher, draws after him the greatest number of followers. But these are among the lower ranks of the people.

However, let not the great and the learned, in this instance, triumph over the weak and ignorant. The great can find as much pleasure in running after



a man who is seeking every opportunity in his power to traduce the gospel of Christ, as the vulgar can in running after the ignorant teacher, who does not so much as understand what he is speaking of.

Many are carried away with a notion, that they are the elected children of God, and therefore look with contempt on the rest of mankind. On the other hand, the lukewarm in religion, who follow the preacher, who despise the glories of Christ, will not acknowledge that there is any thing supernatural. In this manner they stifle the agonizing pains of a guilty conscience, and live as if there was not a God to whom they are to be accountable.

If these men were to consider the following sentiments of a great author, it might put them to the blush.

"The words Trinity and Persons are terms not to be met with in the sacred book, and yet to those terms, and the application of them, the revolt against the doctrine is chiefly owing.

What the scripture acquaints us with, is this, and no more : That it characterises the Father, who is the avenger of wrong, and rewarder of right, God ; that what it characterises the Son, the Word, the Creator of the world, the Redeemer of mankind, sent for that purpose by the Father, is God ; that the Holy Spirit, the Correspondent with, and Comforter of the spirits of men, is God ; and that nevertheless the Deity, the self-existing Being, is but One. That these matters are so, the scripture expressly declares ; and the manner in which it expresses the last proposition, Deut. vi. 4. is worth attending to. Our translators render it, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is our Lord." The original says, "Jehovah our God is one self-existent Being;" for so the word translated Lord signifies. Now, what is there in our knowledge, in our conceptions, or in our reason, that can qualify us to determine the modus of the existence, or of the action of the invisible Deity ? That we have no sort of idea of the substance of that soul which acts in us, or of the manner of its existence or actions, is an agreed point : What impudence then must it be

in us, to pretend to determine, from our conceptions, or rather inability to conceive, the condition, or manner of existence and acting of the Supreme Being, the least of whose works are in very deed beyond our comprehension ?

The ancients, less refined than we, disputed about the figure and form of the Deity ; and, knowing none more perfect or noble, as they apprehended, than that of man, bestowed upon the Deity a human shape and figure. The impropriety of this gross imagination we see ; as we perceive, that the ideas of extension, shape, and figure, are not applicable to spirit, according to the notions which we have of it. But though we have not eyes to discover the substance or properties of spirit, does it certainly follow, that they have nothing in them analogous to shape or figure, no properties by which they can be discerned, and distinguished the one from the other, by God, or even by other spiritual beings, to whom he may have given eyes and understanding fit to perceive what we cannot ? And as it is not on the other hand, clear, that there may be somewhat analogous to figure, some particular modus of existence of the Deity, of which our want of ideas will not permit us to form any notion.

Had nature produced to our view such living creatures as wild fiction can present to our fancy, composed of three or more distinct bodies, absolutely separated from each other, without any bodily connection, but actuated by one and the same principles, moving by one will, acting with one consent, each affected by the accidents that touch either, the one wounded by the blow that wounds the other, and all dying by the killing of one ; we should have had no distinct conception of what the scripture represents concerning the Deity. But then, habituated to the sight of such an extraordinary creation as has been mentioned, the scripture-doctrine would cease to be so shocking as it is to our wise men : and yet, from their knowledge of the machinery of nature, they will hardly take upon them to say, that the Deity could not have created such an animal as has been feigned.

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## ACCOUNT OF THE SWEDENBORGIANS.

THE Swedenborgians, commonly so called, denote that particular denomination of Christians, who admit the testimony of Baron Swedenborg, and direct their lives in agreement with the doctrines taught in the theological writings of that author.—

Not that they call themselves by that name, or wish it to be applied to them, since they rather choose to be considered as the disciples of Jesus Christ, and glory in the name of Christians, in preference to any other title whatsoever.

The author from whom this denomination of Christians derive their name, was the son of a bishop of West Gothia, in the kingdom of Sweden, whose name was Swedenberg, a man of considerable learning and celebrity in his time.

The son was born at Stockholm, the 29th January, in the year of our Lord 1688. He enjoyed early the advantages of a liberal education, and being naturally endowed with uncommon talents for the acquirement of learning, his progress in the sciences was rapid and extensive; and he soon distinguished himself by several publications in the Latin language, which gave proof of equal genius and erudition. It may reasonably be supposed, that, under the care of his pious and reverend father, our author's religious instruction was not unattended to. This, indeed, appears plain, from the general tenor of his life and writings, which are marked with strong and lively characters of a mind deeply impressed with a sense of the Divine Being, and of all the relative duties thence resulting.

Perhaps the most authentic account of his general character and publications may be found in the funeral oration, or eulogy delivered after his decease, by Monsieur Sandel, Superintendent of the Mines, knight of the order of the Polish Star, and member of the Academy of Sciences, at Stockholm, in the great hall of the house of Nobles, in the presence of the said Academy, on the 7th of October, 1772. The oration was published by the Abbé Perneti, and is annexed to his French translation of Swedenborg's "Treatise on Heaven and Hell." From this oration, it appears that our author, at a very early age, became an object of royal attention and favour, being admitted to frequent converse with Charles XII. then king of Sweden, and appointed by him to the office of assessor of the Metallic College, a place of great public trust, and of considerable emolument. He was also ennobled in the year 1719, by queen Ulrica Eleonora, and named Swedenborg, from which time he took his seat with the nobles of the Equestrian order, in the triennial assembly of the states. He was made a fellow, by invitation of the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Stockholm, and had a like honour conferred on him by foreign societies. He lived in much esteem with the bishops and nobles of his own country; and his acquaintance was sought after by the most distinguished characters in various parts of Europe, with many of whom he continued to correspond till his death.

To the above account of Monsieur Sandel, respecting the character of Baron Swedenborg, may be added, the testimony of a learned and respectable clergyman of the church of England, the late Rev. Thomas Hartley, rector of Winwick, in Northamptonshire, who was intimately acquainted with our author, and who, in a letter to a friend, thus ex-

presses himself: "It may reasonably be supposed that I have weighed the character of Swedenborg in the scale of my best judgment, from the personal knowledge I had of him, from the best information I could procure concerning him, and from a diligent perusal of his writings; and, according thereto, I have found him to be the sound divine, the good man, the deep philosopher, the universal scholar, and the polite gentleman."

The philosophical works, published in Latin, by Baron Swedenborg, are both numerous and important; and many of them form a principal branch of the literature cultivated in several universities on the continent. One of these works is entitled, *Principia rerum Naturalium, sive novorum Tentaminum Phænomena mundi elementaris Philosophiæ explicandi*, of which it is remarkable, that the writers of the French Encyclopédie have enriched their observations on chemical subjects, by various extracts from it. Another is entitled, *Regnum Animale*, and contains a learned discussion on the various parts and uses of the animal economy. But the theological works which issued from our author's pen, are still more numerous and more interesting. The principal of them are the following:—

1. *Arcana Cælestia, or Heavenly Mysteries*, in eight volumes quarto, which were published in different years, from 1749—1756, containing an exposition of the internal spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and Exodus.

2. *A Treatise on Heaven and Hell*, from things heard and seen, published at London, in the year 1758, in one volume quarto, containing a particular account of both kingdoms.

3. *The Delights of Wisdom, concerning Conjugal Love*, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1758, in one volume quarto, proving the sanctity and eternity of that love.

4. *Angelic Wisdom, concerning the Divine Love and Divine Wisdom*, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1763, in one volume quarto, being a metaphysical discussion on the divine nature and operation.

5. *Angelic Wisdom, concerning the Divine Providence*, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1764, in one volume quarto, demonstrating the operation of Providence in things most minute, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary.

6. *The Apocalypse Revealed*, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1766, in one volume quarto, containing an exposition of the internal spiritual sense of that extraordinary book.

7. *True Christian Religion, or the Universal Theology of the New Church, predicted by the Lord in Daniel*, chap. vii. 13, 14, and in the *Apocalypse*, chap. xxi. 1, 2, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1771, in one volume quarto, treating of God the Creator, and of Creation, of the Lord the Redeemer,

*and of Redemption, of the Holy Spirit, or the Divine Operation, of the Divine Trinity, of the Sacred Scripture, or Word of the Lord, of the Decalogue, of Faith, of Charity, and of Good Works, of Freewill, of Redemption, of Reformation and Regeneration, of Imputation, of Baptism and the Holy Supper, of the Consummation of the Age, the Lord's Advent, and a New Heaven and a New Church.*

To the above may be added, several smaller treatises, as the *Last Judgment and Babylon destroyed*,—the *White Horse treated of in the Apocalypse*,—the *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*,—the *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord*, concerning the *Sacred Scriptures*, concerning *Faith*, and concerning *Life*,—a *Summary Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church*; and, lastly,—a *Treatise on Influx*, or concerning the *Commerce of the Soul and Body*.

It does not appear that the theological writings of Baron Swedenborg were much attended to during his life time, except by his particular friends; but after his decease they began to be translated into several modern languages, as the German, the English, and French, and were much sought after by the serious and well-disposed. The first translation of any note into English, was made by the Rev. T. Hartley, above named, from the Latin Treatise on Influx, and was accompanied by a learned and appropriate preface, and various notes, in the year 1770. This was followed, two or three years afterwards, by a translation of the Treatise on Heaven and Hell, with a preface and notes, by the same translator. The increasing demand for these works called for several new editions of each, and led to the translation, by degrees, of all the other theological works of our author, so that now there is not one but what has been rendered into the English language, and some of the larger ones have passed through several editions. There is reason to suppose, from the great demand for these publications, that they soon became very generally read throughout the kingdom; as it is a fact, that a society of gentlemen, in Manchester, only formed for the purpose of publishing and circulating them, have printed, in the course of a few years, upwards of 16,000 copies, as appears from the annual reports of the society. Various societies have also been formed in different parts of England, for reading and discoursing on these writings; and in some of the principal cities and towns, as in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Bolton, and some other smaller towns, places of worship have been opened for the more public circulation of the doctrines contained in those writings, from the pulpit.

The first and principal distinguishing doctrine, contained in the writings of Baron Swedenborg, and

maintained by his followers, relates to the person and character of Jesus Christ, and to the redemption wrought by that Great Saviour. On this subject it is insisted, that Jesus Christ is Jehovah, manifested in the flesh, and that he came into the world to glorify his human nature, by making it one with the divine. It is therefore insisted further, that the *humanity* of Jesus Christ is itself divine, by virtue of its indissoluble union with the in-dwelling Father, agreeable with the testimony of St. Paul, that, "In Jesus Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily," Coloss. ii. 9; and that thus, as to his humanity, he is the mediator between God and man, since there is now no other medium of God's access to man, or of man's access to God, but his *divine humanity*, which was assumed for this purpose. Thus it is taught, that in the person of Jesus Christ dwells the whole Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Father constituting the soul of the above humanity, whilst the humanity itself is the Son, and the divine virtue, or operation proceeding from it, is the Holy Spirit, forming altogether one God, just as the soul, the body, and operation of man, form one man.

On the subject of the redemption wrought by this incarnate God, it is lastly taught, that it consisted not in the vicarious sacrifice of one God, as some conceive, to satisfy the justice, or, as others express it, to appease the wrath of another God, but in the real subjugation of the powers of darkness and their removal from man, by continual combats and victories over them, during his abode in the world; and in the subsequent descent to man of divine power and life, which was brought near to him in the thus glorified humanity of this combating God. The receivers, therefore, of this testimony concerning Jesus Christ, acknowledge no other God but him, and believe, that, in approaching his divine humanity, they approach at the same time, and have communication with all the fulness of the Godhead, seeing and worshipping the invisible in the visible, agreeable to the tenor of those words of Jesus Christ; "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me; and he that seeth me, seeth him that sent me." John xii. 44, 45.

2. The second distinguishing doctrine, taught by the same author, relates to the sacred scripture, or word of God, which is maintained to be divinely inspired throughout, and consequently to be the repository of the whole will and wisdom of the Most-High God. But then it is insisted, that this will and wisdom are not, in all places, discoverable from the letter or history of the sacred pages, but lie deeply concealed under the letter. For it is taught by the author under consideration, that the sense of the letter of the holy word, is the *basis*, the *continent*, and the *firmament* of its spiritual and celestial



senses, being written according to the doctrine of correspondences between things spiritual and things natural; and thus designed by the Most High as the vehicle of communication of the eternal spiritual truths of his kingdom to the minds of men. This doctrine of correspondences is much insisted and enlarged on in the theological writings of Baron Swedenborg, especially in his *Arcana Coelestia*, and *Apocalypse Revealed*, in which works, it is applied as a key to unlock all the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge contained in the historical books of Genesis, Exodus, and the Revelations. It is further endeavoured to be shewn, that Jesus Christ spake continually according to this same doctrine, veiling divine and spiritual truths under natural images, especially in his parables, and thus communicating to man the most important mysteries, relative to himself and his kingdom, under the most beautiful and edifying figures, taken from the natural things of this world. Thus, according to Baron Swedenborg, even the historical parts, both of the Old and New Testament, contain vast stores of important and spiritual wisdom under the outward letter; and this consideration, as he farther asserts justifies the pages of divine revelation, even in those parts which, to a common observer, appear trifling, nugatory, and contradictory. It is lastly maintained on this subject, that the sacred scripture, or word of God, is the only medium of communication and conjunction between God and man, and is likewise the only source of all genuine truth and knowledge respecting God, his kingdom, and operation, and the only sure guide for man's understanding, in whatsoever relates to his spiritual or eternal concerns. And here it may not be improper to observe, that, by the respect paid to the guidance derived from the sacred pages, a striking line of distinction is drawn between this our author and the common enthusiasts of the day, since it is notorious that the latter are perpetually leading their deluded disciples to depend on the dictates of spirits, in preference to the precepts of the eternal truth; whereas Baron Swedenborg is perpetually pointing out the great danger of such leading, and calling all his readers to be taught of God, by and through the precepts of his holy word, intellectually and rationally comprehended.

3. A third distinguishing doctrine, which marks the character of the writings of Baron Swedenborg, is the doctrine relative to life, or to that rule of conduct on the part of man which is truly acceptable to the Deity, and at the same time conducive to man's eternal happiness and salvation, by conjoining him with his God. This rule is taught to be simply this, *to shun all known evils as sins against God, and at the same time to love, to cherish, and to practise whatsoever is wise, virtuous and holy, as*

*being most agreeable to the will of God, and to the spirit of his precepts.* On this subject it is strongly and repeatedly insisted, that evil must of necessity remain with man, and prove his eternal destruction, unless it be removed by sincere repentance, leading him to note what is disorderly in his own mind and life; and when he has discovered it, to fight resolutely against its influence, in dependence on the aid and grace of Jesus Christ. It is insisted further, that this opposition to evil ought to be grounded on the consideration, that *all evil is sin against God*, since, if evil be combated from any inferior motive, it is not radically removed, but only *concealed*, and on that account is even more dangerous and destructive than before. It is added, that when man has done the work of repentance, by shunning his hereditary evils as sins against God, he ought to set himself to the practise of what is wise and good by a faithful, diligent, and conscientious discharge of all the duties of his station; by which means his mind is preserved from a return of the powers of disorder, and kept in the order of heaven, and the fulfilment of the great law of charity. For it is perpetually maintained in the writings of Baron Swedenborg, that the *essence of charity* consists in man's loving his neighbour as himself, and that its principal operation consists in every one's discharging the relative duties which he owes to society, by acting uprightly, and in the fear of God, in his particular employment, whether it be that of a priest, a judge, a soldier, a gentleman, a merchant, or a mechanic. This idea of charity is grounded in the consideration, that the society in which a man lives, and especially his country, and the church of God, are more properly his neighbour than any individual, and that consequently the highest act of charity is that which is exercised on those aggregate bodies of men, by a conscientious performance of the offices annexed to his particular function.

4. A fourth distinguishing doctrine, inculcated in the same writings, is the doctrine of *co-operation* on the part of man, with the divine grace or agency of Jesus Christ. On this subject it is insisted, that man ought not indolently to hang down his hands, under the idle expectation that God will do every thing for him in the way of purification and regeneration, without any exertion of his own; but that he is bound, by the above law of co-operation, to exert himself, as if the whole progress of his purification and regeneration depended entirely on his own exertions; yet, in exerting himself, he is continually to recollect, and humbly to acknowledge, that all his power to do so is from above, agreeable to the declaration of Jesus Christ, "Without me ye can do nothing." John xv. 5. He is therefore bound, according to this law, to enter freely on the great work of self-examination, and with the same

freedom to reject the evils which such examination discovers to his view; also to fulfil freely the duties of his station, of whatsoever kind they be. This law is shewn to be grounded on these two distinct considerations, first, the consideration of the freedom with which man is perpetually invested, either to work with God, or to work against him; and, secondly, the consideration, that all conjunction between God and man must needs be reciprocal, or mutual, agreeable to those words of Jesus Christ, where he says, "Abide in me, and I in you." John xv. 4. It is therefore shewn, that without perpetual freedom on the part of man, he would not be a man, but a machine, consequently incapable of living in conjunction with his heavenly Father. And it is further shewn, that, to effect this conjunction, it is not sufficient that Jesus Christ be in the will and purpose to accomplish it, or that he abides in his disciples, but it is necessary also that his disciples be mutually on their part in the will and purpose to accomplish it also, or that they should reciprocally abide in him. Lastly, it is insisted, on this interesting subject, that the doctrine of co-operation supplies no ground for the establishment of man's merit and independence on the divine aid, since it is continually taught in the writings in question, that all man's freedom, as well as all his power of co-operation, is the perpetual gift of the most merciful and gracious God, consequently that all merit, properly so called, belongs to Jesus Christ alone, and nothing at all to man.

5. A fifth and last distinguishing doctrine taught in the theological writings of our author, relates to man's connection with the other world, [and its various inhabitants. On this subject it is insisted, not only from the authority of the sacred scriptures, but also from the experience of the author himself, that every man is in continual association with angels and spirits, and that without such association he could not possibly think, or exert any living faculty. It is insisted further, that man, according to his life in the world, takes up his eternal abode, either with angels of light, or with the spirits of darkness; with the former, if he is wise to live according to the precepts of God's holy word, or with the latter, if, through folly and transgression he rejects the counsel and guidance of the Most High.

The author's experimental testimony on the subject is delivered very minutely in his *Treatise on Heaven and Hell*, and is likewise occasionally adverted to in most of his other writings, forming altogether, with those who can receive it, a most weighty demonstration of the existence of another world, also of its laws and government, and especially of man's interesting connection with it during his abode in this world. It is however to be noted, that this experimental testimony is never made the ground

of the revelation of any new law for the guidance of man's life, because it is abundantly shewn that the word of God is completely competent to that purpose, containing every information which it is necessary for man to know, in order to secure eternal happiness. It is further to be noted, that an intercourse with the other world, similar to what was enjoyed by the author himself, is never insisted on as necessary or even expedient for others, since it is shewn, that the guidance of heavenly truth, derived from the word of God, is to be regarded as infinitely superior to every other knowledge, whether derived from visions like those of the prophets of old, or from a spiritual intercourse, resembling that which distinguished the author.

Some other peculiar doctrines of lesser importance, might be enlarged on in this place, if it was deemed necessary, such as—the doctrine concerning the human soul, as being in a human form;—the doctrine concerning the marriage of the good and the true, as existing in the holy word, and in all things in nature;—the doctrine of the divine Providence, as extending to things most minute, respecting man and the world which he inhabits;—the doctrine concerning the earths in the universe, by which it is taught, that all the planets in our system, and in other systems, unconnected with our sun, are inhabited by human beings: but to expatiate on these several doctrines might be thought tedious.

It was observed above, that in London, and some of the other cities and great towns in England, places of public worship have been opened, for the express purpose of preaching the above doctrines, and of offering up supplications to the Divine Being, and celebrating his praises. In all such places, particular forms of prayer have been adopted, in agreement with the ideas of the worshippers, as grounded in the religious sentiments above stated, especially respecting the supreme object of adoration, who is acknowledged to be the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in his divine humanity. But in no place have any peculiar rites and ceremonies been introduced, the worshippers being content with retaining the celebration of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper, since no other rites are insisted on by the author whose testimony they receive.

It does not appear that on the subject of church government and discipline, any thing has been either recommended by Baron Swedenborg, or adopted by the receivers of his doctrines. For it is believed by a large majority of those receivers, and particularly by a numerous body of the clergy of the Church of England, who are disposed, to think favourably of our author's testimony, that it was never his intention that any particular sect should be formed upon his doctrines, but that all who re-

ceive them, whether in the establishment, or in any other communion of Christians, should be at perfect liberty, either to continue in their former communion, or to quit it, as their conscience dictates. Accordingly the above-mentioned numerous body of the clergy, together with many individuals of their respective congregations, who are receivers of the above doctrines, think it proper still to continue in the use of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and under the episcopal government established in that church.

England appears to have been the country where the above doctrines have been most generally received; nevertheless there are numerous readers of those doctrines both in Wales, Ireland, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia; also in America and the West India islands. At Copenhagen, it is well known, a magnificent church has been lately built for the propagating of those doctrines, as likewise at Baltimore, in North America. In regard to the numbers of the favourers of the above doctrines, it is impossible to ascertain them with any tolerable degree of correctness, especially as the majority of them do not think it right to separate themselves from that church communion in which they have been educated; but, from the increasing demand for the publications which contain those doctrines, there is every reason to believe the number of readers to be large, and increasing. At least, it is a fact, that this is the case in the town of Manchester and its vicinity, where the number of proselytes to the testimony of Baron Swedenborg has of late years swelled to a large amount, so as at present to be calculated at several thousands.

The three principal writers, who have opposed the theological tenets of Baron Swedenborg, are Dr. Priestley, the Abbé Barruel, and the editor of the Christian Observer. Dr. Priestley published his objections about the year 1791, in one small octavo volume, entitled, *Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church at Birmingham*. His principal objection was to the doctrine which asserts the exclusive divinity of Jesus Christ, and he combats this doctrine with all the weight of those Socinian arguments which were so familiar to him.—His objections were answered immediately in a very able manner, by the Rev. J. Proud, the present minister of York Street Chapel, St. James's Square, Westminster, and in the following year, in a still more diffuse and more elaborate manner, by Mr. Robert Hindmarsh, who was at that time a printer in London, whose reply was entitled, *Letters to Dr. Priestley, in Answer to his Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church at Birmingham*.—The next opponent to the above doctrines was the

Abbé Barruel, who, in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs of Jacobinism*, inserted a violent invective against Baron Swedenborg and his tenets, endeavouring to prove him to be an impostor, a madman, an atheist, a materialist, and an enemy to all government both civil and ecclesiastic. His calumnies were presently refuted by the Rev. J. Clowes, rector of St. John's, Manchester, and late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in a work, entitled *Letters to a Member of Parliament, on the Character and Writings of Baron Swedenborg, containing a full and complete Refutation of all the Abbé Barruel's Calumnies against the honourable Author*, in one volume octavo. The last antagonist of our author, was the editor of the Christian Observer, who published his attack in that periodical work, for the Month of June 1806, under the title of *Observations on a small Work, entitled A few plain Answers to the Question, Why do you receive the Testimony of Baron Swedenborg?* addressed from a minister to his congregation, by the Rev. J. Clowes. This attack the Rev. author of the Plain Answers endeavoured to repel, in a small pamphlet, entitled, *Letters to the Christian Observer, in reply to their remarks on his publication*; in which letters the following subjects are discussed. 1. The person and character of Jesus Christ, as being exclusively the God of heaven and earth. 2. The internal sense of the sacred scriptures. 3. Justification. 4. The extraordinary mission of Baron Swedenborg, as an expositor of the sacred scriptures, and as a seer.

Amongst the assertors of the truth of the testimony of Baron Swedenborg, ought also to be mentioned the Rev. T. Hartley, Rector of Winwick, in Northamptonshire, a man of profound piety and learning, who vindicated the character of our author, and the tendency of his writings, in two prefaces to the Treatises on Heaven and Hell, and on Influx, accompanied with various notes and observations; also in a Letter to the translator of the True Christian Religion, which stands annexed as a preface to the English translation of that work.—The names likewise of the Abbé Pernetti, librarian to the king of Prussia, and of the Rev. Dr. Beyer, of Gottenburg, ought not to be overlooked on this occasion, since they were both of them very able and strenuous advocates in favour of the character and doctrines of Swedenborg, the former having published his remarks in the preliminary discourse prefixed to his French translation of the Treatise on Heaven and Hell; and the latter having manifested his partiality for the doctrines, by composing and publishing three copious indexes, in one volume quarto, of all the matter contained in the theological writings of our author, and of all the scripture passages referred to and elucidated in those writings.



We have only to observe on the subject of this article, that the doctrines under consideration, if true, must needs be acknowledged to be of the utmost importance to the general interests of mankind. Some persons, it is plain, will be disposed to doubt their credibility, on the ground of the utter improbability, that a mortal man, during his residence in a material body, should have been permitted to enjoy open intercourse with the world of departed spirits, during the uninterrupted period of twenty-seven years, and to have been instructed, during that period, in the internal sense of the sacred scriptures, hitherto undiscovered.

Others again (as appears from many respectable instances, both amongst the laity and the clergy), will see nothing improbable in all this, referring the

case to those extraordinary dispensations of the providence of an All-wise and All-powerful Being, who, in all ages of the world, has been pleased to enlighten and instruct chosen servants concerning his will and kingdom. At all events, it is beyond a doubt, that every well-disposed Christian is bound, by every obligation of good conscience, to take the above testimony into serious consideration, and not to decide upon it, until he has weighed it impartially in the scale of his best judgment, and in the fear of God, following the prudent counsel of the Jewish doctor, on a similar occasion, where it is written,—“If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.” Acts v. 38, 39.

## ACCOUNT OF THE UNIVERSALISTS.

UNIVERSALISTS, so termed from the belief they have that men will be universally saved; the following are some of the reasons they advance:—

“The Arminian proves from scripture, that God is love; that he is good to all; that his tender mercy is over all his works; that he gave his son for the world; that Christ died for the world, even for the whole world; and that God will have all men to be saved.

“The Calvinist proves also from scripture, that God is without variableness or shadow of turning; that his love, like himself, alters not; that the death of Christ will be efficacious towards all for whom it was intended; that God will perform all his pleasure, and that his council shall stand. The union of these scriptural principles, is the final restoration of all men.

“Taking the principles of the Calvinists and Arminians separately, we find the former teaching, or at least inferring, that God doth *not* love all; but that he made the greater part of men to be endless monuments of his wrath: the latter declaring the love of God to all: but admitting his *final failure* of restoring the greater part. The God of the former is great in power and wisdom, but deficient in goodness, and capricious in his conduct: who that views the character can sincerely love it? The God of the latter is exceeding good; but deficient in power and wisdom: who can trust such a

thing? If, therefore, both Calvinists and Arminians love and trust the Deity, it is not under the character which their several systems ascribe to him; but they are constrained to hide the imperfections which their views cast upon him, and boast of a God whose *highest glory* their several schemes will not admit.”

The Universalists teach the doctrine of *election*; but not in the exclusive Calvinistic sense of it: they suppose that God has chosen some for the good of all; and that his final purpose towards all, is intimated by calling his elect the *first born* and the *first fruits* of his creatures, which, say they, implies other branches of his family, and a future in-gathering of the harvest of mankind.

They add, that the words rendered *everlasting*, *eternal*, *for ever*, and *for ever and ever*, in the scriptures, are frequently used to express the duration of things that have ended, or must end. This doctrine is not new. Origen, a Christian father, who lived in the third century, wrote in favour of it.

For still further information, the reader is referred to a critical work, entitled, “An Essay on the Duration of a Future State of Punishment and Rewards,” by John Simpson, who has written several excellent practical pieces for the illustration of Christianity.—Mr. Winchester and others have also ably defended this system.

## ACCOUNT OF THE RELLYAN UNIVERSALISTS.

**REL**LYAN Universalists, the followers of Mr. James Relly, who first commenced the ministerial character in connection with the late Mr. George Whitfield, and with the same sentiments as are generally maintained at the tabernacle. They are not observers of ordinances, such as water baptism and the sacrament—professing to believe in only one baptism, which they call an immersion of the mind or conscience into truth, by the teaching of the spirit of God; and by the same spirit they are enabled to feed on Christ as the bread of life, professing that, in and with Jesus, they possess all things. They inculcate and maintain good works for necessary purposes, but contend that the principal and only works which ought to be attended to, is the doing real good without religious ostentation;—that to relieve the miseries and distresses of mankind, according to our ability, is doing more real good than the superstitious observance of religious

ceremonies: in general they appear to believe that there will be a resurrection to life, and a resurrection to condemnation; that believers only will be among the former, who as first fruits, and kings and priests, will have part in the first resurrection, and shall reign with Christ in his kingdom of the millennium; that unbelievers who are after raised, must wait the manifestation of the Saviour of the world, under that condemnation of conscience which a mind in darkness and wrath must necessarily feel; that believers, called kings and priests, will be made the medium of communication to their condemned brethren—and, like Joseph to his brethren, though he spoke roughly to them, in reality overflowed with affection and tenderness; that ultimately—every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess, that in the Lord they have righteousness and strength:—and thus every enemy shall be subdued to the kingdom and glory of the great Mediator.

## ACCOUNT OF THE JOHNSONIANS.

**J**OHNSONIANS, so called from the late Mr. Johnson, a respectable dissenting minister of Liverpool: they do not apply this name to themselves, but it is given to them by Christians of other denominations. They must be regarded as a distinct denomination, as they will have no religious fellowship with those who dissent from their views of the gospel, which are sufficiently discriminating, and have sometimes applied to themselves the words of Balaam, respecting the children of Israel, "The people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations."

They deny the pre-existence of Christ, and at the same time believe that he is properly God: because all the fulness of the godhead dwells in him: consequently may be said to maintain the indwelling scheme. They assert that God cannot be divided into distinct persons: so far they agree with the Unitarians. They deny the doctrine of original sin; yet assert that no man will savingly believe the gospel, unless brought by the special influence of

the spirit to receive it. They deny the natural immortality of the soul, and contend that the whole of man is at present mortal; yet maintain the separate existence of the soul between death and the resurrection. They believe that God elected Christ, and his people in him, from everlasting, that for Christ and his church all things were created; that Christ would have been manifested, his people born again and exalted to glory, though sin had never existed; that in that case the rest of mankind would all have been happy in an inferior capacity, as the servants of Christ, and his bride the church. Against the decree of sin and reprobation they are zealous. Faith they suppose to be a divine communication, the life of God in the soul. They contend that it is impossible for a real Christian to have any doubts or fears respecting his interest in Christ, or acceptance with God. Respecting the atonement and perseverance of the saints they agree with the Calvinists, and with other Baptists as to the mode and subject of baptism. Those passages of scrip-

ture which relate to the future restoration of the Jews, they suppose to have a spiritual meaning, and deny that prophecy authorizes our expectation of their being restored to their own land. Those who die in infancy they say will be raised to life in a pure state, not to inherit the heavenly kingdom, but to inhabit the new earth which will be formed after the conflagration, on which, say they, Christ and his church will reign a thousand years, and then be

removed to some more glorious region. They contend for the restitution of all the animal creation; but believe that the wicked will be endlessly miserable. Positive punishment, as inflicted by God, they deny, and hold the language of scripture respecting the future punishment of the wicked to be figurative, and that their torment will naturally arise from their state, and exist in their minds.

## ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTHCOTTIANS.

**SOUTHCOTTIANS**, from Joanna Southcott, their reputed prophetess. Her supposed mission began in 1792, and she has since obtained a number of followers. She professes to be the instrument under the direction of Christ, to announce the establishment of his kingdom on earth, as a fulfilment of all the promises in the scriptures, and of that prayer which he himself gave to his followers; and more particularly of the promise made to the woman in the fall, through which the human race is to be redeemed from all the effects of it in the end. She also professes to have direct communications with the Spirit of Truth; and the following are selected as containing the leading features of their sentiments:—That the seven days of the creation were types of the two periods in which the reign of Satan and of Christ are to be proved and contrasted; Satan was conditionally to have his reign tried for six thousand years, shadowed by the six days in which the Lord worked, as his spirit has striven with man while under the power of darkness; but Satan's reign is to be shortened, for the sake of the elect, as declared in the gospel; and Satan is to have a further trial at the expiration of the thousand years, for a time equal to the number of the days shortened. At the close of the seven thousand years the day of judgment is to take place, and then the whole human race will collectively bring forward the testimony of the evil they suffered under the reign of Satan, and of the good they enjoyed under the spiritual reign of Christ. These two testimonies will be evidence before the whole creation of God, that the pride of Satan was the cause of his rebellion in heaven, and that he was the root of evil upon earth; and consequently when these two great proofs have been brought forward, that part of the human race that has fallen under his power, to be tormented by being in the society of Satan and his angels, will revolt from him in that great day, will mourn that

they have been deluded, will repent, and the Saviour of all will hold out his hand to them in mercy; and will then prepare a new earth for them to work righteousness, and prepare them ultimately to join his saints, who have fought the good fight in this world while under the reign of Satan.

The mission of Joanna, it is supposed, will be accomplished by a perfect obedience to the spirit that directs her, and so to be made to claim the promise of *bruising the head of the serpent*; and which promise was made to the woman on her casting the blame upon Satan, whom she unwittingly obeyed, and thus man became dead to the knowledge of the good; and so he blamed his Creator for giving him the woman, who was pronounced his helpmate for good. To fulfill the attribute of justice, Christ took upon himself that blame, and assumed his humanity to suffer on the cross for it, that he might justly bring the cross upon Satan, and rid him from the earth, and then complete the creation of man, so as to be after his own image. It is declared that the seed of the woman are those who in faith shall join with her in claiming the promise made in the fall; and they are to subscribe with their hands unto the Lord, that they do thus join with her, praying for the destruction of the powers of darkness, and for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. Those who thus come forward in this spiritual war, are to have the *seal* of the Lord's protection, and if they remain faithful soldiers, death and hell shall not have power over them: and these are to make up the sealed number of one hundred and forty-four thousand to stand with the Lamb on mount Zion! The fall of Satan's kingdom will be a second deluge over the earth; so that from his having brought the human race under his power, a great part of them will fall with him; for the Lord will pluck out of his kingdom all that offend and do wickedly. The voice which announces the coming of the Messiah is ac-



accompanied with judgments, and the nations must be shaken and brought low before they will lay these things to heart. When all these things are accomplished, then the Desire of Nations will come in glory, so that every eye shall see him, and he will give his kingdom to his saints.

It is represented, that in the Bible is recorded every event by which the Deity will work the ultimate happiness of the human race; but that the great plan is for the most part represented by types and shadows, and otherwise so wrapt up in mysteries, as to be inscrutable to human wisdom. As the Lord pronounced that man should become dead to knowledge if he ate the forbidden fruit, so the Lord must prove his words true. He therefore selected a peculiar people, as depositaries of the records of that knowledge; and he appeared among them, and they proved themselves dead to every knowledge of him, by crucifying him. He will in like manner put the *wild olive* to the same test; and the result will be, that he will be now crucified in the spirit!

Joanna professes also to have had prophecies given her, shewing how the whole was to be accomplished. Among other things, the Lord said he should visit the surrounding nation with various calamities for fifteen years, as a warning to *this* land; and that then he should bring about events here which should more clearly manifest the truth of her mission, by judgments and otherwise; so that this should be the happy nation to be the first redeemed from its troubles, and be the instrument for awakening the rest of

the world to a sense of what is coming upon all, and for destroying the Beast, and those who worship his image.

Her books are written principally in rhyme, which it must be confessed, is in a low, common, ballad style; very ungrammatical, but which she purports to be the language of the spirit of God. Some of her advocates, men of education, and who officiate in sacred things, declare that this doggrel versification is superior to Homer. That the reader may judge whether her rhyme merits so high a character, the following lines are selected, nor are they the most objectionable.

SPIRIT.

"Simple among the sons of men  
I always did appear;  
And simple in the woman's form  
I've surely acted here."

Again,

SPIRIT.

"If you can judge the heav'nly sound,  
Such woman ne'er on earth was found,  
To give such challenge unto man  
And say that I am in her form.  
Look, here's a woman, now believe it true,  
That here's a woman taken from my side,  
That I've declared to man to be my bride.  
I have chang'd the manhood and the Godhead's  
here."

## ACCOUNT OF THE DESTRUCTIONISTS.

**B**ETWEEN the system of *restoration* and the system of *endless misery*, a middle hypothesis of the *final destruction* of the wicked (after having suffered the punishment due to their crimes) has been adopted more particularly by the Rev. Mr. Bourne, of Norwich; and Mr. John Marsom, in two small volumes, of which there has been a second edition, with additions. They say that the scripture positively asserts this doctrine of *destruction*; that the nature of future punishment (which the scripture terms *death*) determines the meaning of the words *everlasting*, *eternal*, *for ever*, &c. as

denoting endless duration; because no law ever did or can inflict the punishment of death for a limited period; that the punishment cannot be corrective, because no man was ever put to death either to convince his judgment or to reform his conduct; that if the wicked receive a punishment *apportioned* to their crimes, their deliverance is neither to be attributed to the mercy of God, nor the mediation of Jesus Christ, but is an act of absolute justice; and finally, that the mediatorial kingdom of Jesus Christ will never be delivered up, since the scripture asserts, that of *his kingdom there shall be no end*.

## ACCOUNT OF THE COWHERDIANS.

THIS appellation they have not taken to themselves, it has been given to them by others, in consequence of their rigid adherence to the principles and discipline of the Rev. W. Cowherd, founder of a small chapel, which he calls *Christ Church*, in Salford, near Manchester. This clergyman is a literary character of considerable talent, and was formerly a curate in the established church—it has been supposed that he is an advocate and preacher of the doctrines of Swedenborg; this, it appears, is not the case; for although he speaks, at times, in terms of high commendation of the above author, yet he disclaims being one of his followers, and entertains views and opinions which the Swedenborgians (so called) totally discard—he seems to rank Swedenborg along with Luther, Calvin, Wesley, and other reformers and expositors, but that he possessed greater gifts and endowments. Whereas the real members of the New Jerusalem Church before treated of, see in Swedenborg not only the rational expositor and enlightened teacher, but the *illuminated seer*; and they rank him among the highly-favoured ones, who, as St. John, the prophets, and apostles of old, have been admitted into spiritual vision, that they might thereby be prepared and enabled, under the guidance of the divine influence, to make known the great dispensations of truth to mankind.

The manner in which this sect view the incarnation and redemption, we shall give in their own words, by an extract from “the Report of a Conference held” in their chapel above mentioned, “in June and July, 1809,” and which is laid down (though, perhaps, not in the plainest manner) as follows:

“1. That the divine spirit and the human spirit have been from eternity united in the ‘heaven of heavens,’ the ‘throne of God,’ as intimately as the soul and body of man are united into one person;—but not ‘exclusively’ even there.

“2. That on earth, the human was partially separated from the *divine spirit*, at the fall of man.

“3. That in Jesus Christ, the fallen, the carnal spirit of man was ultimately re-united with its appropriate degree of the *divine spirit*, as that exists—*unseparated from the throne*—down into our world.

“4. That this divine spirit, descending from the throne, and pervading the universe, is that ‘Holy

Spirit’ which came upon the virgin, and assumed materiality at the incarnation.

“5. That when this spirit, the spirit of truth, the light that enlightens every man that comes into the world, had, through the fleshly tabernacle of Jesus Christ, diffused itself throughout this world of man, as ether diffuses itself in our atmosphere; it then began to exhibit the *divine human appearance of the heaven of heavens*, as ether exhibits the refracted image of the sun in our atmosphere.

“6. That this ‘Image’ of that divine human appearance, which is given in the glorified human spirit at the centre of creation, is the true Jesus Christ whom we shall ‘meet in the air;’—that ‘quickening spirit,’ the ‘Mediator between God and man,’ ‘by whom,’ as *refracted* to the ‘right hand of God,’ all the faithful shall *apparently* pass, when ‘he delivers up the kingdom to the Father,’ in the eternal heavens.

“7. That the glory investing this ‘express image of the Father’s person,’ is again the ‘holy spirit’ which was ‘not given’ forth in full manifestation from the ‘throne of Jesus,’ till he was fully glorified, or till his *human spirit*, leaving its fleshly tabernacle on the cross, became one with the *right spirit of man* as filled and united with the *good spirit of God* throughout the universe.

“8. That the material body re-assumed at the resurrection, and ‘handled’ by the unbelieving Thomas, could spontaneously *pass off* from the spirit of Jesus, as the ‘flesh and blood’ which ‘cannot enter the kingdom of heaven,’ undoubtedly *deflagrated* from the prophet Elijah, in the fire beheld by Elisha.

“9. That in this way, the ‘body’ of Jesus, which had given *offence* to some, and might have caused *idolatry* to others, became truly and properly a ‘sacrifice for sin.’

“10. And that, finally, the *atonement* or *reconciliation* between God and man, was virtually effected when the *human spirit* was re-united with the *divine*, and fully accomplished *against sin*, when Jesus, by voluntarily ‘laying down his life,’ prevented his enemies from murdering him:—thus over-ruling their wicked design, for good to them and their posterity, by preventing sin,—particularly the *sin of idolatry*, among Gentiles as well as Jews, even to the remotest generations.

Their ideas of inspiration and of the Trinity are thus expressed in the same report.

"1. That the patriarchs, Moses, the prophets, the apostles, and other holy men of old, being possessed of that right human spirit ever filled with the divine, which, in their surrounding sphere, would receive and reflect the divine image, as it is received and refracted by the same spirit in our atmosphere; it must necessarily happen, in all their unobscured states of mind and spirit, that they would see the Lord, or what they called the word of the Lord, apparently standing near to them, and by the suggestions of his spirit, there apparently speaking to them as 'a man does to his friend.'

"2. That the reflected image of God is that personal holy Spirit, and the refracted image of God that personal Jesus Christ, by and in whom alone the Eternal Father has ever been manifested, and his will and wisdom revealed, to the sons of men.

"3. That the one God, thus appearing in his son and spirit, did actually speak all the laws and all the predictions contained in the Bible, and virtually perform all the things ascribed to him in the historical parts of the Old and New Testaments."

From this extract it appears, that with them Jesus Christ is termed the "REFRACTED IMAGE OF GOD," and the Holy Spirit the "REFLECTED IMAGE OF GOD." These ideas, and the phraseology in which they are expressed, are, perhaps, more novel than scriptural.

Respecting church discipline, it must be observed, that the reverend founder of this party, and a considerable number of his adherents, are strenuous advocates for the necessity of abstaining from animal food, and all kinds of fermented liquors;—and this abstinence is become the test of admission to the Holy Supper, as administered among them, a ticket being given to such as conform to this point of discipline;—these circumstances have caused the epithet of *antiflesh-eaters* to be applied to them.

To support this system, they endeavour to explain those passages of scripture which relate to the sacrifices and burnt offerings of old, as not importing that real animals were slain, but that the skins of animals were made use of to contain dried or preserved fruits and vegetables; as well as the juice or blood of the grape—hence, they think that they have the authority of scripture on their side, and it is not our province to dispute it with them; it is for us to be candid and faithful in the accounts we give of the various religious principles professed by different denominations—as, however, a little poetical argument appeared in some of the Manchester newspapers, we shall copy it for the information and entertainment of our readers. The first is ascribed to the pen of their leader, the Rev. W. C. and with

some slight alterations, has been occasionally sung as a hymn.

## HUMANITY AND RELIGION PLEADING AGAINST FLESH EATING.

'EATERS OF FLESH!' could you deary  
Our food and sacred laws,  
Did you behold the lamblin die,  
And feel yourselves the cause?

Lo, there it struggles! hear it moan,  
As stretch'd beneath the knife;  
Its eye would melt a heart of stone!  
How meek it begs its life!

Had God for man its flesh design'd;  
Matur'd by death, the brute  
Lifeless to us had been consign'd,  
As is the pipen'd fruit.

Hold, daring man! thy hand restrain—  
God is the life in all:  
To smile at God, when flesh is slain!—  
Can crime like this, be small? W. C.

See Proverbs xxiii. 20.

These verses produced the following reply, which is said to have been written by Mr. F. M. Hodson.

MR. EDITOR—Having read in your paper of the 17th, a few verses in defence of the old doctrine against eating animal food, your insertion of the following in reply thereto, will oblige your Constant Reader,  
IGNORAMUS.

Feb. 22, 1810.

## RELIGION NOT SHACKLED WITH MEATS AND DRINKS.

"Hear and understand, NOT that which goeth INTO the mouth, defileth a man."—JESUS.

"EATERS OF HERBS?"—now be it known,  
Whatever plea you put on,  
Turnips and greens are good alone,  
But better far with mutton.

Eater of cabbage—"Kill and eat!"  
Are words once said to Peter;

"Acts 10, 15



For thee, around, the flocks do bleat,  
Thou may'st partake—Herb-eater.

Their flesh, if God did not approve  
That we as food should eat,  
Why say “*all things that live and move*  
“*To you shall be for meat ?*”\*

Why was the “*fatted Calf*” once slain  
To feed the joyous throng,†  
When the lost son return'd again!  
Would Jesus lead us wrong?

Why feed with barley-loaves (tho' few)  
“*And fish much as they would,*”‡  
If barley-loaves and fishes too  
Were not *both* proper food.

Who told thee, “that had God design'd  
“*Their flesh should be our food,*”  
“*Lifeless to us they'd been consign'd*  
And thus been render'd good?

“Hold, daring man!” thy pen restrain—  
And hear thy God declare,  
“*The beast that dieth is unclean,*”  
“Ye shall from it forbear!”§

O Man! vain Reason's light how dim!  
“As God's the life in all;”  
Upon your plan, we “smite at him,”  
When *cows* or *cowslips* fall.

Did Abraham, when with raised hand  
“*The beasts and birds he slew,*”  
Smiting—oppose divine command?||  
“Or covenant renew?”

Strange to invert, while on the road,  
The order of our life!  
He rather “smites against his God,”  
Who feeds domestic strife.

The necessity and salutary effects of *temperance* must be universally acknowledged; and perhaps, it were well if those whose habits of life are given to excess, would adopt (at least for a time) this discipline; especially if they cannot so far refrain as to “prune what is superfluous”—but it is much lamented by many, that an attempt should at all be made to shackle religion with “*what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed;*” and we are sorry to learn, that rigorously enforcing this system of abstinence, has been the unhappy cause of much family discord—the writer of the reply seems to allude to this in his last stanza.

\* Gen. 9. 3. † Luke 15. 23. ‡ John 6. 11. § Levit. 17. 15. || Gen. 16. 9.

## KILHAMITES; THE METHODIST NEW CONNEXION, OR NEW ITINERANCY.

MR. WESLEY professed a strong attachment to the Church of England, and exhorted the societies under his care to attend her service, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the regular clergy. But in the latter part of his life, he thought proper to assume the episcopal office, so as to consecrate some to the office of bishops and ordain several priests for America and Scotland; but as one or two of these his bishops have never left England, since their appointment to the office, some think that he intended a regular ordination should take place, when the state of the connection might render it necessary. During his life, some of the societies petitioned to have preaching in their own chapels in church hours, and the Lord's Supper administered by the travelling preachers. This request, however, he generally

refused, and where it could be conveniently done, sent some of the clergymen who officiated at the New Chapel London, to perform these solemn offices.

The same request was renewed soon after his death by many of the societies, when they had the mortification to find that this question was decided by lot, and not by the use of reason and serious discussion; which, together with some other real or imaginary grounds of offence, soon brought on a division and separation.

The grounds of this separation, (which took place in 1797) the Methodist New Connexion, declare to be *church government and discipline*, and not doctrines, as affirmed by some of their opponents. They object to the old Methodists, for having formed a hierarchy or priestly corporation; and

say, that in so doing, they have robbed the people of those privileges, that, as members of a Christian church, they are entitled to by reason and scripture. The New Connexion have, therefore, attempted to establish every part of their church government on popular principles, and profess to have united, as much as possible, the ministers and the people in every department of it. This is quite contrary, say they, to the original government of the Methodists, which, in the most important cases, is confined only to the ministers, as appears by considering their conference or yearly meeting; for of this meeting, no person, who is not a travelling preacher, has ever been suffered to enter as a member.—And indeed, this is the point to which the preachers have always stedfastly adhered with the utmost firmness and resolution, and on which the division at present is said entirely to rest. They are also upbraided by the members of the New Connexion, for having abused the power which they have assumed. The New Methodists have formally protested against most of these abuses, which are enumerated in various publications, and particularly in the *Preface to the life of the late Mr. Alexander Kilham*, who took so active a part in the separation, that he is considered by many, as the head and founder of the New Connexion; and its members are sometimes called *Kilhamites* from him.

Though these are the points on which the division seems principally to have rested, yet there are several other things that have contributed to it. It is frequently easy to foresee, and to calculate the future changes in society, that the lapse of time will produce; and in no instance is this observation better warranted than in this division, which most persons have long expected. The attachment of the old Methodists to the established church, which originated in Mr. Wesley, and was much cherished by him and many of the preachers, and also the dislike to the church, in many others of the preachers and of the societies, were never failing subjects of contention. As all parties are distinguished in their contests by some badge or discriminating circumstance, so here the *receiving or not receiving the Lord's Supper, in the established church*, was long considered as the criterion of Methodistical zeal or disaffection. Thus, the rupture that had been long foreseen by intelligent persons, and for which the minds of the Methodists had been undesignedly prepared, became inevitable when Mr. Wesley's influence no longer interfered.

The New Methodists profess to proceed upon liberal, open, and ingenuous principles, in the construction of their plan of church government; and their ultimate decision in all disputed matters, is in

their popular annual assembly, chosen by certain rules, from among the preachers and societies. To them it appears agreeable, both to reason and the customs of the primitive church, that the people should have a voice in the temporal concerns of the societies, should vote in the election of church officers, and should give their suffrages in spiritual concerns. This subject, when discussed in the conference held at Leeds, in 1797, produced a variety of arguments on both sides of the question; and on its being given against them, the dissentients proposed a plan for a New Itinerary, and formed themselves into a meeting in order to carry it into immediate; Mr. William Thom being chosen president, and Mr. Alexander Kilham secretary. A form of church government, suited to an itinerant ministry, drawn up at the request of the meeting by these two brethren, was soon printed, under the title of "*Outlines of a Constitution proposed for the Examination, Amendment, and Acceptance, of the Members of the Methodist New Itinerary*," which, with a few alterations, was accepted by the conference of preachers and delegates.

The preachers and people are here incorporated in all meetings for business, not by temporary concession, but by the essential principles of their constitution; for the private members choose the class leaders, the leader's meeting nominates the stewards, and the society confirms or rejects the nomination. The quarterly meetings are composed of the general stewards and representatives chosen by the different societies of the circuits; and the fourth quarterly meeting of the year, appoints the preacher and delegate of every circuit that shall attend the general conference.

Further information respecting their principles and discipline, may be found in a pamphlet, entitled, "*General Rules of the United Societies of Methodists in the New Connexion*." Their professions are at least plausible and liberal; but as the sect has yet been of but a few years continuance, little can be said of it at present; and it becomes matter of curious conjecture and speculation, how far its leading members, should they become firmly established in power and influence, will act agreeably to their present liberal professions.

In the year 1806, the New Methodists had 18 circuits, upwards of 30 preachers, and about 5918 members in their connexion. The names of the circuits then were,—Newcastle, Alnwick, Leeds, Huddersfield, Halifax, Manchester, Ashton, Hangle, Liverpool, Chester, Wigan, Blackburn, Nottingham, Leicester, Hull, Sheffield, London and Lisburn.

## ACCOUNT OF THE BEREANS.

**B**EREANS, in modern church history, are a sect of Protestant Dissenters from the church of Scotland, who take this title, not from choice but necessity, as they foresaw, that if they did not distinguish themselves by some name, they would be distinguished by others, by applying to them the name of the founder of the sect. On this account, Mr. Barclay, whose modesty was such, that he did not wish his friends to be called by his name, thought, with them, the name Bereans as expressive and suited to the Christian character as any other, seeing the believers of the gospel at Berea were highly commended for their Christian conduct, in daily searching the scriptures, which is the duty and interest of all believers of the gospel.

The Bereans first assembled as a separate body of Christians in the city of Edinburgh, in autumn 1773, and soon after in the parish of Fettercairn.

The opponents of the Berean doctrines allege, that this new system of faith would never have been heard of, had not Mr. Barclay, the founder of it, been disappointed of a settlement in the church of Scotland. A respectable clergyman of the Established Church has even hinted something to this purpose, in Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account," (vol. ix. p. 599.) But the Bereans, in answer to this charge, appeal not only to Mr. Barclay's doctrine uniformly preached in the church of Fettercairn, and many other places in that neighbourhood, for fourteen years before that benefice became vacant; but likewise to two different treatises, containing the same doctrines, published by him ten or twelve years before that period. They admit, indeed, that previous to May 1773, when the General Assembly, by sustaining the king's presentation in favour of Mr. Foote, excluded Mr. Barclay from succeeding to the church of Fettercairn (notwithstanding the almost unanimous desire of the parishioners) the Bereans had not left the established church, or attempted to erect themselves into a distinct society; but they add, that this was by no means necessary on their part, until, by the Assembly's decision, they were in danger of being not only deprived of his instructions, but of being scattered as sheep without a shepherd. And they add, that it was Mr. Barclay's open and public avowal, both from the pulpit and the press, of those peculiar sentiments which now distinguish the Bereans, that was the first and

principal, if not the only cause, of the opposition set on foot against his settlement at Fettercairn.— Since that time the sect of the Bereans have found converts in all the principal towns in Scotland, in London, and many other places in England, as well as in different states of America, &c.

The Bereans agree with the great majority of Christians, both Protestants and Catholics, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, which they hold as a fundamental article of the Christian faith; and they also agree in a great measure with the professed principles of both our established churches, respecting predestination and election, though they allege that these doctrines are not consistently taught in either church. But they differ from the majority of all sects of Christians in various other important particulars, such as,—

First, Respecting our knowledge of the Deity.— Upon this subject they say, that the majority of professed Christians stumble at the very threshold of revelation; and, by admitting the doctrine of *natural religion, natural conscience, natural notions*, &c. not founded upon revelation, or derived from it by tradition, they give up the cause of Christianity at once to the infidels; who may justly argue, as Mr. Paine in fact does, in his *Age of Reason*, with all others of his infidel cast, that "there is no occasion for any revelation, or word of God, if man can discover his nature and perfections from his works alone."— But this, the Bereans argue, with other professors of Christianity, is beyond the natural powers of human reason, and therefore our knowledge of God is from revelation alone; and that, without revelation, man would never have entertained an idea of his existence.

Second, With regard to faith in Christ, and assurance of salvation through his merits, they differ from almost all other sects whatsoever. These they reckon inseparable, or rather the same, because (they argue) God hath expressly declared, "he that believeth shall be saved;" and therefore, it is not only absurd, but impious, and in a manner calling God a liar, for a man to say, "I believe the gospel, but have doubts nevertheless of my own salvation." With regard to the various distinctions and definitions that have been given of different kinds of faith, they argue, that "there is nothing incomprehensible or obscure in the meaning of this word as used in



scripture; but that, as faith, when applied to human testimony, signifies neither more nor less than the mere simple belief of that testimony as true, upon the authority of the testifier; so when applied to the testimony of God, it signifies precisely the belief of his testimony, and resting upon his veracity alone, without any kind of collateral support from concurrence of any other evidence or testimony whatever." And they insist, that as this faith is the gift of God alone, so the person to whom it is given, is as conscious of possessing it, as the being to whom God gives life, is of being alive; and therefore he entertains no doubts, either of his faith, or his consequent salvation through the merits of Christ, who died, and rose again for that purpose. In a word, they argue, that the gospel would not be what it is held forth to be, "glad tidings of great joy," if it did not bring full personal assurance of eternal salvation to the believer; which assurance, they insist, "is the present infallible privilege and portion of every individual believer of the gospel."—These definitions of faith, and its inseparable concomitant *assurance*, they prove by a great variety of scripture evidence, which our limits will not allow us to quote.

Third, Consistently with the above definition of faith, they say, that the sin against the Holy Ghost, which has alarmed and perplexed so many in all ages, is nothing else but unbelief; and that the expression, that "it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor that which is to come," means only, that a person dying in infidelity would not be forgiven, neither under the former dispensation by Moses, (the then *present* dispensation, kingdom, or government of God), nor under the gospel dispensation, which, in respect of the Mosaic, was a kind of future world, or kingdom to come.

Fourth, The Bereans interpret a great part of the Old Testament prophecies, and in particular the whole of the Psalms, excepting such as are merely historical or laudatory, to be typical or prophetic of Jesus Christ, his sufferings, atonement, mediation and kingdom; and they esteem it a gross perversion of these psalms and prophecies to apply them to the experiences of private Christians, in the manner commonly done. In proof of this, they not only urge the words of the apostle, that "no scripture prophecy is of any private interpretation," but they insist, that the whole of the quotations from the ancient prophecies in the New Testament, and particularly those from the Psalms, are expressly applied to Christ. In this opinion, many other classes of Protestants agree with them.

Fifth, Of the absolute all-superintending sovereignty of the Almighty, the Bereans entertain the highest ideas, as well as of the uninterrupted exertion thereof over all his works, in heaven, earth, and hell, however unsearchable by his creatures. A God

without election (they argue) or choice in all his works, is "a God without existence,—a mere idol,—a nonentity. And to deny God's election, purpose and express will, in all his works, is to make him inferior to ourselves."

For farther particulars respecting the Berean doctrines, we must refer the reader to the works of Messrs. Barclay, Nicol, and Brooksbank. And to these we have authority to add a work now preparing for the press (by Mr. James Donaldson, successor to the late Mr. Barclay in the Berean church at Edinburgh), wherein the leading points of difference betwixt the Bereans and other professing bodies around them, will be handled in the form of a dialogue, under the title of "Objector and Vindicator."

Having thus given a concise view of the origin and distinguishing doctrines of Bereanism, it only remains to mention a few particulars relative to the worship and practice of the Bereans, as a Christian society.

Infant baptism they consider as a divine ordinance, instituted in the room of circumcision; and they think it absurd to suppose, that infants, who all agree are admissible to the kingdom of God in heaven, should nevertheless be denied the initiating sign of that high privilege on earth. They commemorate the Lord's Supper in general once a month; but as the words of the institution fix no particular period, they sometimes celebrate it oftener, and sometimes at more distant periods, as may suit their general convenience. But they cannot agree with those who allege, that they cannot observe the Sabbath without shewing forth the Lord's death. In observing this ordinance, they follow the primitive apostolic plan, without any previous days of fasting or preparation, as they apprehend, that such human institutions only tend to make an idol of the ordinance, and to lead people to entertain erroneous ideas of its superior solemnity and importance. They discard also in this ordinance, as unscriptural, the popish, episcopal, and Presbyterian practice of consecrating the elements, or setting them apart from a common to a holy use; as also setting apart the water in baptism from a common to a holy use.—They say that no change is possible (more than needful), by any form of words that men can use.—The last and fullest account of that ordinance, 1 Cor. chap. xi. simply says, "And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat, &c." They insist, that the word *thanks* is incompatible with any notion of consecration in use among men; that the Lord, acting the part of the Father's servant, did not address the bread nor the cup, but his heavenly Father, with thankfulness; leaving thus an example to all his children, commemorating this ordinance, to give thanks to their God and Father, for his love shown in this, till their Lord come.

Bereans also hold in contempt the word *sacrament*, as commonly applied to this ordinance and baptism. The term, as expressed by the Latins, *sacramentum*, applies to the taking of an *oath*, which is not intended in showing forth the Lord's death, more than in the ordinance of prayer and praise.—All ordinances appointed by God, as proper for the notice of his children, are works of faith, and labours of love, while an oath is to put an end to strife. Equal and universal holiness in all manner of conversation, they recommend at all times as well as at the Lord's table. They meet every Lord's day for the purpose of preaching, prayer, praise, and exhortation to love and good works.

With regard to admission of members, their method is very simple.—When any person, after hearing the Berean doctrines, professes his belief and assurance of the truths of the gospel, and desires to be admitted into their communion, he is cheerfully received, upon his profession before the church, whatever may have been his former manner of life; because they know that all men, before they believe the gospel, are dead in trespasses and sins. Therefore they disclaim the practice of those who, making inquiry into the former character of those who apply for admission into their communion, admit or reject, according to the nature of that report. This they say is the very reverse of the conduct of the apostles, who preached the gospel to the vilest of men; and the moment such professed the truth of the gospel, to such they gave the right hand of fellowship, without farther ceremony. But if such an one should afterward draw back in his good profession, or discover a practice foreign to the precepts of the gospel, in that case he is first to be admonished,

and if that has not the desired effect, he is to be withdrawn from, as a disorderly walker, and left to himself.

They do not think, as some professors do, that they have any power or authority from scripture to deliver such backslider to Satan; that power they consider as the exclusive right of the apostles, to whom it was said, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven," &c. Neither do they think themselves authorised, as a Christian church, to inquire into each others political opinions, any more than to examine into each others notions of philosophy. They both recommend and practise, as Christian duties, subjection to lawful authority; but they do not think that a man, by becoming a Christian, or joining their society, is under any obligation, by the rules of the gospel, to renounce his rights of private judgment upon matters of public or private importance.

Upon all such subjects, they allow each other to think and act as each may see it his duty. They require nothing more of their members, than an uniform and steady profession of the apostolic faith, and a suitable walk and conversation.

With regard to feet-washing, and the like practices, which some other sects of Christians consider as duties, the Bereans are of opinion, that they are by no means obligatory. They argue, that the example given by our Saviour of washing the feet of his disciples, was not an institution of an ordinance, but merely a familiar instance, taken from the custom of the country, and adopted by our Lord on that occasion, to teach his followers, that they ought, at all times, to be ready to perform even the meanest offices of kindness to each other.

## ACCOUNT OF ATHEISM AND ATHEISTS.

THE word Atheist is of Greek original, and is compounded of two terms signifying *without God*. In the strict and proper sense of the word it is characteristic of those who do not believe in the existence of a God, or who own no being superior to nature. The same religionists, or rather anti-religionists, have been known also by the name of *Infidels*, yet the word *Infidel* is not confined to Atheists only, but is now commonly used to distinguish a more numerous sect, and is become almost synonymous with Deist. Atheism has ever been so unacceptable to mankind in general, that its abettors have fre-

quently assumed a name more mild than that of Atheists. Thus, about the beginning of the last century, they, as well as the Deists, styled themselves *Freethinkers*, and of late they have adopted the name of *Illuminati*, or of *Philosophers*.

He who verily disbelieves the existence of a God, as an infinite, intelligent, and moral agent, is a direct or speculative Atheist: he who endeavours to instil atheistical principles into others, though they may not be his own principles; or rather, he who confesses a Deity and providence in words, but denies them in his life and actions, is a practical Atheist.

Although, in some things, both these are closely united, yet in many things they differ, and, in some respects, they are quite the reverse. Thus, the speculative Atheist confesses a Deity for the most part at least, in his life and actions, but denies him in his words; on the contrary, the practical Atheist confesses a Deity in his words, but denies him in his life and actions. The former is much better than his principles, the latter much worse; for the one does much good, which his principles do not enjoin, while the other does a great deal of evil, which his principles do not allow. The former is a *practical* Atheist in principle, the latter a *speculative* Atheist in practice. The error of the former seems to have its seat in the head, that of the latter in the heart; for the one generally becomes Atheist from affecting an appeal to his understanding, the other as frequently from following the dictates of his will.

Lastly, the former, if, in truth there ever have been any in the world, has been peculiar to some ages, yet to none more than to the present; the latter hath been too common in most ages of the world.

As far as conduct is concerned, they differ only in this, that the conduct of the practical Atheist is attended with greater moral depravity, as it implies that a man acts contrary to the conviction of his own understanding. "There is but one thing in the world worse than a speculative Atheist," says Pícus, earl of Mirandula, "and that is a practical Atheist."

When and where Atheism first took its rise, we do not pretend to say. That it existed, in some sense, before the flood, may be suspected, both from what we read in scripture, and from heathen tradition; nor is it very unreasonable to suppose, that the deluge was partly intended to evince to the world a heavenly power as Lord of the universe, and superior to the visible system of nature. This was at least a happy consequence of that fatal catastrophe; for, as Dean Sherlock observes, "The universal deluge, and the confusion of languages, had so abundantly convinced mankind of a Divine Power, and Providence, that there was no such creature as an Atheist, till their ridiculous idolatries had tempted some men of wit and thought, rather to own no God, than such as the heathens worshipped."

It is a good argument *ad hominem*, against the Atheists, that Lucretius himself, the poet of Atheism, pretends to tell us when Atheism began, and who he was who first dared to despise and deny the being of a God. This, he says, was his hero and master, Epicurus. Yet this is not true in fact.—What Plato tells a young philosopher of his day, has much more the appearance of truth.—"Not thou alone," says he, "nor thy friends, have been the first who have entertained this (atheistical) senti-

ment of God, but from time *immemorial* there have been more or fewer who have laboured under this disease."

Atheistical principles were long nourished and cherished in Greece, and especially among the atomical, peripatetic, and sceptical philosophers; and hence it is that some have ascribed the origin of Atheism to the philosophy of Greece; and if they mean that species of refined Atheism, which contrives any impious scheme of principles, by which it attempts to account for the origin and government of the world, without a Divine Being, they are certainly in the right. For, notwithstanding there might have been in former ages, and in other countries, some persons irreligious in principle as well as in practice, yet we know of none who, forming a philosophical scheme of impiety, and pretending to defend their hypotheses by principles of reason, grew up to a sect and erected colleges of atheistical learning, till the arrogant and enterprising geniuses of Greece undertook that detestable province.—Carrying their presumptuous and ungoverned speculations into the very essence of the divinity, and straining their eager sight to penetrate the pavilion of darkness which encircles the eternal throne, at first they doubted, and at length denied, the existence of a First Cause independent of nature, and of a Providence that superintends its laws, and governs the concerns of mankind.

These principles, together with the other improvements of Greece, were translated to Rome; and, excepting in Italy, we hear but little of Atheism for many ages after the Christian era. At Rome an infallible Atheist occasionally started up, for popes John 24th and Alexander 6th, are both said to have been accused of the crime.

Archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon on Proverbs xiv. 34, says, "For some ages before the Reformation, Atheism was confined to Italy, and had its chief residence at Rome. All the mention that is made of it in the history of those times, the papists themselves give us, in the lives of their own popes and cardinals, excepting two or three small philosophers that were retainers to their court. So that this atheistical humour amongst Christians was the spawn of the gross superstition and corrupt manners of the Romish church and court. And, indeed, nothing is more natural than for extremes in religion to beget one another, like the vibrations of a pendulum, which, the more violently you swing it one way, the farther it will return the other. But, in this last age, Atheism has travelled over the Alps, and infected France, and now of late it hath crossed the sea, and invaded our nation, and hath prevailed to amusement."

But to this able writer, in conjunction with many other clergy of the establishment and others, we



owe its suppression amongst us; for they pressed it down with a weight of sound argument, from which it has never been able here, and we trust never will, be able in this nation, to raise itself. Indeed "this country, thank God, is not a soil fitted for so rank a weed; where scarce one solitary Atheist has appeared, like a comet, once in a century, and, after appalling and terrifying the inhabitants with a tremendous but momentary blaze, has sunk at once into obscurity and oblivion."

It is said, that, in the year 1623, there were in Paris alone, 50,000 Atheists; but had this been the case, their principles would no doubt have unchristianised France, long before the time they really did so. Dr. Priestley observes, that when he visited France, in 1774, "all her philosophers and men of letters were absolute infidels; and that he was represented by one of them, in a mixed strain of censure and compliment, as the only man of talent he had met, who had any faith in the scriptures.—Nay, Voltaire himself, who was then living, was considered by them as a weak-minded man; because, though an unbeliever in Revelation, he believed in a God."

That nation has tried of late to govern mankind without any religion at all; to make reason the only object of worship, and philosophy the only guide of life. But the experiment has only proved, what common sense might have taught them, that to establish Atheism in any nation, is a vain attempt; for mankind in general will have some religion, whether true or false.

But modern Atheism is not confined to *ci-devant* most Christian ground; we have reason to apprehend that the abettors of Atheism and irreligion were never more numerous, nor more widely scattered over Europe, than of late years, if not at this present day, when our religion suffers with its author, between two thieves, Atheism and Deism, and it is hard to say which is the greater enemy of the two.

Atheism, in its primary sense, is a whole-length picture of every heresy in the world; if it does not comprehend, at least, it goes beyond them all, for it professes to acknowledge no religion, true or false.

As a religious sect, the very idea of Atheism, so taken, involves a paradox, if not an absurdity; for religion implies every thing that Atheism denies.—It is as impossible to conceive of such a sect, as it is difficult to believe that there ever have been in the world any speculative Atheists from real principle and theory. Most people deny that nature could bring forth such an unnatural, monstrous production. They will allow those that are accounted such, to be only "*Atheists in ostent*." "*Speculative Atheism*," says Dr. Bentley, "does only subsist in our specu-

lation; whereas really human nature cannot be guilty of the crime."

Like the members of most other sects, Atheists, or pretenders to Atheism, are divided among themselves: so far are they from holding the same sentiments, that their systems of opinion, if their hypotheses may be so called, are multiform and inconsistent, as visionary and irrational.

Some, with Protagoras and the seepies, are satisfied with doubting and living in suspense as to the grand article of human belief, the existence of a God. Among others, who more confidently deny his existence, or who would be thought to do so, some, with Mr. Hume, have, at the same time, denied a First Cause; of those who allow a First Cause, some have, however, denied it to be an intelligent agent, supposing it to act by necessity, or, more properly speaking, a being that never acts, but is acted upon. Others who, with Epicurus, allowing the First Cause to be an *intelligent agent*, may be said to admit a God, notwithstanding deny his providence, and, of course, his moral attributes.—Some again, who allow a general providence, have rejected an universal or particular providence; confining it, at their pleasure, to the heavens, to the human race, or to the genera of beings; thus excluding, by their respective hypotheses, with Aristotle, this earth,—with Pythagoras, every irrational being; or, with the Stoics and others, all species and individuals. Lastly, others who may be said to be orthodox, respecting their belief of God's providence, have, however, unworthy notions of his attributes, and such as, by remote, and often by immediate, consequence, must destroy his very existence.

Thus, many have promoted the cause of Atheism in the world, without intending it, by their framing to themselves such notions concerning God, as have no foundation, either in his nature, or in his word.

With respect to this world and its origin, the two leading false hypotheses that have prevailed, are,—that of Ocellus Lucanus, adopted and improved by Aristotle, that it was *eternal*; and that of Epicurus, that it was formed by a *fortuitous concourse of atoms*. But, should we wait till they prove either of these hypotheses, by evident and demonstrative reasons, the world may have an end before Epicurus and his followers prove their atoms could have given it a beginning; and we may find it eternal, *a parte post*, before Aristotle and his followers can prove it was so, *a parte ante*.

The principal tenets of the Freethinkers, may be seen thrown together in the 1st volume of the *Connaisseur*, under the contradictory title of "*The Unbeliever's Creed*."

"That the soul is material and mortal, Christianity an imposture, the scripture a forgery, the

worship of God superstition, hell a fable, and heaven a dream, our life without providence, and our death without hope, like that of asses and dogs,—are part of the glorious gospel of Atheists."

Several moderns have believed in the eternity of the world; among others, Sir W. Temple, according to Bishop Burnet, and Dr. G. H. Toulmin, author of a late work, entitled, "The Antiquity and Duration of the World." The same doctrine is held by many disciples of Spinoza, in France, as Mr. Volney, and Mr. Dupuis; and perhaps by their brethren of the London Corresponding Society, who tell us, "Nature is our God, and the Universe our Bible."—See Anti-Jac. Review, vol. i. p. 231.

As to their worship we can say nothing, till we receive information from the Atheists themselves; or till we have seen a work published about the beginning of the last century, by Mr. John Toland, entitled, "A Form of Divine Service to the infinite and eternal Universe."

Lactetius and Spinoza have defended Atheism.—The latter wrote in the 17th century, and believed that the universe is God. As Toland, Woolston and Hume, used generally to pretend that they were friends to Christianity, while they were secretly aiming to overthrow it; so most of the abettors of Atheism, unwilling openly to avow their principles, have used arts equally disingenuous, to support their feeble cause.

Half our danger does not arise from tracts professedly penned in favour of Atheism and irreligion, but from writings of other kinds, carrying nothing hostile in their appearance. The unsuspecting reader, who sat down to inform or amuse himself with a piece of natural or civil history, biography, a poem, a tale, or a fable, if he have not his wits about him, finds his reverence for the doctrines of religion, and those who teach them, filched from him; rises, to his great surprise, half an infidel; and is not sure whether he has a soul, a Saviour, or a God.

The dangerous tendency of several writings, some of which were, perhaps, but little suspected of Atheism, has been shewn by Mr. Witherspoon, an able writer of the last century, and the principles contained in them briefly summed up, in what he calls "The Athenian Creed."

It is well known that Bayle's Dictionary contains, under the mask of religion and science, a whole mass of atheistical principles; and since the above was written, the same spawn of irreligion has been industriously scattered all over the world, and especially on the continent of Europe, in the wretched productions of modern philosophers, of various shapes and sizes, under the name of essays, letters, novels, histories, &c. from the bulky quarto to the meagre pamphlet.

An infallible antidote against atheistical tenets

may be found in the sermons preached at Boyle's lecture, collected in three volumes folio,—Bishop Wilkins's Principles and Duties of Natural Religion,—Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System,—Abernethy on the Divine Attributes,—Fenelon and Bate on the existence of a God,—More's Antidote against Atheism,—Knight's Being and Attributes of God, demonstrated, &c.

All the ablest laymen, and most profound philosophers of our nation, have been the firmest believers in the existence and superintendence of a Deity. Indeed, as Lord Bacon has well remarked in his Essays, "A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for, while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may rest in them and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederated and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."

The being of a God may be proved, 1st, From the marks of design, and from the order and beauty visible in the world; for, as Cato very justly says,— "And that he is, all nature cries aloud," 2dly, Confirmed by universal consent—See Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae. 3dly, Proved scientifically from the relation of cause and effect. 4thly, From internal consciousness. 5thly, From the necessity of a final as well as efficient cause. And the arguments from these heads may be confirmed from the history of the creation, and from the prophecies and miracles of scripture.

The arguments for the being of a God are distributed into two kinds: 1st, Arguments *a priori*, or those taken from the necessity of the divine existence. 2d, Arguments *a posteriori*, or those taken from the works of nature.

Most people agree with Lord Chesterfield in believing, that the divine existence cannot be proved *a priori*, and that it cannot be doubted *a posteriori*. On the former species of proof, however, Dr. S. Clarke's Essay on the Being and Attributes of God, has been generally considered a master-piece; and of the latter, the following passage from Dr. Balguy is a beautiful illustration:

"Of all the false doctrines and foolish opinions which ever infested the mind of man, nothing can possibly equal that of Atheism, which is such a monstrous contradiction to all evidence, to all the powers of understanding, and the dictates of common sense, that it may be well questioned, whether any man can really fall into it, by a deliberate use of his judgment.

"All nature so clearly points out, and so loudly proclaims a Creator of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, that whoever hears not its voice, and sees not his proofs, may well be thought wilfully deaf, and obstinately blind.

"If it be evident, self-evident to every man of thought, that there can be no effect without a cause, what shall we say of that manifold combination of effects, that series of operations, that system of wonders, which fill the universe, which present themselves to all our perceptions, and strike our minds and our senses on every side! Every faculty, every object of every faculty, demonstrates a Deity. The meanest insect we can see, the minutest and most contemptible weed we can tread upon, is really sufficient to confound Atheism, and baffle all its pretensions. How much more that astonishing variety and multiplicity of God's works with which we are continually surrounded! Let any man survey the face of the earth, or lift up his eyes to the firmament; let him consider the nature and instincts of brute animals, and afterwards look into the operations of his own mind: will he presume to say or suppose, that all the objects he meets with are nothing more than the result of unaccountable accidents and blind chance? Can he possibly conceive that such wonderful order should spring out of confusion; or that such perfect beauty should be ever formed by the fortuitous operations of unconscious, unactive particles of matter? As well, nay better, and more easily, might he suppose that an earthquake might happen to build towns and cities; or the materials carried down by a flood fit themselves up without hands, into a regular fleet. For what are towns, cities, or fleets, in comparison of the vast and amazing fabric of the universe!

"In short, Atheism offers such violence to all our faculties, that it seems scarce credible it should ever really find any footing in the human understanding."

It must be owned on all hands, that the existence of a God is desirable and highly expedient; every argument to the contrary refutes itself, and evidently demonstrates what it is brought to deny. For, when it is said, as by Mr. Hobbes and his followers, that the notion of a God is not from nature, nor from revelation, but from policy and state craft, then it is owned to be for the good of society. When it is supposed that the world came into existence by chance, and is every moment liable to be destroyed by it, then is it dangerous to live in such a world. When it is alleged that the world is eternal, and that all things are by fatal necessity, then liberty and choice are infinitely better. When it is argued from supposed defects in the frame of nature, and in the government of the world, then it is better that the world had been made, and were governed by a perfectly wise and gracious Being.

But, indeed, the being of a God is so necessary, and withal, a truth so evident, that an Atheist, almost in any sense of the word, had been a creature unheard of in the world, at least in the civilized world, had he been guided solely by instinct and common sense,

had not human reason, or rather the abuse of it, lowered some men to a level with the brute creation, from which we are more distinguished by our sense of religion, than by our reason.

The force of the argument from universal consent, will appear when thus stated, according to the method used by Aristotle in his *Topics*, in arguing from authority. That which seems true to some wise men, ought to appear a little probable; what most wise men believe, is yet farther probable; that in which most men, both wise and unwise, do agree, is still more highly probable;—but what is received as truth by the general consent of all mankind, in all ages of the world, hath certainly the highest degree of evidence of this kind that it is possible for it to have.

In short, the arguments in proof of a Deity are so numerous, and at the same time so obvious to every thinking mind, that to waste time or paper in disputing with a downright Atheist, is making too great approaches towards that irrationality, which may be considered as one of the most striking characteristics of the sect.

As to number, and the countries where found, little can be said with certainty, unless perhaps by themselves. Atheists in general lurk in secret, their conscience and fears will seldom allow them to shew themselves: to be open and appear, is the property of truth, the daughter of the light and of the day. It may however be affirmed, that the abettors of Atheism and irreligion were never more numerous than they now are, or, than they have been of late. They have compassed sea and land to find one nation or whole people of brethren, and once thought they had really discovered one, and stood with open arms ready to give that polite people, the Hottentots, the fraternal embrace. But we have reason to believe, that, as has always been the case, they are more numerous in Europe, and particularly in France, Germany, and Italy, than any where else; and, if there is any thing criminal in their principles and conduct, those of Europe have, of all others, the greatest danger to fear. But, whatever may become of their persons, on their *emigration*, we cannot help believing, with the epigrammatist Owen, that their principles are confined to the four corners of this world alone:

"Descendat tristem licet Atheus in Orcum.

"Nullus in inferno est Atheus, antè fuit."

The more noted Atheists, since the Reformation, are, Machiavel, Spinoza, Hobbes, Blount, and Vanini. And to these we may add Hume, and Voltaire, the *Corphæus* of the sect, and the great nursing father of that swarm of them, which, in these last days, had well nigh eaten out the vitals of Chris-



tianity, and had they been encouraged, would have left unconsumed not even the skeleton of religion, or of any real virtue among men.

"The reason of Voltaire," says the great and good bishop Horne, "was to right reason what a monkey is to a man. And his religion, by which I mean his speculations about the Deity, (for he had no other), was, as near as we can discover, the same with that of the Atheist Vanini, whose principles he expressly defended."

This Lucilio Vanini was an Italian; and, notwithstanding it is said that he had proved to his judges, in a strong and moving manner, the existence of a Deity, from a straw which he had picked up at the bar before them, yet the parliament of Toulouse pronounced on him sentence of death, and he was accordingly burnt there for his atheistical tenets, A. D. 1619. He confessed that he was one of twelve who set out from Naples to spread their doctrines in all parts of Europe. Yet, after all, few will be inclined to defend his punishment, any more than his principles; for the man's eccentricities through life, as well as his ravings after he had heard his cruel fate, evidently shew that his sentence should have been confinement rather than death.

Even in this country, direct Atheism, if openly avowed, is a capital offence; for in an act of Parliament in 1661, c. 21, there is a clause to this purpose: "Like as his Majesty, with advice foresaid, finds, statutes and ordains, that whosoever shall deny God, or any of the persons of the blessed Trinity, and obstinately continue therein, shall be processed, and being found guilty, that they be punished with death." Yet, in open defiance of this act (for I am not aware that it is repealed), and with an unusual effrontery and assurance, we are told that a Mr. William Hammon of Liverpool, publicly declared himself to be an Atheist.—Thus, "Whereas some have doubted whether there ever was such a thing as a proper Atheist, to put them out of all manner of doubt, I do declare, that, upon my honour, I am

one. Be it therefore remembered, that, in London, in the kingdom of England, in the year of our Lord, 1781, a man has publicly declared himself an Atheist."

The conduct of this man, too, creates a suspicion that the faculties of his mind were at that time not so perfectly sound as might be wished.

Cato Zwack declared himself a downright Atheist, and Dupont exclaimed, in the French Convention, "I am an Atheist!" but these are the mere ebullitions of that intellectual process which was then carrying on, and were said at a time when the observance of religious worship was punished, in France, as an offence against the laws.

The period of implicit reception, in that country, appears to be over; the period of implicit rejection has succeeded; and the period of just discrimination, it is hoped, will yet take place, however little ground we may have to conclude, from present appearances, that it is near at hand.

Meantime we close this article with the following supplication, which the church of England, (whose charity embraces all mankind), puts into the mouth of all her members; and we can readily believe, that every reader of this volume, who calls himself a Christian, whether churchman or dissenter, or of whatever denomination he be, will sincerely and fervently join us in it, and add his hearty amen:—

"O God, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech thee, for all sorts and conditions of men, that thou wouldst be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health unto all nations.

"More especially, we pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church; that it may be so guided and governed by thy good spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life!" Amen.

## THEOPHILANTHROPISTS.

**T**HEOPHILANTHROPISTS, a name derived from the Greek, signifying the love of God and man. We rank these with the enthusiasts of the day, though they were of a more dangerous cast.—They professed their principles in France, at the beginning of the revolution. They were properly

Deists, had their places of worship, as they called them, and for a time attracted some notice in Europe. It was an effort to make Deism the religion of France, instead of Christianity, but they have dwindled into obscurity, and are known only by the common term of Deists.

## ENTHUSIASTS.

IT was not our intention to say any thing concerning the religious enthusiasts of the day, because such cannot be acknowledged as belonging to any sect of the Christian religion, who asserts things inconsistent with those plain truths held forth in the gospel; had not a modern writer introduced the misguided followers of an ignorant, presumptuous woman to the notice of the public. It may however serve to caution the well-meaning Christians to avoid the senseless clamor of fanatics; and this is the only apology we can offer to the intelligent reader for intruding on his time and patience.

In all ages from the time of the prophets to the present day, in all ancient nations, and among the moderns, from Joan of Arc, to Joanna Southcott, some infatuated men and women, preferring their own proud dogmas to the plain scriptures, have pretended to divine communication. Not in the way which God appointed under the Mosaic dispensation, nor by living faith, as under the gospel; but they have impiously asserted that it is by a vocal and an externally audible conversation with the *awful Majesty of Heaven*. And notwithstanding this is sufficient of itself to procure them a residence in Bedlam, yet numbers of individuals have fallen, as it were, a sacrifice to the pride and vanity of these impostures.

If the intelligent reader will turn over the pages of ancient and modern history, he will find that, when nations were involved in war, witch-ridden enthusiasm, treading on reason and scripture, has always found advocates among the hordes of inferior society. These tinder-brained mortals, fired with the expectation of an *easy life, high posts, and golden plunder*, have hurled their anathemas at churches and states, at all sects and parties who have opposed them; and have consigned them to destruction with the impious blasphemy of, *thus saith the Lord*. In the times of the prophets, when people of this description made their appearance, so deeply was human nature sunk in the sink of its own vanity, that the prophet was commanded to say, *Prophecy against the prophets of Israel, that prophesy, and say unto them that prophesy out of their own spirit, Thus saith the Lord God, woe unto the foolish prophets that follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing. They have seen lying divination,*

*saying, the Lord saith, and the Lord hath not sent them.*

In the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans, during the abomination of the Delphian and Sybilian oracles; and among the Mahometans, numbers have pretended to be inspired by the oracular gods, and by the spirit of Mahomet. Even in the Pagan nations there are those famous above others, for their intimate acquaintance with the spirit of the wooden god they worship. More modern times have also furnished us with serious proofs of the weakness, folly, and blasphemy of this description of men among the Christian nations: a short account of them may not be unsatisfactory to the reader.

### THOMAS OF MUNSTER,

In 1522, boasted that he had immediate communication with God, that by his means the empires and principalities of this world were to be destroyed; that the sword of Gideon was put into his hands, to be employed against all tyrants, and for the restoration of the kingdom of Christ! He excited the people to rebellion, and fought the land-grave; five thousand were slain. The hypocrite was taken and put to death.

### JOHN MATTHIAS,

In the year 1532, a baker at Haerlem, professed himself to be "Enoch the second high priest of God, raised a rebellion, published edicts, and commanded every man to bring his gold and silver into the common stock." He was put to death by the besieging army.

### JOHN OF LEYDEN,

In the year 1534, by these pretensions, raised a considerable army, who being besieged in the city of Munster, caused himself to be made king; some thousands were killed. He was taken and suffered a painful death. To these succeeded

### HERMAN THE COBBLER,

Who declared himself to be a true prophet; and at last the son of God.

### THEODORE,

Of Amsterdam, preached the doctrines of the Pre-Adamites, and ran naked with his followers through the city.

### DAVID GEORGE,

In the year 1556, asserted that he was the true

Messiah, sent down from heaven to be the *horn*, redeemer, and builder of the tabernacle of Israel. The following particulars are taken from his writings. That the doctrines of Moses, the prophets, and Christ, were not sufficient for salvation, but his, doctrines only. That he was invested with authority to bind and loose, and that at the last day he should judge the tribes of Israel. That the scriptures of the Old Testament, that Christ and the apostles, referred to the coming of David George. We might introduce many more of these fanatics, who made their appearance in Germany, France, Holland, and different nations, but the blasphemies of David George seem to have outdone every other continental pretender to divine communication.

#### RICHARD BROTHERS

Pretended to divine communications, and although

there appeared but little either in his writings or conversation to recommend him to support, yet he found an advocate in an Hon. Member of Parliament, who, both in the house and out of it, held him up to public notice. Brothers foretold the destruction of London, and that this sad catastrophe was to take place on a certain day. The period arrived, and proved the fallacy of his weak predictions. Other circumstances concurred to shew that he laboured under a mental derangement; eventually it was found expedient to confine him in a lunatic asylum, where he still remains.

Of Joanna Southcott and her communications, we have already given a description, leaving the reader to judge for himself, and to draw his own conclusions.

### OF SCRIPTURE AND DIVINE REVELATION.

WHEN we say that the sacred scripture is the word of God, we do not mean that it was all spoken by him, or that it was written by him, or that all that is contained therein is the word of God: but a distinction is to be made between those precepts which inculcate justice, mercy, and holiness of life, and the historical parts which show the consequence of a life in opposition to those principles. The first are properly sacred, because they not only lead man to happiness even in this life, but give him an evidence of things not seen, in the life to come; and thus are called the word of God, as these perfections can only have their origin from the fountain of all goodness. The last, though some are the words of good men—wicked men—the speeches of Satan; or in other words, the personification of an evil spirit, and on this account cannot be called the word, or words of God; yet even these parts have a similar tendency, as they show the malice, pride, and blasphemy of the spirit of wickedness; and on the other hand, the beauty of that spirit of divine philanthropy, which throughout the whole Bible breathes nothing but peace on earth and good will towards men.

Deists think it inconsistent with the dignity of the Divine Being, that he should commission certain men to write his laws in a book; but it will appear, when duly considered, that there was an absolute necessity for such a proceeding. Suppose the precepts of morality which were first given by God to

man, and handed to us by the Hebrew law-giver; suppose the blessings of religion, which are the bands of civil society, had never reached the shores of our happy land; what knowledge could we have boasted of more than

“The untainted Indian whose tutor’d mind  
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind.”

And, notwithstanding the Bible of nature had been before our eyes, not a single precept of morality should we have been able to have gathered from the pages of this book. What was the state of the ancient eastern nations 1600 years before Christ? rude, barbarous, and uncivilised; until Licurgus and Solon introduced their code of laws in the west, the greatest part of which were taken from the books of Moses; they then became a refined and scientific nation. From the Greeks, the Romans copied their precepts of morality, and from the Romans, the ancient people of Europe received the greatest part of their moral laws. From which it appears evident, that every precept of morality was taken from the Bible.

There is one argument to prove the authority of the word of God, which cannot be overturned by all the Deists in the world. If the Bible be not the word of God, it must have been written, or invented, either by good men, or wicked men; but if it can be proved that it was neither written nor invented, either by good men, or wicked men, it must



be the word of God. That it was not written, or compiled by wicked men, will appear from its own evidence, for if it is to be judged, we must suffer that evidence to appear in its defence. Can any Deist be so weak as to suppose that wicked men who were in the love and practice of evil, would frame laws to punish their own vices in this world, and condemn themselves to everlasting punishment by declaring, *the wicked shall be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God?* And again, *Thou shalt not covet*: this reaches the thoughts and desires of the heart. These restrictions and declarations are opposite to those things, which are contained in the religious books of the Mahometan and Pagan nations, which are the production of men, in which permission is given to indulge in sensuality. This, so far, is a certain proof of the divine origin of the Bible.

As evident it is that good men could not be the authors of the Bible. For had it been compiled by good men, the same good men neither could, nor would have given a lie to their profession by calling it *the word of God*, as it would only have been the word of men: consequently the Bible must be the word of God, inspired by him and thus given to man.

It must be allowed that God created the first of men; this being admitted, as it cannot be denied, we cannot doubt but he would give him a law, or knowledge to conduct himself in life. Now whether the divine author of our being condescended to *speak* it with an audible voice,—to write it on the heart, as is said in scripture, or whether he commissioned man by that spoken law, or from that writing on the heart, to write it in a book for the instruction of posterity, it amounts to the same; for the law, or word of God, first spoken, or written on the heart, and from thence written in a book, still remains to be *the word of God*, first given by him.

The possibility of such inspiration must necessarily be allowed, for certainly it was no more wonderful for God to inspire man to write his will in a

book, than it was to *inspire* him, or *enable* him to receive by *continual influx*, a regular train of ideas.

The question has long been asked by Deists, *How shall we know that the Bible is the word of God?* first, by being convinced from the Bible, that the precepts therein contained are worthy of God; that the pure spirit which runs through the whole, inculcates nothing but *love to God and charity to all mankind*, viz. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.* Deut. vi. 5. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* Levit. xix. 18. Matt. vii. 12. Luke x. 27. These are the two great commandments which pervade every page of the Bible, and which on this account is truly called *sacred*: these are sacred duties. For the recorded wickedness of the Jews, or of any other nation mentioned in the Bible, makes no part of the word of God, any farther than it shews that a departure from those precepts of true religion recorded therein, necessarily draws after it that train of fatal consequences, which is the result of that disobedience to the divine command, when the whole sum and substance of true religion contained in those two great propositions, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself*; are not manifested in the life of man.

Secondly, from the accomplishment of those things foretold by the prophets, beginning with Moses, and which, to the astonishment of every impartial man, have been fulfilling from their times to the present day. Now as it must be evident, that none but God could open to man those scenes of futurity, which have been realising for the space of 3300 years, and as those precepts of morality contained in the Bible could never be gathered from the book of nature, as man must have been totally ignorant in a savage state; and as it is clear that he could not have been reformed, or civilised without a knowledge of those precepts, they must have been given by the Creator: consequently, as far as demonstration can make truth appear, it is undeniable proof that the sacred scripture is *the word of God*.

## CHRIST, THE TRUE MESSIAH.

IT is now 1800 years since the dispersion of the Jews took place, agreeably to the words of Moses, and during this great length of time, they have been expecting their Messiah to make his appearance. And notwithstanding that the whole of the prophecies which foretold the coming of the true

Messiah, have been fulfilled in the person of Christ, they contend that the Messiah is yet to come, and that he will restore them to their own land, with greater privileges than their progenitors enjoyed under the most prosperous reign of their kings.—They say, that he will subjugate all nations to them,

and that Jerusalem is to be the grand centre of government, from whence they are to send forth laws to the whole world. Therefore in order to shew, so as not to admit of a refutation, that the Messiah is already come, and that the prophecies were accomplished in him, we shall lay before the reader a summary of those particulars, which it was foretold by the prophets, should take place at his coming; that those things were accomplished at the coming of Christ: and that all those circumstances and things which were to take place at the coming of the *Messiah*, and which took place at the coming of *Christ*, were of such a nature, that they never can take place again. This will, without the possibility of a contradiction, prove that he was the true *Messiah*.

In pursuing this important subject, I shall in a great measure confine myself to the objections of a modern writer among the Jews, viz. David Levi, who in his "Dissertations on the Prophecies," has collected the most formidable arguments from the writings of the Rabbies and learned Jews, ancient and modern, to prove that Christ was not the true *Messiah*.

In the 24th chapter of *Numbers*, from the 15th to the 24th verses, these writers say that Balaam delivered four prophecies. *The first concerning the noble descent of the nation.* But how this can be called a prophecy we know not. *The second concerning their righteousness*, but it was not possible to apply this at any period to the nation of the Jews, for the pages of their own history charge them with a character the very reverse to that of piety. Moses calls them "a wicked, and a stiff-necked generation," and the prophets are uniform in representing them as a most rebellious people, from the time that they came out of Egypt, to their captivity in Babylon. Amos 3. 1. to the end of the chapter. And the prophet in the 9th chapter foretels that they should ever continue in their rebellion against God, to the time of their utter dispersion over the whole world, verse 8th. *Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth: so much for the righteousness of the ancient Jews, according to their own prophets.*

In the 23d chapter, verse 23d, the Jews translate the *beth* which is prefixed to *Jacob*, by the word *in*, and the same to *Israel*, and read the passage thus, *surely there is no enchantment in Jacob, neither is there any divination in Israel.* But in the English translation, the *beth* is rendered by the word *against*, which is undoubtedly, with this construction, the true rendering; viz. *Surely there is no enchantment (can succeed) AGAINST Jacob, neither is there any divination (can succeed) AGAINST Israel.* For as Balaam and Balak were using enchantments against

*Jacob and Israel*, it is absurd to translate the *beth* by *in*, and apply it to mean that there were no enchantments among them.

In the next prophecy they inform us, that Balaam foretels the coming of the *Messiah*, and the restoration of the Jewish nation to their own land; and as this was not to be accomplished till the latter days, he therewith consoles Balak by informing him, that he would not at present receive any injury from this people, for that the thorough subjection of Moab by them would not take place till the latter days. From this prophecy of Balaam, Levi and all the Jewish writers attempt to shew, that the subjugation of Moab and Edom was not accomplished at the coming of Christ, and that as it was to be accomplished at the coming of the true *Messiah*, Christ cannot be the true *Messiah*; but that it remains to be fulfilled when the true *Messiah* shall come. As proof that these kingdoms were to be subjected to the Jews, at the coming of their *Messiah*, their writers refer to Obadiah, verse 17th. *and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions.* But their Rabbies have altogether mistaken the application of these words of the prophet; for, from the first to the end of the 16th verse, is contained a prophecy against Edom, and the 15th and 16th verses positively say, that the *heathen*, and not Jacob, were to take possession of Edom. *For the day of the Lord is near upon all the heathen, as thou hast done, so shall it be done unto thee, thy reward shall be upon thine own head. For as ye have drunk upon my holy mountain, so shall all the heathen drink continually.* The prophet, after he has declared that the heathen should take possession of Edom, says, *but upon mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holiness.* If this is not a prophecy concerning Christ, it can neither have meaning nor application, for it certainly cannot have respect either to the Jews or to their *Messiah*. Surely the Jews will not be hardy enough to declare, that *holiness*, which is only applicable to God, who alone is holy, can in any sense be applied to them, or to any people; but it is literally applicable to Christ, who was tempted in all points like unto us, and yet without sin. So that instead of the prophet prophesying that the Jews should take possession of the land of Edom at the coming of their *Messiah*, it is a prophecy concerning the coming of Christ, in whom holiness was only to be perfected. For the government of Edom is evidently said by the prophet to be in existence at the fulfilment of this prophecy, verse 16th, *as thou hast done, so shall it be done unto thee*, which words would have been unnecessary, without meaning and application, if the government and people of Edom were extinct, when the *Messiah* came. The ancient government and people of Edom must there-

fore have been in existence at the fulfilment of this prophecy: but where is the government of Edom now? where are the people of Edom now? This incontestibly proves that it does not refer to the Messiah who, the Jews say, is to come, because the ancient government and people of Edom are no more. Edom is, as it has been for 1800 years, in possession of the heathen, bands of strangers, while the Edomites are sunk into eternal oblivion. But all this was accomplished at the coming of Christ the true Messiah, when the heathen, agreeably to the words of the prophet, took possession of Idumæa; *when every one of the mount of Esau were cut off by slaughter*, verse 9. and, *all the heathen have drunk continually upon the holy mountain, to the present day.*

The next in order are the prophecies of Moses. The Jews have selected two, which treat on the *restoration of the nation, and the destruction of their enemies.* But they have introduced one of the most extravagant notions that ever entered into the mind of man.

We are told of two descriptions of people among the Jews; one, known to be such; the other, who are secretly mixed with the people of other nations, called, "the compelled ones." These, "as soon as they can escape from the popish countries, return to Judaism;" and to these they say, Moses addresses himself in the 30th chap. of Deut. ver. 1st. *And it shall come to pass when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee.* But we ask any one who may be weak enough to entertain such an opinion, why cannot these compelled ones, as they are pleased to call them, in any popish country, return to Judaism? they have had the privilege of doing so, and of being protected in that worship in all popish countries. Therefore as there is no ground for such an opinion, to apply the words of the inspired penman to confirm such a fallacy, is no better than profanation.

"Nothing (say they) of this nature took place at the coming of Jesus;"—true, but Moses does not say that they shall return to Judaism. That the Jews will be called, we believe, and that they will finally hear the prophet, whom God was to raise up from among them, we believe also; but Moses has no where said that this prophet should be raised up to conduct them to Jerusalem, and to instruct them in the rites and ceremonies of the dispensation, which was given by him, and which has been understood by Jews in all ages since the dispersion. Had this been the meaning of the sacred writer, that they were to be called to Jerusalem, and that all the ceremonies and sacrifices of the Mosaic dis-

pensation were to be celebrated as described in the books of Moses, there would not have been any necessity for those words of the Lord to him, chap. 18. 18, 19. *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him;* because those words clearly and incontrovertibly apply to a new dispensation, viz. *and I will put my words in his mouth, not the old words, or law—and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him,* not the old law and ceremonies given to Moses. Neither would there be any necessity for them to hearken to the words of a new prophet according to the 19th verse, if this prophet had only to communicate to them what they were already well acquainted with, viz. the rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices, even the whole body of old Judaism. On the other hand, we have an account of thousands of Jews being converted to Christianity at this important period; which is a sufficient proof that those ancient Jews were sensible how ineffectual the Jewish sacrifices were as to the renewing of the heart. The modern Jews are also sensible of this, as they say, that *they are to be converted, the heart circumcised, and brought to the same state of innocency as Adam was in before the fall,* and all this is to be done by miracles, signs, and wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, blood, fire, and pillars of smoke. O ye Rabbies, what miserable interpreters of the scripture are ye! If external signs, and wonderful operations, were calculated to carry rational conviction to the mind, in order to bring about the circumcision of the heart, it might have been expected with the greatest confidence when the law was given at Sinai;—*when the whole nation saw the awful descent of the divine majesty—when the mountain shook at the approach of the hallowed influence—*when the people solicited Moses that he would speak to them instead of God, lest they should die. Also in their journey through the wilderness for forty years, when they saw so many signs, wonders, and miracles. But these were soon forgotten, from which it must be evident that something more interior than what affects the outward senses, is required, in order to produce so desirable an end as the circumcision of the heart.

But this circumcision of the heart, they inform us, "was not accomplished during the continuance of the second temple, nor at the coming of Jesus," from which they infer, that as it was to be done at the coming of the Messiah, he is not yet come. But these writers are not consistent; they say, "this circumcision of the heart is not to be brought about by God's depriving man of his free will;" then as many as believed in Christ through the preaching of the apostles, and saw the necessity of a "cir-



cumcision of the heart"—instead of an outward circumcision; a circumcision of the heart which taught them, that to *obey was better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams*, and which circumcision of the heart could not be brought about by the Jewish sacrifices, as is plain from the above words, without a belief in the great sacrifice, Christ. I say with such, this circumcision of the heart spoken of by Moses was accomplished at the coming of Christ. It is not said that the hearts of all the Jews should be so circumcised, it would be a good thing indeed, if not only the hearts of all the Jews, but also if the hearts of all who profess Christianity were so circumcised. Daniel is of a different opinion; for he declares, not only concerning the Jews, but also other nations, that notwithstanding all the signs and miracles which have been done, or which may be done, *the wicked shall do wickedly*.

We are told by Levi and the Rabbies, that *all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest*, which they apply to the Jews; but it is evident what the prophet's meaning is in this passage. In all nations where God is worshipped agreeably to the scriptures, wicked men know God; the devils know God, *the devils believe and tremble*. But the prophet was taking a retrospect of the wickedness of the Jews, when they were so involved in idolatry that the people from the least unto the greatest, did not know the *true God* from the *idol Gods*, because they were not taught the knowledge of the God of heaven, but were taught to worship the idol Gods of the nations around them, and therefore he says, speaking of this time to come, *all shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest*, even their children who were then instructed in the worship of idols, were to be made sensible that the God who was to be worshipped was not an idol, but he who made the heavens.

That this is the plain meaning of the above passage, and that it refers to Christ, will appear from what follows. The Jews expect that when the Messiah comes, the old covenant, the law, sacrifices, and worship, are to be again restored as at the first temple. But the prophet expressly denies this in the preceding verses, 31, 32, 33. *Behold the days come saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.* Thus does the prophet declare that the covenant was not to be like that which was established with their fathers when they

came out of Egypt at Sinai; not the *Mosaic covenant*, but it was to be a *new covenant*, altogether different from the other, which was to be entirely abolished. All this was accomplished at the coming of Christ, the *old covenant* was destroyed, and he made a *new covenant*; he taught them that his law was to be of an internal, and not of an external nature, that it was to be written on their hearts.

"Moses (we are told) informs us of three most important, and wonderful events which are to take place at the coming of the Messiah, viz. the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of the Jews, and the punishment of their enemies. The first is expressed by his saying, *I will make alive*; the second by the expression, *I have wounded and I will heal*; the third, *neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.*" The application of these clauses is too absurd for notice. This notion that the dead Jews are to rise again when the Messiah comes, must raise a blush among the living Jews. The application of the second to the restoration of the Jews, is as absurd, viz. *I have wounded and I will heal*; but to apply the third, viz. *neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand*, to God's whetting his glittering sword, and ripping up the nations, who by Levi, and these Rabbinical writers, are charged with being enemies to the Jews, is making God a most merciless being, and could never have been published by men of sane intellect respecting divine things. I think it charitable to impute such a conclusion to this cause, for if the Jews as a body cordially believed it, it would prove them monsters indeed; and in such case, we may consider it as a happy circumstance that they have not the power to act in conformity with such opinions.—But the Jews, as a body, are not to be charged with such base intentions, they are no doubt the whims of a few intemperate individuals; with credit to the Christian religion, we may adopt the words of Levi, "this was not accomplished at the coming of Christ."

Again.—These writers declare, that "all the glory will be restored as in the first temple, viz. the shechinah, or divine presence, the ark, and cherubim, the spirit of prophecy, fire from heaven, &c." and all the proof they bring that this will be done, is from the following passage, *For thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his statutes, which are written in the book of this law, because thou wilt turn unto the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.* But many persons, or even a whole nation, turning to the Lord their God, and keeping his commandments, is no proof that these things will be again restored; if the *old covenant*, the *old law*, the *old sacrifices*, the *old ordinances*, and the whole body of *old Judaism*, (as observed) were to

be again restored: there would be no occasion for another teacher like Moses, no necessity for that promise, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall teach unto them all that I command him." From which it is evident, that this teaching was to be something new, and very different from the old law, and the old teaching; for the Jews are all well acquainted with the old teaching. This is also said to be a future command, viz. "he shall teach unto them all that I shall command him," not all that has been commanded in the old law: from all which it is as plain as demonstration can make truth appear, that a new law, and not the renewal of the old Mosaic law, was to be given, agreeably to these words of Moses, a total abolition of all the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies was to be accomplished at the coming of the true Messiah, which was fulfilled at the coming of Christ, and which is undeniable proof that Christ was the true Messiah.

Levi says, "The third who prophesied of the redemption, and future restoration of the nation, was Isaiah, which is contained in the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses of the second chapter, for as the prophet makes use of the expression, "in the latter days," it is clear that he thereby meant the days of the Messiah, and thus say Kimchi and Abarbanal."—Very well, and so say all Christians, for this is no proof that Christ was not the true Messiah. On the contrary, it must be admitted on all hands to be confirming proof that he was the true Messiah, for these are allowed to be the latter days according to the prophet.

These writers condemn all the union, and writers who say, that Christ, or the religion of Christ, was to convince many nations of the errors and errors, that it was to be a religion which returned to the strongest tendency to promote peace, but in such universal peace as foretold by the prophets has ever taken place." It is reasonable to suppose that Levi, and the Rabbies he quotes, had never read the New Testament. Christ says, "do unto others as ye would they should do unto you;" if this precept were observed by all nations, there certainly would be universal peace, but if man, from motives which are opposite to Christianity, will do those things to others which he would not have others to do to him, no wonder there are wars and fightings: "Whence come wars and fightings?" says the apostle, his answer is contained in three words, *Of your lusts*.—The religion of Christ has convinced many nations of their errors, and it must be acknowledged by the whole world, that he has founded a religion, which when its precepts are observed, has the strongest tendency to promote universal peace. Not so under the Mosaic dispensation, for that was a system of

warfare from the time of their coming out of Egypt, to their final dispersion, and which must be very strong evidence with the Jews, that Christ was the true Messiah.

But the Jewish writers say, that "as the temple was not rebuilt when Christ came, which was not to be destroyed any more (agreeably to the words of the prophet), Christ cannot be the true Messiah."—The passage they quote to prove this, is the second verse of the same chapter. "It shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established on the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills." They say, "by the word established, it is plain that he meant, it was to be fixed unalterably, of course it was not to be destroyed any more." As the Jews are led to understand this literally, we ask them how it is possible for the mountain of a house to be established on the top of mountains? This is plainly a figurative expression, the prophet reminds them of their idolatrous worship, which was established, or performed on the tops of mountains, or hills, and he informs them, that instead of worshipping idols on the tops of mountains, as heretofore they had done, the worship of the Lord, called the house of the Lord, should be greater in its numbers and excellency than all the idolatrous worship on the mountains, and that it should be exalted above the worship of the gods of the hills.

The word *Beroesh*, when it is applied to time; means, *in the beginning*, when it is applied to persons and things, it means, *the most excellent*, and with the prefix *beth*, which means *in*, it will read, "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the most excellent of the mountains." No one can doubt but that this is a figurative expression, signifying the Christian church which was to be promulgated from Jerusalem, and which was to be established at the coming of Christ, agreeably to be his own word. But to apply this prophecy to the building of a temple, or place of worship on the top of a mountain, where all nations were to flow unto it, literally, is not only contradictory in point of possibility, but it shows what a lamentable opinion the Jews must have concerning the sanctity, and the true understanding of the scriptures. In the original the passage is not *the mountain of the Lord's house*, but *the mountain of the house of the Lord*, and the masculine pronoun *he*, which in the translation is rendered by the neuter pronoun *it*, refers to the word *Lord*, and not to *house*. The verse truly reads, "The mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established on the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flock unto him."

The Jewish writers assert, that the prophet addresses the nation, ch. *Isaiah*. "Behold thou shalt

"call a nation that thou knowest not," viz. a nation not in existence evidently; "and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the holy one of Israel, for he hath glorified thee." But this is a most profound mistake, for the Jewish nation was then known, and the prophet is addressing God, and not the Jewish nation. The prophecy is directed to a single person under the title of the Redeemer, beginning at the 49th chap. ver. 7. "Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, and his holy one, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nations abhorreth." Surely no Jew in his senses will again tell us, that this Redeemer, this person despised by man, and abhorred by the Jewish nation, is to be their Messiah? Levi, from the Rabbies, observes in another place, "that he will bring with him such evident marks of his Messiahship, that the nation will receive him with open arms," instead of abhorring him. But this scripture was literally accomplished in Christ, who was despised by man, and abhorred by the Jewish nation.

If we pursue the prophecy, we find in the next chapter that the same person is spoken of, for this cannot be a personification of the Jewish nation.—How can it be said, "they gave their back to the smiters, and their cheeks to them that plucked off the hair?" But the prophet evidently refers to the Christian Redeemer, who literally gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair.

In the 4th and 5th verses of the following chapter, the same divine person speaks by the prophet thus: "A law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgment to rest for a light of the people, my righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth, and mine arm shall judge the people, the isles shall wait on me, and on mine arm shall they trust." A moment's reflection would convince any one that these words cannot mean, either the Jews, or the Messiah they expect to come. How can it be said that the righteousness of the Jews, or that the righteousness of the Messiah they expect to come, *is gone forth*? As to the righteousness of the Jews, we have not seen any thing of it in them more than in Christians; and as to the second, viz. the righteousness of their Messiah who they say is yet to come, his righteousness has not gone forth. It must appear equally as clear that the words, "and on mine arm shall they trust," cannot mean that we the Gentiles are to trust on the arm of the Jews: we are commanded to trust in the arm of God, and not in the arm of man.—Again, ver. 8. "My righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation."—From which it is obvious that the righteousness of the Jews is not meant, nor can the righteousness of their visionary Messiah be understood; but it refers

to Christ whose righteousness only is for ever, and whose salvation is from generation to generation? Let but the Jew look at the fruit of this righteousness of Christ, and he will be convinced that it is the righteousness spoken of by the prophet, viz. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself*; to which is added, *do unto others, as ye would they should do unto you—sell all thou hast, give to the poor, and take up thy cross and follow me.*

The same vein of prophecy is pursued by the prophet in the following 53d chapter, where the same person the Redeemer, is mentioned, and continued throughout the whole. Here the Redeemer is again introduced as having his visage more marred than any man, and that he shall sprinkle many nations. But can this be said of the Jews? are their visages more marred than the visages of others? have they, or are they likely to sprinkle many nations from uncleanness? which must necessarily be the case with them if this prophecy were applied to the Jewish nation. But we see that their visages are not more marred than any man's, and it is truly absurd to suppose that they are to sprinkle the nations from uncleanness.

The same order is observed, as the prophecy goes on in the next chapter. "He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." In the name of common sense, can it be said, that the Jewish nation has borne the griefs, and carried the sorrows of the Gentile nations? that the Jews are wounded for our transgressions? that they are bruised for our iniquities? that the chastisement of our peace is upon them? and that with their stripes we are healed?

But that which renders it conclusive, that the whole prophecy cannot mean the Jewish nation, or the Messiah they expect to come, is the following clause, ver. 8. "Who shall declare his generation? for he was cast out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken," for all know the origin and the generation of the Jews who sprang from Abraham. Neither can they suppose that the words, "he was cut off out of the land of the living," can apply to the Jews, or to the Messiah who is expected by them; because they vainly imagine he is to restore them to universal empire, therefore they cannot allow that either the Jewish nation or this Messiah is to be cut off out of the land of the living. Again, "for the transgression of my people was he stricken;" if by the words *my people*, we are to understand the Jewish nation, then certainly they cannot be applied to mean their Messiah also; and if on the other hand, we were to understand that these words, *my people*, mean the Gentile nations, for whom the Jewish nation was stricken, as



these writers inform us, they must acknowledge that the *Gentile nations* are the *people of God*, which will not be granted by them. For then, instead of the nations "running to the Jews to be instructed in the true word of God," as we are told by Jews that they will, the Jews must apply to them for such knowledge. Both these statements are against so unscriptural a conclusion, which is a proof to what a pitch of folly and blasphemy these writers have worked themselves up; folly, in supposing that a few Jews are to teach all nations the true understanding of the word of God; and blasphemy in declaring that the Jewish nation is meant instead of the Redeemer, when it is obvious throughout the whole prophecy, that the person of the Redeemer, and not the Jews, is mentioned by name.

These writers inform us, that at the return from what they call the captivity, "the ark, the shechinah, or visible symbol of the divine presence, will be again restored to them, as it was in the first temple." But the prophet Jeremiah expressly says in the 16th verse of the 3d chap. "In those days saith the Lord, they shall say no more, the ark of the covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, neither shall they visit it, neither shall that be done any more." If this be not a plain contradiction to such an assertion, then there is no meaning in language. The lame tale that is invented by the Jews to meet this declaration of the prophet, who says that the ark which was destroyed with the first temple, is never to be restored, is that as it was customary for them to swear before the ark and the altar, they are to be so holy at this period, that they shall not have occasion even to come before the ark, or to remember it, but they shall do strict justice, and always adhere to the truth without an oath. Surely every rational Jew must see the weakness, folly, and presumption of such a perverted application of the original text.

The prophet Haggai says, ch. ii. *Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do you see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it, as nothing? Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts.* But this certainly was not the case, as it related either to the building, or to the glorious manifestations at the time of the first temple, for at the return from Babylon, they had not the Urim and Thummin, the Shechinah, or divine glory, as at the time of the first temple. Therefore these words of the prophet must evidently refer to a new and spiritual dispensation, which was to be manifested during the continuance of this second temple, for the words of the prophet are

positive, that *the glory of this latter house should be greater than of the former*, and as this was not so as to the external part, nor as to any thing it contained, it plainly refers to a new religion, which did not consist in outward ceremonies only, but which reached the thoughts and desires of the heart. Such is the religion of the true Messiah, the Lord Jesus Christ. And in full and decided confirmation of this view I ask, Where is the second temple now? where is this building in which a display of the divine goodness was to fill it with glory? in which the divine glory was to be greater than the former? It is not possible to understand that the words of the prophet can apply to any circumstance at this time of the world, because the second temple in which this superior glory was to appear, was laid in ashes by the Roman army 1800 years since.

The prophet Micah also says, ch. v. 2. *But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel: whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting: which prophecy was literally fulfilled by the Christian Redeemer, who came out of Bethlehem.* But what is become of Bethlehem now? Bethlehem is no more; nor can any one tell us where ancient Bethlehem stood. Where are the thousands of Judah? How inconsistent then it is; for the Jews to contend for the coming of the Messiah, and how plainly contradictory to the express declarations of their own prophets to believe he is yet to come, when all these signs of his coming are unequivocally, and for ever past: and the whole accomplished agreeably to the express declaration of the prophets, in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But if we add to the above, the accomplishment of all those things foretold by Christ, concerning the final destruction of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the nation, and the abolition of their sacrifices, which were to take place among that generation; every argument for a Messiah yet to come, must fall to the ground. For Jerusalem was taken, plundered, and destroyed by the Romans; the cities of Judah were depopulated, the whole nation was dispersed over the earth agreeably to his words, and all their sacrifices and burnt-offerings, which only constituted the Jewish church according to divine appointment, as representatives of the coming of the Messiah, have ceased for 1800 years.

In the 59th chap. and the 21st v. we are told by Levi, and the Jewish writers, that the prophet proceeds to inform us, that the covenant which God had made with them; and the prophecies delivered by the prophet, should never depart from them, so as to become void, but should surely be accomplished.—*As for me, this is my covenant with them,*

*said the Lord; my spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth; they shall not depart from thy mouth, nor from the mouth of thy seed, nor from the mouth of thy seed's seed, said the Lord, from henceforth for ever.*

~ "Thus we are assured (say these writers) that the law of Moses, which is the covenant God made with the nation, as also the prophecies delivered by the mouth of the prophets, shall never depart from the nation, but remain as an everlasting witness of their future restoration."

Can any thing be so preposterously absurd as to suppose that this covenant here mentioned by the prophet, by the words, *and my words which I have put into thy mouth*, is the law of Moses? the prophet is told in express words what was the covenant, viz. *this is my covenant, my spirit which is upon thee, and my words, which I have put into thy mouth*. For it must be plain to every Jew, that the law of Moses, which comprehended the immediate communication by the Urim and Thummim, departed from them at the Babylonish captivity, and never was restored: and what is also evident proof that the covenant which is said to be the spirit of the Lord, and the words he had put into the mouth of the prophet, was not the law of Moses; the whole ceremonial law of Moses, containing the sacrifices, has departed from them and their seed's seed for ever, at their dispersion. Do the sons of Aaron, the priests, as it is said they shall, blow with the trumpets, which was to be an ordinance for ever, throughout their generations? Numb. 10. 8. Do the sons of Levi stand to minister before the Lord, as it is expressly said they should for ever? Is it not infatuation in any Jew to suppose, that he can prove his descent from the tribe of Levi, which was carried away captive before the captivity in Babylon, and has never been heard of since?

It was commanded as a statute to be observed for ever, that if a man killed an ox, a lamb, or a goat, he was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, for an offering to the Lord, when the priest was to sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the Lord, and whoever did not do this was to die. Lev. 17. 7. Is this, which was ordained as a statute for ever, now observed among the Jews? Surely it must be clear to every rational Jew, that all these statutes and ordinances are passed away for ever—consequently the above words of this prophecy cannot refer to the future restoration of the Jews, as some of the Rabbies with Levi say they do, because the law of Moses is not here referred to, as the covenant which God made with the prophet, but his spirit and his words, which he had put into his mouth, viz. the prophecy given to the prophet, which is not the law of Moses.

If we attend to the true meaning of *le olam*, which

is in the translation, and also by Levi, translated, *for ever*, we shall find that in these passages it has no such meaning, for this word is used to signify a hidden or concealed time, both indefinite and finite, past and future. Exod. 21. G. and he shall serve him for ever, viz. until the jubilee, because at the jubilee he was to be free from servitude. 1 Kings, 8, 13. a settled place for thee to abide in for ever; but which temple of Solomon was destroyed 2300 years since. Eccles. 1. 10. It hath been already of old time. Hence the word *olam*, when applied to things of time, never means that they shall endure for ever, but to the end or final duration of the thing spoken of, and which here plainly means the Mosaic dispensation in all its fullness, with the communication of the spirit of God by Urim and Thummim. So that we are here given plainly to understand, that the words of God by the mouth of the prophet, and his spirit which was known by the communication by Urim, should not depart but with the end of that dispensation. This has been literally accomplished, for the Shechinah, or the divine communication, has never been visibly manifested since the captivity in Babylon.

Levi and the Rabbies inform us, that all the nations will come, "not in pride and arrogance, but in a low, humble, and submissive manner, prostrating themselves to them, not on account of their great power, but for the sanctity and holiness of the divinity that will then be in the midst of them, and which (they say), is a demonstrative proof that this prophecy was not fulfilled at their return from Babylon." It would be a pleasant thing indeed, not only for the Jews, but also for Christians, to see them in this state, that people should "prostrate themselves before them, because of their holiness and sanctity." But if some Jewish writers have been so weak and infatuated as to fancy, that they shall be a kind of demi-gods, surely the more intelligent among them must be ashamed to carry such a badge of consummate vanity. This passage has no reference to the Jews. In the first verse of this chapter, the prophet declares that the dawn of this glorious state had then taken place in the following words, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Now if there be any meaning in language, these words cannot signify the future restoration of the Jews by the coming of their supposed Messiah, because the light which Levi and the Rabbies suppose to mean their restoration, has not risen upon them yet, though it is now near 3000 years since this prophecy was delivered. The obvious meaning of this prophecy is, that God by the prophet made known his will respecting the Gentile nations, that they should be called to a knowledge of the true God.—Ver. 3. "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light." The

accomplishment of this prophecy is before the face of the whole world, for the Gentile nations, those who were worshippers of idols, have received the scriptures, and have come to the knowledge of the true God, while the Jews remain a dispersed people among all nations: consequently they can lay no claim to this light rising upon them to enlighten the Gentile nations.

Levi and the Rabbies have attempted, and a miserable attempt it is, to define the whole of this chapter agreeably to their sensual passions and appetites. Thus they say, "the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah, shall bring gold and frankincense, the flocks of Kedar, and the rams of Nabaioth shall be brought to them, the sons of the strangers are to build up their walls"—while the Jews are to be idle gentlemen, and lookers on, blessing themselves that they are not sweating beneath a scorching sun.—Alas, ye Rabbies, what miserable interpreters are ye! but they have not attended to this circumstance, viz. that if one part of the prophecy is to be understood agreeably to the letter, every other part of the same prophecy must be understood literally also, which cannot be the case in this prophecy, for the 19th verse says, "The sun shall be no more thy light by day: neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee." Now, if by the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah, the flocks of Kedar, and the rams of Nabaioth, and the sons of the strangers who are to build up their walls, we are to understand that these things are to be literally understood; then by the same rule we must necessarily understand, that the same literal sense is to be understood in every other part of the same prophecy. And then, in such case, the sun must no more give light to them by day, nor the moon by night, for it is absurd to tell us that this metaphorical passage refers to the prosperity of the Jews, when every other part of the prophecy is by them literally understood. Again, verse 20. it certainly does not refer to the Jews, for a very few years after the delivery of this prophecy, their sun, which they understand to mean their national privileges, went down, when they were carried captive, and made to bow the knee to the idols of Babylon. Neither did their sun ever rise again, for at the return from the captivity, they were governed by strangers, the Herodians and Asmoneans. The glory of the first temple, the Urim and Thummim, the Shechinah and visible communication never returned, and finally they were dispersed over the face of the earth. How then can these writers have confidence to tell the world, that the words, "thy sun shall no more go down," have reference to the endless government of the Jewish nation?

But should they continue to say that this has reference to the future happiness of the Jewish nation, this view of the prophecy is altogether inconsistent

with the express words of the prophet, as above, for the fact proves that this prophecy refers to the coming of Christ, the true Messiah, to that light which was to enlighten every man: "The Gentiles have come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising." From which it must appear, that this prophecy has no reference to the future temporal state of the Jews, but to the calling of the Gentile nations to the knowledge of the true God.

But "Strangers (say they) are to stand up and feed their flocks, the sons of the alien are to be their vine-dressers," while they are to be called the priests of the Lord—that they "are not to be engaged in such servile services, but in the mediation of the law of God, and in his service as priests, and being thus at leisure, they are to eat the riches of the Gentiles." Surely this is too absurd for remark, the thinking and rational Jew must be ashamed of it. If these infatuated writers had recollected that in Great Britain, which is twice as large as the land of Canaan, there are but a few thousands of priests, and it is found they are too numerous, though the flock is five times as large as the whole population of the Jews in all the world, what then is to become of a whole nation, of millions of priests, who are to have nothing to do but to play at religion, and priest preach to priest? If on the other hand, they suppose that the country is to be stocked with laborious foreigners, and that every priest is to have a congregation, what must be the extent of a country capable of holding a population to employ such a numerous conclave? the whole earth would not be large enough. For if to each priest were allotted five hundred persons, as a congregation, and the number of priests were estimated at two millions only, then these would be sufficient for one thousand millions of people, being far more than the population of the whole world. Alas ye Rabbies, how have ye for ages mistaken the obvious meaning of the sacred scriptures! how long will ye continue to blow up the ignorant among you with vanity? with the vain hope of being the lords of the creation, trees of the Lord's planting, while your views go no farther than the gratification of the sensual appetite, to have the riches of the Gentiles, "the gold and frankincense of Midian and Ephah, the flocks of Kedar, and the rams of Nabaioth,"—to be "clothed in purple and fine linen," and to "fare sumptuously every day;" while all the world, as you say, are to come "bending and bowing themselves down at the soles of your feet."

Levi thus concludes this dissertation by saying—"from the explanation here given of this prophecy, the following principles are obvious: 1st, God will take vengeance on the different nations; 2nd, all the tribes of the nation will be gathered together; 3d, the different nations of the earth will be subject to



Israel—now as none of these important events took place at their return from Babylon, as is clear from all history both sacred and profane; and as it is clear that they were not accomplished at the time, nor in the person of Jesus, it is manifest that he could not be the Messiah, and that these great and glorious promises remain yet to be fulfilled in the latter times, when the true Messiah will come to redeem the nation"—This writer has very judiciously said, "from the explanation here given of this prophecy, the following principles are obvious"—But as it is proved above agreeably to the original, the obvious meaning of the words of the prophet, that no such events were to take place at the return from

the Babylonish captivity; and as the fact is proved in profane history, even in the histories of all nations, that when Christ came, the Gentile nations were called from idolatry to the worship of the true God, that even Asia, Africa, and Europe, received the gospel; agreeably to the express words of the prophet in the third verse, viz. *And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.* It is incontrovertible evidence that this prophecy was accomplished in the person of the true Messiah, the Redeemer of man, the Lord Jesus Christ, and that the Jews have no foundation whereon to rest their hopes, that the Messiah is yet to come.

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## Supplementary Additions.

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*Having in the foregoing pages given a full account of the various systems of religion prevailing, or which have prevailed in the world, at least so far as they are known; we shall now add some interesting documents not to be found in the former editions; these, our readers will doubtless consider as contributing very essentially to the utility and value of the work.—Indeed, it must be observed, that since its first publication a number of new sects of religious professors have arisen, of which a clear account will be found in the present edition, and in no other.*

*The dissertation on "CHRIST, THE TRUE MESSIAH," is also new, for which we are indebted to Mr. John Bellamy, the author of Biblical Criticism, &c.*

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## OF THE BIBLE, AND THE TRANSLATIONS THEREOF;

*Especially of the present English Translation.*

AS it is of the utmost importance to every professor of that religion which is founded on the Bible, that the Bible itself should not only be well understood by him, but that its authority as a work communicated by inspiration from heaven should be well ascertained, and moreover that the authenticity of such copies of it as are now procurable, and the correctness of those translations from such copies, as are usually read and appealed to by us should be established, we have thought it might be proper to offer an inquiry of some length into these latter particulars, not less for the use of the biblical student, than for the satisfaction of general readers.

Of the authority of the Bible, as received by inspiration from God, we shall at present say nothing, presuming it is fully admitted by the reader; and being aware that the necessary proofs requisite to do this subject tolerable justice, would extend these summary hints to an inconvenient length,

### *Of the original writers of the Bible.*

It is very credible, that the patriarch Abraham, to go no higher into antiquity, possessed and brought away, what information the books, or records, of his original country could communicate. For our own part, we do not know that we should say any thing improbable, if we considered Noah himself as practising the art of writing; but, as great doubts have been entertained, whether this art be more ancient than the intercourse of Moses with the Divinity on Mount Horeb, we are unwilling to be thought too sanguine, or too overweening on this subject.

We think the remarks "on the nature of seals," are determinate for the nature of the seal of Judah, Gen. xxxviii. that it contained his name, or appropriate mark, engraved on it. We assume this as fact. But we think we discern traces of a still more early employment of this noble art, in the days of

Abraham. We read, Gen. xiv. 17. a passage which has all the air of an abridgement of a title deed, or conveyance of an estate, which indeed is its import. "And the 1. field of Ephron, 2. which was in Machpelah, 3. which was before Mamre, 4. the field, 5. and the cave which was therein, 6. and all the trees in the field, 7. that were in all the borders thereof round about, 8. were made sure to Abraham, 9. for a possession, 10. in the presence of the children of Heth, 11. before all that went in at the gate of his city." A modern attorney would desire no more than the introduction of a few phrases, to make a deed of many skin from this passage; and the whole history of this purchase and payment, strikes us, as being not only according to the local usages of the country, in the present day, but also so minutely described, that we scarce think it would have been so amply, and even punctiliously, inserted into an epitomised history of the times, had not the original laid before the writer; who, finding himself able to communicate this ancient document to his readers, embraced with pleasure the opportunity of abridging it.

If this be admitted as an instance of the art of writing, and of such an art being practised in the days of Abraham, we may justly consider, whether that patriarch could be the first possessor of it? we think not: and if, as the Rabbins say, Abraham himself learned of Shem, and they say decidedly, that "Isaac went to Shem's school," we think we may hesitate before we deny the possibility, at least, that Shem had preserved a history of former events, which history he communicated to Abraham, from whence it descended to Isaac, to Jacob, to Levi, to Moses. We have sometimes gone so far as to suppose we discerned a difference of style between the early parts of the book of Genesis, and the original writings of Moses; but we say no more on this subject; we merely mention this by the bye.

We do not see that any injury is done to the just arguments on behalf of the inspiration of scripture, if we suppose that Shem wrote the early history of the world; that Abraham wrote what concerned himself; Jacob what concerned himself, &c. and that, at length, Moses compiled, arranged, and edited a copy of the holy works extant in his time. We shall see that a procedure perfectly analogous to this was conducted by Ezra in after times; on whose edition of holy scripture our faith now rests, as it rests in like manner on the prior edition of Moses, if he was the editor of some parts; or, on his authority, if he was the writer of the whole.

Accepting Moses as the writer of the Pentateuch, we may nevertheless consider Joshua as adding some small matters to it, such as the history of the death of Moses, &c. and Ezra in later times, as adding some other small matters to it, such as, various minor

observations, changes of names which had happened during a lapse of many ages, particular directions where such or such objects were situated, &c. for the benefit of his readers; and let us say, for the benefit of remote posterity.

When we come to the days of Moses, we have clear evidence of written documents being composed, purposely to deliver down to posterity the history of past events. Moses not only was willing to write, but he is specifically directed to write, by way of record, and to take special care for the preservation of those records, by placing them in the most sacred of the national repositories; and under the immediate care of those most intimately concerned in their preservation.

We find this custom of composing Public Records was continued in after-ages in Israel; under the Judges, under the Kings, and when the schism took place between Israel and Judah, each of those kingdoms preserved copies of the writings esteemed sacred, whether historical or devotional. We have, indeed, reason to be thankful, that beside the Jewish copy of the Pentateuch, the Samaritans have preserved their copy also, which if it be, as many learned men suppose, written in the truly ancient Hebrew character, is so much the more valuable, as it has had less risk and less occasion of error, than a copy transcribed into another dialect.

But this is not the only use which we think should be made of this circumstance: we ought to recollect the natural effects of party, in matters of religion, especially when heightened by political rancour; we may be sure that the Samaritans would suffer no alterations to be made in their copies by any authority from the Jewish governors, and the Jews, we well know, would have hardly received even a palpable truth from "that foolish people which dwelt in Samaria."

Wherefore, when we find the copies preserved by these two people generally correspondent, and differing only in some few minor matters, we ought to admire the providence of God, which has thus "made even the wrath of man to praise him," by transmitting more than one copy of this leading portion of holy writ, in a manner more certain, and less liable to doubt, or collusion, or equivocation, than if a single copy had come through the hands of one set of friends only, or had been preserved only by those whose unsupported testimony might have been suspected of undue partiality, or of improper bias.

We find the kings of Judah attentive to the arrangement of their sacred code in after-ages; David no doubt, authenticated the books of the prophet Samuel, and we read that Hezekiah employed several persons to collect and arrange the Proverbs of Solomon, and even to add to them, others which

that prince had left behind him. It is usually understood, that the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, were added under Hezekiah; also the book of Job, perhaps, though others think Isaiah.

The prophecies of Jeremiah were public; many of them were read to all the people, and before the king, so that copies could not be rare; the same may be said of most of the minor prophets; and in short, of all that were near to the days of Nehemiah and Ezra.

It is very natural to suppose that those chiefs of the Jewish people, after their return from captivity, would do their utmost to collect, preserve, and maintain the dignity, of all the writings of their sacred code; and indeed, excepting the prophet Malachi, we may confidently consider Ezra, as not only collecting, but collating the copies of former writings, and composing additions to the historical narrations; not in the books themselves, withheld perhaps, by their prior sanctity, but in that separate history which we call the Chronicles.

Here we ought to make a pause; because here our faith rests on Ezra's edition: and I doubt not that this "scribe, well instructed in the law," had not only divine guidance, but good reasons too, for what he did, and for his manner of doing it.

I suspect that we have so many instances of Ezra's modesty, as we have marginal readings in our Hebrew Bibles; which in all amount to 840.—These occur in various places of the works extant before Ezra; but there are none in the prophet Malachi, who has been supposed to be Ezra himself; if so, the reason for this exemption from various readings is evident.

From the time of Ezra, the Hebrew canon was esteemed as concluded; but between the times of Ezra and Christ, the books of the Jews became objects of enquiry to neighbouring nations; and translations of them during this interval, being undertaken by those whose language we also study, these translations become very important to us: who by their means have additional sanction to the articles of our enquiry, and additional means of answering the purposes to which our enquiry is directed.

### *Translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.*

The first translation in order of time, and indeed in point of importance to us, is that Greek version usually called the *Septuagint*.

The Chaldee translations come next in order: they are not so much translations as paraphrases.

The Syriac translation has been, by some, referred to the time of Solomon; by others to the time of Abgarus, king of Edessa; this is certainly more probable, but is not universally admitted. It un-

questionably is ancient; and Dr. Prideaux thinks, it was made within the first century of A. D. and that it is the best of all translations.

Latin translations do not date before the introduction of Christianity into Rome.

We are now to add to our consideration, beside the Hebrew copies of the Old Testament, the several books which compose the New Testament; these were studied, copied, and translated, together with the Hebrew scriptures, by Christians, while the Jews studied and copied only those which contained the principles of their ancient system.

### *Jewish labours on Hebrew copies.*

The attention of the Jews was by no means confined to writing copies of the holy word; they made almost incredible exertions to preserve the genuineness and integrity of the text.

This produced what has been termed the *Masora*, the most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature, of minute and persevering labour.—The persons employed in it, and who afterwards received from it the name of *Masorites*, were Jewish literati, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian æra. With a reverential, not to say superstitious, attention, of which history does not furnish an instance to be urged in comparison with it, they counted all the verses, words, and letters, of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of those twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all its subdivisions.—“The matter of the *Masora*,” says Mr. Lewis, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, vol. iv. p. 156, “consists in critical remarks upon the verses, words, letters, and vowel points of the Hebrew text. The *Masorets* were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses, and marked the number of the verses, and of the words and letters in each verse; the verses where they thought there was something forgot; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they thought superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different readings; the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; the number of words that are printed above; which letters are pronounced, and which are turned upside down; and such as hang perpendicular; they took the number of each: it was they, in short, who invented the vowel points, the accents, and made divers critical remarks upon the punctuation, and abundance of other things of equal importance.

“A great part of the labour of these Jewish doctors consisted in counting the letters of the Hebrew



of Michaelis in 1720. A critical edition was published by Raphael Chajim Basila, a Jew in Mantua, in four parts, 1742—1744.

The most celebrated edition of the Hebrew with a Latin translation, was that of Sebastian Munster. The first volume of the first edition was printed in 1534, the second volume in 1535; the second edition was printed in 1546. It was the first Latin translation by any of the separatists from the see of Rome. Santes Paginus was the first of the Catholics who made an entirely new Latin version. It was published at Lyons, in 1528, and has often been republished. That it is an accurate and faithful translation, all acknowledge,—that the Latinity is barbarous, cannot be denied; but, as it was the author's plan, to frame a verbal translation, in the strictest and most literal sense of that word, its supposed barbarism was unavoidable, and cannot, therefore, be imputed to it, as a fault. The celebrated edition of the Rev. Charles Francis Houbigant, of the oratory, was published in four volumes folio, with a Latin version and prolegomena, at Paris, in 1753. The prolegomena and the Latin version have been printed separately. The merit of this edition is celebrated by all, who are not advocates for the Masora. By them it is spoken of in the harshest terms. Several manuscripts were occasionally consulted by the author: but it is evident, that he did not collate any one manuscript throughout. Prior to Houbigant's edition, was that of Reinecius, at Liepsic, in 1725, reprinted there in 1739. A new edition of it was printed in 1793, under the inspection of Dr. Doederlein, and Professor Meisner. It contains the most important of the various readings collected by Dr. Kennicott and De Rossi, printed under the text. For the purpose of common use, it is an excellent edition, and supplies the want of the splendid but expensive editions and collations, of Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi.

Those who extend their biblical researches into Rabbinism, are recommended by the learned in this branch of biblical literature, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of Rabbi Moses, published at Amsterdam, in four volumes folio, in 1721—1727, which entirely superseded the *Biblia Rabbinica* of Bomberg and Buxtorf. The purchasers of it should see, that the copy offered to them contains the treatise of the Rabbi Abdias Sporno, de *Scopo Legis*, which, in the copies designed for sale to Christians, is generally omitted.

The reader will perceive, that the Hebrew language, though lost as a spoken language among the Jews, yet has been cultivated among them by their men of learning: while the Christians, under all the disadvantages of receiving the principles of this language from Jewish instructors, have laboured with

great assiduity, in acquiring a competent acquaintance with it, and even a deep knowledge of its powers. They have also been the first to collate MSS. and to apply general learning to sacred literature: both these principles are honourable to their skill and industry; but both may be carried too far, if they should be substituted for accurate understanding of the holy language itself, and correct attention to its peculiarities, properties, and idioms.

But while we recommend strongly the closest attention to the Hebrew language itself, we admit frankly, that very great light has been obtained from its sister dialects, of which the Chaldee is one, and the Arabic is another, which cannot be too highly prized. The Jews despise this Arabic dialect, but the disadvantage of despising it is to themselves.

The reader may now form a tolerable idea of the state of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Old Testament: we are next to direct our attention to the Scriptures of the New Testament, which are written in Greek.

### *Of the present state of the Greek Manuscripts.*

The Greek manuscripts, according to Wetstein's account, are written either on parchment (or vellum) or on paper. The parchment or vellum is either purple-coloured, or of its natural colour; and either thin or thick. The paper is either silken, or of the common sort; and its superficies are either glazed, or of the ordinary roughness. The letters are either capital (generally called uncials) or small. The capital letters are either unadorned and simple, and the strokes of them very thin and straight; or they are of a thicker kind, uneven and angular. Some of them are supported on something like a base, others are ornamented, or rather burthened, with a top. Letters of the first description are of the kind generally found on the ancient monuments of Greece; those of the last resemble the paintings of half barbarous times. Manuscripts, therefore, written in the first kind of letter, are generally supposed to be of the sixth century, at the latest; those written in the second kind of letter are generally supposed to be of the tenth century. The manuscripts written in the small letters are of a still later age. But even in the earliest manuscripts some words are abbreviated. At the beginning of a new book, the four or five first lines are often written in vermillion. There are very few manuscripts of the entire New Testament. The greater part contain the gospels only; very few have the Apocalypse.

The curious and extensive collations, which have been made of manuscripts within this century, have shewn, that certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other, and that their text is distinguished from others by characteristic marks. This has enabled

the writers on this subject to arrange them under certain general classes. They have observed, that, as different countries had different versions, according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as the versions, generally speaking, were made from the manuscripts in common use. Pursuing this idea, they have supposed four principal exemplars: 1st, the western exemplar, or that used in the countries where the Latin language was spoken; with this the Latin version coincides: 2d, the Alexandrine exemplar; with this the quotations of Origen coincide: 3d, the Edessene exemplar, from which the Syriac version was made: and 4th, the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan exemplar: the greatest number of manuscripts written by the monks on mount Athos, the Moscow manuscripts, the Slavonian or Russian versions, and the quotations of St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, bishop of Bulgaria, are referrible to this edition. The readings of this exemplar are remarkably different from those of the other exemplars; between which a striking coincidence appears. A reading supported by all three, of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading is sometimes found only in the fourth.

From the coincidence observed between many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate, or some other Latin translation, a suspicion arose in the minds of several writers of eminence, that the Greek text had been assimilated throughout, to the Latin. This seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus; but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century; so that the charge of Latinizing the manuscripts did not, in his notion of it, extend to the original writers of the manuscripts, or, as they are called, the writers *a primâ manu*, but affected only the subsequent interpolators, or, as they are called, the writers *a secundâ manu*. Father Simon and Mill adopted and extended this accusation; and it was urged by Wetstein with his usual vehemence and ability, so that it came to be generally received. Bengel expressed some doubts of it; and Semler formally called it in question. He was followed by Griesbach and Woide, and finally brought over Michaelis, who, in the first edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, had taken part with the accusers; but in the fourth edition of the same work, with a candour of which there are too few examples, he declared himself persuaded that the charge was unfounded, and totally abandoned his first opinion.

Besides the manuscripts which contain whole books of the New Testament, other manuscripts have been consulted; among these are the *Lecti-onaria*, or collections of detached parts of the New Testament, appointed to be read in the public service of the church. These are distinguished into

the *Evangelistarium*, or lessons from the gospels, and the *Apostolos*, or lessons from the acts and epistles. The quotations from the New Testament, in the works of the ancients, have also been consulted.

#### *Principal Greek Manuscripts now extant.*

These are the Codex Alexandrinus, in the British Museum; the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or Codex Bezae, and the Codex Vaticanus. The Codex Alexandrinus consists of four volumes; the three first of them contain the Old Testament; the fourth the New Testament, together with the first epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezae, is a Greek and Latin manuscript of the four gospels, and the Acts of the apostles. The Codex Vaticanus, contained, originally, the whole Greek Bible.

The respective ages of these venerable manuscripts have been a subject of great controversy, and have employed the ingenuity and learning of several biblical writers of great renown. After a profound investigation of the subject, Dr. Woide fixes the age of the Codex Alexandrinus between the middle and the end of the fourth century; after a similar investigation, Dr. Kipling fixes the age of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezae, at the second century; but Mr. Herbert Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 708—715, seems to prove demonstratively, that it was not written earlier than the fifth century. Montfaucon and Blanchini refer the Codex Vaticanus to the fifth century. In 1786, a *fac-simile* edition of the New Testament in the Codex Alexandrinus was published in London, at the expence of the University of Oxford, by Dr. Woide. In 1793, a *fac-simile* edition of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezae, was published at Cambridge, at the expence of the University, by Dr. Kipling. These editions exhibit their respective prototypes, page for page, line for line, word for word, contraction for contraction, rasure for rasure, to a degree of similarity hardly credible. The types were cast for the purpose, in alphabets of various forms, that they might be varied with the manuscript, and represent it more exactly.

#### *Polyglott editions of the Bible.*

The first Polyglott is that of Complutum, or Alcalá. It is divided into six parts, and comprised in four volumes folio. It has the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns; the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, is at the bottom of the page, and the margin is filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals: the fourth volume

contains the Greek Testament, with no other translation than the Latin. It was begun in 1502, the impression was printed off in 1517, and it was published in 1522. The expence of the work, which amounted (it is said) to 50,000 ducats, was wholly paid by Cardinal Ximenes, of Spain.

It is certain, that Cardinal Ximenes spared no expence in collecting manuscripts; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. In 1784, when Professor Birch was engaged in his edition of the Bible, Professor Moldenhawer went to Alcalá, for the purpose of discovering the manuscripts used in the Ximenes Polyglott. After much inquiry, he discovered, that about thirty-five years before, they had been sold to a rocket-maker, of the name of Torio; and the receipt given to him for his purchase was produced!! The Complutensian Polyglott was followed and excelled by the Polyglott of Antwerp, printed in that city in 1569—1572, in eight volumes folio, under the direction of Arias Montanus. It contains, besides the whole of the Complutensian edition, a Chaldee paraphrase on part of the Old Testament, which Cardinal Ximenes, having particular reasons for not publishing it, had deposited in the Theological Library at Complutum. The New Testament has the Syriac version, and the Latin translation of Santes Pagninus, as reformed by Arias Montanus. Less beautiful, but more accurate, and comprehending more than any of the three preceding Polyglotts, is the Polyglott of London, printed in 1653—1657, in six volumes, to which the Lexicon Heptaglotton of Castell, in two volumes folio, is usually added. Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester, was the editor of it. Twelve copies of it were printed on large paper: one, of great beauty, is in the library of St. Paul's cathedral; another was in that of the Count de Lauraguais; another is in the library of St. John's College at Cambridge. It was published by subscription, and is said to be the first book printed in that manner in England. Dr. Walton had leave from the protector to import his paper duty free.

#### *Greek editions of the New Testament.*

The first in point of time, was that of Erasmus, with a new Latin translation. He published five editions of it, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The edition of 1519 is most esteemed.

The next edition of the New Testament in Greek, is that inserted in the Complutensian Polyglott. The learned agree in wishing the editors had described, or, at least, specified the manuscripts they made use of. The editors speak highly of them; but this was, when the number of known

manuscripts was small, and manuscript criticism was in its infancy; so that, without impeaching either their candour or their judgment, their assertions, in this respect, must be understood with much limitation. It has been charged on them, that they sometimes altered the Greek text, without the authority of a single manuscript, to make it conform to the Latin. Against this charge they have been defended by Goeze, and, to a certain extent, by Griesbach.

The editions of Robert Stephens are next to be considered. For exquisite beauty and delicacy of type, elegance and proper disposition of contractions, smoothness and softness of paper, liquid clearness of ink, and evenness of lines and letters, they have never been surpassed; and, in the opinion of many, never equalled. There are four editions of them published by himself, in 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551. His son published a fifth edition in 1569. The third of these is in folio, and has the readings of sixteen manuscripts, in the margin.—The two first are in 16<sup>mo</sup>, and of those, the first (that in 1546) is the most correct.

The first edition of Beza was printed in 1565; he principally follows in it the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1582, 1589, 1598. They do not contain, every where, the same text. In his choice of readings he is accused of being influenced by his Calvinism.

The celebrated edition of the Elzevirs was first printed at Leyden, in 1624. It was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows, generally, the edition of Beza. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was generally followed in all the subsequent editions. It has deservedly, therefore, obtained the appellation of *Editio recepta*. The editors of it are unknown.

#### *Editions with various readings.*

The celebrated edition of the Rev. John Mill was published at Oxford in 1707, after an assiduous labour of thirty years. He survived the publication of it only fourteen days. He inserted in his edition all the collections of various readings, which had been made before his time; he collated several original editions; procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated; and, in many instances, added readings from the ancient versions, and from the quotations of them in the works of the ancient fathers. The whole of the various readings collected by him, are said, without any improbability, to amount to 30,000. He has enriched his work with most learned prolegomena,



and a clear and accurate description of his manuscripts. He took the third edition of Stephens for his text.

The edition of John Albert Bengel, abbot of Alspirspack, in the duchy of Wurtemberg, was published in 1734. He prefixed to it his "*Introductio in Crisin Novi Testamenti*;" and subjoined to it his "*Apparatus Criticus & Epilogus*." He altered the text, where he thought it might be improved; but, except in the Apocalypse, he studiously avoided inserting in the text any reading, which was not in some printed edition. Under the text he placed some select readings, reserving the whole collection of various readings, and his own sentiments upon them, for his *Apparatus Criticus*.

All former editions of the Greek Testament were surpassed by that of John James Weistein: it was published in two volumes folio, in 1751, at Amsterdam. He adopted for his text the *editio recepta* of the Elzevirs. His collection of various readings far surpasses that of Mill or Bengel. His notes are particularly valuable, for the copious extracts he has made from the Rabbinical writers. These greatly serve to explain the idiom and turn of expression used by the Apostolic writers and Evangelists.

Dr. John James Griesbach, whose edition of the New Testament was first published in 1775—1777, in two volumes octavo, at Halle. In the year 1793, the first volume was reprinted, under the patronage, and at the expence of his grace the duke of Grafton. It has extracts from two hundred manuscripts, in addition to those quoted in the former edition. He has collated all the Latin versions published by Sabatier and Blanchini. His object is to give a select and choice collection of the various readings, produced by Mill, Bengel, and Weistein, and of his own extracts, omitting all such as are trifling in themselves, supported by little authority, or evidently only errata.

There are many other respectable editions of the Greek Testament; but those we have mentioned are confessedly the principal. The edition by Erasmus, with a slight intermixture of the edition in the Complutensian Polyglott, are the principal editions, from which almost all the subsequent editions have been taken.

Every person, to whom the sacred writings are dear, must wish them edited in the most perfect manner. It would reflect disgrace on the learned of the Christian world, that any Pagan author should be published in a more perfect manner than the word of God.

An Englishman must view with pleasure the useful and magnificent exertions of his countrymen in this respect. Bishop Walton's Polyglott ranks first in that noble and costly class of publications; fo-

reign countries can shew nothing equal to Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Bible, or similar either to Dr. Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, or Dr. Kipling's edition of the Codex Bezae; and in the whole republic of letters, nothing is now so impatiently expected, as the completion of Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint, of which the books of Genesis and of Exodus are published.

Where the word of God is concerned, the greatest moderation should be used; and care should be taken, that the assertions made, are expressed accurately, and in such terms as prevent improper conclusions being drawn from them.

Where the number of the various readings is mentioned before persons, to whom the subject is new, or in any work likely to have a general circulation, it should be added, that their importance is rather of a literary than a religious kind; and that, whether considered collectively or individually, they do not affect the genuineness of the text, or the substance of its history or doctrine. The improvements, which proposed alterations are thought to make, should not be exaggerated; it should be remarked, that alterations of that description are confessedly few; and that none of them affect the gospel as a history, as a rule of faith, or as a body of morality. Conjectural emendations should almost always be resisted.

We proceed now to a subject more particularly interesting to us as Britons, which is, the history of our national translations; this has already engaged the attention of the learned, by whose labours we shall profit on this subject, as we have done on the foregoing.

### *English translations of the Bible.*

It would be very difficult to ascertain every English translator, or when the Scriptures were first translated into the language of this country:—that the Saxons read the Bible in their own language, is an opinion well authenticated; some parts at least having been translated by Adelm, bishop of Sherborne, Eadfrid (or Ecbert) bishop of Lindisferne, the venerable Bede, and king Alfred. Ælfric, abbot of Malmesbury, translated the Pentateuch, Judges, and Job, which were printed in the year 1699. And the four gospels were printed from an ancient MS. now in the Bodleian library, 1571, under the care of the martyrologist John Fox, assisted and encouraged by Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. The title is, "The Gospels of the Four Evangelists, translated in the olde Saxons-tyme out of Latin, into the vulgare toung of the Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same. At London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1571. *Cum privilegio regie majestatis*

*per deconium.*" And several parts of the scriptures had been from time to time translated by different persons; proofs of which, if not the very translations themselves, exist in different libraries of this kingdom. In particular, in the year 1349, the Psalms, translated by Richard Rolle, a hermit of Hampole in Yorkshire: and in the Harleian and the king's libraries, are specimens of other and different versions: and soon afterwards John Wiclif translated the New Testament.

John Wiclif was born about the beginning of the fourteenth century, at Wiclif, in Yorkshire. Being bred to learning, he was sent to Queen's College, Oxford, and admitted a commoner; but soon after removed to Merton College, where he was a probationer, but not a fellow. In 1356, he is said to have written a tract "Of the Last Age;" in which he exposed the many corrupt ways used to obtain ecclesiastical benefices. He gained considerable reputation by defending the interest of the University against the encroachments of the begging friars, and was chosen warden of Baliol-hall, and presented to the rectory of Fyldingham in Lincolnshire, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Lotgarshall. December 14, 1365, he was nominated warden of Canterbury College, incorporated into Christ Church in Oxford, by archbishop Islip the founder; but at the death of the archbishop, he, with three secular fellows, were, in 1367, ejected from thence, and on appeal the sentence was confirmed by the pope's bull in 1370. After his ejection, he read lectures in divinity in that University with such applause, that almost every thing he said was received as an oracle. In 1374, king Edward III. nominated him, with the bishop of Bangor and others, to be his ambassador to treat with the pope's nuncios concerning the provisions of ecclesiastical benefices here in England, claimed by the pope, and long complained of by our parliament as very injurious to the rights of the English church. As a reward for his faithfulness in executing this commission, which was held at Bruges, the king gave him the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the county of Gloucester, and then in the diocese of Worcester (Gloucester was elevated into a bishopric by king Henry VIII.) with the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. But having shewed himself a defender of the king's supremacy, and freely exposed the artifices and encroachments of the papal power, nineteen articles of accusation were extracted from his lectures and sermons, and transmitted to the pope (Gregory XI.) who, on the 21st of May, 1377, dispatched to Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, bishop of London, three bulls; by the first of which, these prelates were directed to cause John Wiclif to be apprehended, imprisoned, and put in irons: this gave the doctor a great deal of trouble,

and would, in all probability, have ended in his death, if he had not been protected by the duke of Lancaster, uncle to Richard II. who was then king.—It seems that about this time he set about translating the whole Bible in English from the Latin; probably not being sufficiently skilled in Hebrew and Greek to translate from the original tongues. In 1383, he was seized with a palsy, which, however, did not prevent his attending the duties of his function till the 28th of December 1384, when he was again attacked, and died the 31th of the same month.—There are several copies of this translation of the New Testament in different libraries, both public and private, though with some degree of variation. In the year 1731, the New Testament was printed in folio, under the care of the Rev. John Lewis, minister of Margate, and chaplain to Lord Malton, with a glossary.

In the year 1526, William Tyndal printed the first edition of his New Testament.

William Tyndal, or Tindale, or Tyndall, otherwise Hitchens, was born somewhere in Wales; and being bred to learning, was placed in Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, where now remains an original picture of him. Here he took his degrees, and read lectures privately in divinity to several of the students of that hall, and fellows of the adjoining college. His manners and conversation, says Fox, in his "Acts and Monument," were such, that all who knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of a most virtuous disposition, and life unspotted. Wood says, he was expelled for his Lutheran tenets; and whether he took any degree in that University does not appear.

From Oxford he removed to Cambridge, whence, after some stay, he went to Little Sudbury, in Gloucestershire, where he was entertained in the family of Sir John Welch, as tutor to his children. But being suspected of heresy by the neighbouring clergy, with whom he had sometimes disputes about religion, and being by them threatened and persecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, he, with the consent of Sir John, left the family, and went to London, where he for some time preached in the church of St. Dunstan's in the west. Here he obtained the recommendation of Sir Henry Guildford, master of the horse, to Dr. Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of London, to whom he presented an oration of Isocrates, translated by himself out of the Greek, with an epistle to the bishop, which he wrote by the advice of Sir Henry. But the bishop's answer was, that his house was full; that he had more than he could provide for; and advised him to seek out in London, where he could not find of employment. Not being able to obtain any, he was supported by Mr. Humphry Monmouth, a draper and alderman of London, a favourer of Luther's opinions; with whom he abode half a year,

behaving in the most sober and temperate manner; studying night and day, and bending his thoughts towards the translation of the New Testament into English. But being sensible of the hazard he would run by printing it in England, he resolved to go into Germany, as a place of greater security and more liberty. And this he was better enabled to do by the assistance of his friend Mr. Monmouth, who gave him an annuity of ten pounds a year, then a sufficient maintenance for a single man, and as much as Tyndal desired. At his first leaving England, he went as far as Saxony, where he conferred with Luther, and other eminent reformers. From thence he returned, and settled at Antwerp, where was at that time a considerable factory of English merchants, many of which were zealous professors of Luther's doctrine. Here he immediately set himself about his favourite work, the English translation of the New Testament, in which he had the assistance of John Fry, (or Frith) and a friar named William Roye, who wrote for him, and helped him to compare the texts together; and in the year 1526, it was printed in octavo without a name, with an epistle at the end, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. This edition is very scarce; for soon after its first appearance, the bishop of London, being at Antwerp, desired Augustus Packington, an English merchant, to buy up all the copies that remained unsold; and on the bishop's return, they with many other books, were burned at Paul's Cross, says Fox. This, Dr. Jortin, in his life of Erasmus, thinks was done by the bishop to serve Tyndal; however that be, the sale of these copies put a good sum of money into Tyndal's pocket, and enabled him to prepare another edition for the press more correct than the former, which however was not printed till 1534, he being probably hindered by his avocations as clerk to the English merchants, in which capacity he was received on his first going to Antwerp.

From the first edition 5000 copies were reprinted by the Dutch printers in 1527, 1528, and in 1530; but all these editions are represented to be exceedingly incorrect. In 1534, the Dutch printed a fifth edition, corrected by George Joye, who not only corrected the typographical errors, but ventured to alter, and amend as he thought, the translation; and soon after the second edition by Tyndal himself appeared, in which he complains of Joye's forestalling him, and altering his translation.

George Joye, who corrected the Dutch edition of Tyndal's New Testament in 1534, (for this he was paid, according to his own account, 3 stivers, or 4½d. per sheet, receiving only 14s. Flemish for the whole), was an English refugee, born in Bedfordshire, and educated in Peter-house, Cambridge,

where he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1512, and that of Master in 1527, in which year also he was admitted fellow; but being accused of heresy, he fled to Strasburg. He published a translation of Isaiah in 1531; the Psalter, and Jeremiah, with the song of Moses in 1534. In the reign of king Edward VI. he returned to England, and died in his native country in the year 1553.

Besides purchasing the copies of Tyndal at Antwerp, other means were tried: orders and monitions were issued by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, to bring in all the New Testaments translated into the vulgar tongue, that they might be burned, and to prohibit the reading of them.

His brother, John Tyndal, was prosecuted, and sentenced to do penance; his patron, alderman Monmouth, was imprisoned, and almost ruined.

In 1553, king Henry VIII. ordered all the books containing several errors, &c. with the translation of the scriptures corrupted by William Tyndal, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, to be utterly expelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to go abroad among his subjects: a proclamation was issued to the same purpose.

Tyndal's translation of the Pentateuch was printed at Marlborough in Hesse, the year before, and that of Jonah this year. Some are of opinion these were all he translated, and Fox mentions no more; but Hall and Bale, his contemporaries, say, that he likewise translated Joshua, &c. to Nehemiah; which, unless Matthew's be so far a new translation, is most probable. Fuller presumes, that he translated the Old Testament out of the Latin, as his friends allowed him not to have any skill in Hebrew; but in this he might be mistaken. He finished his translation of the Pentateuch in the year 1528; but going by sea to Hamburg, he suffered shipwreck, with the loss of all his books, papers, &c. so that he was obliged to begin the whole again.

Tyndal himself, in a letter to John Frith, written January 1583, says, "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience; nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given to me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws."

It appears however, that the king, in pursuance of his own settled judgment, thinking a great deal of good might come of people's reading the New Testament with reverence, and following of it, commanded the bishops to call to them the best learned



of the two Universities, and to cause a new translation to be made that the people should not be ignorant of God's law: but nothing being done, the people still read and studied Tyndal's; therefore, according to the policy of the times, it was determined to get rid of so dangerous a heretic; and the king and council employed one Henry Phillips, who insinuated himself into the acquaintance of Mr. Tyndal, and Mr. Thomas Pointz, an English merchant, at whose house he lodged: and at a favourable opportunity he got the procurator-general of the emperor's court to seize on Tyndal, by whom he was brought to Vilvorden, or Filforde, about 18 miles from Antwerp; and after being imprisoned a year and a half, notwithstanding letters in his favour from secretary Cromwell and others, to the court at Brussels, he was tried, and none of his reasons in his defence being admitted, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree made in the assembly at Augsburgh, in the year 1536. His friend Mr. Pointz also was for some time kept in prison, but afterwards made his escape. Being brought to the place of execution, he was first strangled, calling out in his last moments, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes!" and then was burned. Thus died William Tyndal, with this testimony to his character given him by the emperor's procurator or attorney-general, though his adversary, that he was "Homo doctus, pius, et bonus;" which Fox translates, a learned, good, and godly man: and others who conversed with him in the castle, reported of him, that "if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust."

The first English Bible, or complete translation of the scriptures printed, was that by Myles Coverdale, the first edition of which bears date 1535, dedicated to king Henry VIII. This edition is printed in folio, and the title, ornamented with an emblematical border cut in wood, is

"Biblia, the Bible; that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and newly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe. M.D.XXXV."

"St. Paul, 2 Thess. iii. Praise for us, that the word of God maie have free passage and be glorified, &c."

"St. Paul, Coloss. iii. Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully in all wisdom, &c."

"Josue i. Let not the boke of this law departe out of thy mouth, but exercise thyselfe therein day and night." A copy is in the British Museum.

In bishop Coverdale's Bible we meet with the following judicious remark, which shews the very respectable knowledge and temper of that great man.

"Now whereas the most famous interpreters of all geve sondrye judgmentes on the texte (so far as it is done by the spiryte of knowledge in the Holye

Gooste) methynke no man shoulde be offended thereat, for they referre theyr doynge in mekenes to the spiryte of trueth in the congregation of God: and sure I am, that there commethe more knowledge and understandinge of the scripture by their sondrye translations, than by all the gloses of our sophistical doctors. For that one interpreteth sonthyng obscurely in one place, the same translateth another (or els he himselfe) more manifestly by a more playne vocable of the same meaning in another place."

More than common care seems to have been taken by Myles Coverdale in the language of his translation: we have some, but they are very few, instances of barbarism, and none which are not authorized by the purest writers of the times in which he wrote. To him and other translators of the scriptures, especially of the present Bible, by the authority of king James, our language owes perhaps more than to all the authors who have written since: and even though some of the expressions may appear uncouth, their fewness renders them not offensive; they are never vulgar, they preserve their ancient simplicity pure and undefiled, and in their circumstance and connexion perhaps but seldom could be exchanged for the better: nor will this opinion be condemned when it is considered, that that elegant writer and learned prelate, bishop Lowth, has constantly used the words where he has not differed from the translation; and whenever amendments have been intended in the language of the scriptures, if we have gained any thing in elegance, we have almost assuredly lost in dignity.

Myles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire, in the reign of king Richard III. or beginning of king Henry VII. about the year 1484, and being educated in the Romish religion, became an Augustine monk. But afterwards embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy orders. He seems little noticed during the reign of Henry VIII.; but soon after the accession of Edward VI. he was one of the first, upon the revival of the church of England, together with Dr. Robert Barnes, that taught the purity of the gospel, and dedicated himself to the service of religion; and in the year 1551 was, on the decease of Dr. John Harman, consecrated bishop of Exeter, being promoted for his singular knowledge in divinity, and his unblemished character. "*Propter singularem sacramentum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos.*"

Under the change of religion in queen Mary's reign, our bishop was, like others, ejected from his see, and thrown into prison; but M. Machabæus, superintendant in Denmark, and related to Coverdale's wife, obtained of Christian, king of Denmark, who also had some knowledge of him, having seen him at his court in Henry VIII.'s time, to intercede with queen Mary in his behalf; which he did with

such perseverance, that after some considerable time, and not without difficulty, he was released, and permitted to go into banishment. Two letters written by Christian to queen Mary on this occasion, are preserved by Fox in his Acts and Monuments.

Coverdale took up his residence principally at Geneva, where he engaged with some Protestant refugees in a new version of the scriptures from the Hebrew and Greek languages with notes, called from the place, The Geneva Bible; and after the death of queen Mary, when the affairs in religion took a different turn, he came back to England, but not immediately, probably because the translation was not then finished, and (says the author of his life in the Biographia Brit.) refused to be restored to his bishopric; but this is hardly reconcilable with the state of his poverty and complaints related by Mr. Strype, who says,

"Old Myles Coverdale, D.D. formerly bishop of Exon, and an exile, famous for translating the Bible into English in the reign of king Henry VIII. and other good services to religion, had been hitherto without any place of preferment, living privately in and about London, and often preaching in the churches there. For this very reverend man, that had so well deserved of religion, our bishop had a great concern; and it troubled him much to see such an one as it were, cast by, without that notice taken of him that was due; and once cried out about it, "I cannot excuse us bishops;" but somewhat, he said, he had to speak for himself, that he had offered him divers things, which nevertheless he thought not meet to accept of.

"This man, notwithstanding his great years, had gotten the plague this year, and recovered, as though God had some more work for him to do in the church before his death. Grindal acquaints the secretary herewith: telling him, that surely it was not well, that father Coverdale, as he styled him, *Qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*; i. e. who was in Christ before us all, should now be in his age without stay of living. And therefore, Landall being void, he recommended him to the secretary for that see, if any competency of living might be made of it, after it had been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent: putting him in mind here, that it would be well if any means might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored. But, I suppose, Coverdale cared not now to enter upon the charge of a bishopric, considering his own age, and his want of strength and activity, required to execute such an office. But, in fine, in the month of February, our bishop collated Coverdale to the parish of S. Magnus, at the bridge foot; and withal, sued to the secretary to obtain the favour of the queen to release him the first-fruits, which came to sixty pounds and upwards. And the venerable man pleaded

himself for this favour to be shewn him, for these reasons, viz. that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away from him (which was upon the death of king Edward); and that he never had pension, annuity, or stipend of it, for ten years now past. And that he was unable either to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the same living; not able to live over a year, and going upon his grave. And lastly, adding these words, that if poor old Myles might be thus provided for, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast. And he enjoyed his request.

The contents of his letter to the archbishop, which will set forth his present condition were,

"That it would please him to join with the bishop of London in suit for him to the queen, that, in favourable consideration, how destitute he had been of a competent living in the realm, ever since his bishopric was violently taken away from him; I being, said he, compelled to resign, and how I never had pension, annuity, or stipend of it, these ten years and upwards; how unable also I am to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the said benefice, going upon my grave, as they say, and not like to live another year; her majesty, at the contemplation of such revered, honourable, and worthy suitors, will most graciously grant me her warrant and discharge for the first-fruits of the said benefice. And as I am bold most humbly to crave your Grace's help herein, so am I fully persuaded, (God willing) to shew myself again as thankful, and in my vocation, during my short time, as fruitful, and as quiet as I can.

"MYL. COV. quond. Exon."

"29th Jan. New Year."

It is to be observed, that many of the first reformers had a great objection to the ecclesiastical habits, and to almost every kind of ceremony; holding them, remnants of popery. The refugees, who settled at Geneva, were particularly tenacious in this respect. The expression, "as quiet as I can," seems to imply that such objections had been made by Coverdale, and some arguments used to prevail on him to conform; to which not consenting, his other merits might not be sufficient to his re-establishment in the church.

"He wrote also in the beginning of February to Cecyl the secretary, to the same import, to be a means for him to the queen, to grant him the first-fruits of the said S. Magnus, which the bishop of London had gently granted him the pastoral office and benefice of. That heretofore (he praised God for it) his honour had ever been his special help and succour in all his rightful suits. And that, if now (that poor old Myles might be provided for) it would please him to obtain this for him, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast. And so



beseeching him to take this his boldness in good part, he committed him and all his to the gracious protection of the Almighty.

"MYL. COV. quond. Eton."

"From London, 6th Feb.

Coverdale wrote a month or six weeks after to the archbishop again, signifying that the Lord Robert Dudley sent him a message, that the queen had granted him his first-fruits. He lived little more than two years after, and died aged 81, living, as he promised the archbishop, quiet, though not coming up to the uniformity required, which had occasioned so much unquietness in others: and perhaps relinquishing his parish before his death. For he was buried not at S. Magnus, but S. Bartholomew.

At the convocation, 1536, probably, the clergy agreed upon a petition to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to grant unto the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue; and that a new translation might be made for that purpose; and soon after were issued injunctions to the clergy by the authority of the king's highness, the seventh article of which commands,

"That every person or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, at this great feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, [Aug. 1.] next coming, provide a booke of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and laye the same in the quire for every man that will look thereon: and shall discourage no man from the reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul; whereby they may better know their duties to God, to the sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy, to the judgment of them that be learned."

The first edition of Matthew's Bible generally known was printed in the year 1537. The title is, in an emblematical frontispiece cut in wood, "The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contained, the Olde and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew."

"Esaye 1. Hearken unto, ye heavens, and thou earth, heere care, for the Lorde speaketh.—M.D.XXXVII."

"Set forth with the king's most gracious lycence."

At the end.

"¶ The Ende of the Newe Testament of the whole Byble."

"¶ To the honour and praise of God was this Byble prynted and fynished in the yere of our Lorde God, a. M.D.XXXVII."

The name of Thomas Matthew is said to have been fictitious, and used by the real editor John Rogers from motives of prudence or fear; for although no clamour was raised against Myles Coverdale for his translation, the name of Tyndal was exceedingly odious to the clergy; and much trouble might reasonably have been expected from an acknowledged republication of his translation.

"None will deny, says Fuller, but that many faults needing amendment are found in the [Tyndal's] translation, which is no wonder to those who consider; first, such an undertaking was not the task for a man, but men. Secondly, no great design is invented and perfected at once. Thirdly, Tyndal, being an exile, wanted many necessary accommodations. Fourthly, his skill in Hebrew was not considerable; yea, generally learning in languages was then but in the infancy thereof. Fifthly, our English tongue was not improved to that expressiveness, wherat at this day it is arrived. However, what he undertook, was to be admired as glorious; what he performed to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself. Yea, Tyndal's pains were useful, had his translation done no other good than to help towards the making of a better; our last translators having in expresse charge from king James to consult the translation of Tyndal."

Matthew's Bible is composed partly from Tyndal's, and partly from Coverdale's translations, with some alterations, taking Tyndal's New Testament, and such parts of the Old as were translated by him, except that the prophecy of Jonah is of Coverdale's translation; neither is Tyndal's prologue prefixed to Jonah, or any other prologue inserted, except to the Romans, in that which is supposed to be the first edition. Sundry alterations are made from Coverdale, and some have been of opinion, that it was a new work undertaken by Coverdale, Tyndal and Rogers, and that the latter translated the Apocrypha; but Mr. Lewis thinks that Coverdale had none to assist him in his translation, and that he was not concerned in that called Matthew's, but only John Rogers, who made a few alterations, but not a new translation.

John Rogers was a native of Lancashire, and educated at Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1525. From thence he was the same year chosen junior canon in Cardinal Wolsey's College (now Christ church), in Oxford, but on the publication of the six articles, he fled to Germany, and was appointed chaplain to the merchants at Antwerp, in whose service he resided some years. Here



falling into company, and conversing with Tyndal, and Coverdale (says Fox), he joined with them in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, (which is entitled, The translation of Thomas Matthew) married, and renounced popery. He was afterwards chosen pastor of a congregation of Protestants at Wittenberg, in Saxony, having attained a knowledge of the language. In the reign of king Edward VI. he came back to England, and was preferred to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's in London. Bishop Ridley likewise gave him a prebend in the church of St. Paul's, and the Dean and Chapter chose him to be reader of the divinity lesson there. Thus he continued till the reign of queen Mary, when, preaching a sermon at St. Paul's, warning the people to guard against popery, he was called before the council, and soon after tried and condemned as an heretic. He was the first martyr who suffered in that reign, being burned at Smithfield, Feb. 4, 1555.

Archbishop Cranmer's Bible was printed in the year 1539, though perhaps first proposed in convocation six years before, but had at that time proved abortive; and now published with a prologue by the archbishop. In this Bible, the translations of Coverdale and Matthew seem to be revised and corrected. The Psalms are those now used in the Liturgy.

In the year 1538, Grafton and Whitchurch had obtained permission of king Henry VIII. to print the Bible at Paris; but when the work was nearly finished, by an order of the Inquisition, dated the 17th of December the same year, the printers were inhibited under canonical pains to proceed; and the whole impression of two thousand five hundred copies was seized and confiscated; but by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, some Englishmen returned to Paris, recovered the presses, types, &c. and brought them to London, where the work was resumed, and a Bible was finished in 1539, the title of which is,

“¶ The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament, truly translated after the verie of the Hebrew and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the sayde tonges.

“¶ Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* 1539.”

This was called Cranmer's Bible, on account of the preface, or prologue, which was written by the archbishop.

Thomas Cranmer was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, in the year 1489. He was educated at Cambridge, admitted a fellow of Jesus College, and made one of the examiners of those who took degrees in divinity. By marrying he lost his fellow-

ship; but his wife dying within a year he was reinstated. The occasion of his preferment was his opinion concerning the king's divorce, “That it might be decided from the Scriptures, by learned men in England, as well as at Rome;” in consequence of which Mr. Cranmer was sent for to court, and made king's chaplain; and writing in favour of the divorce, he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Taunton. In 1550, being sent to Italy, Germany, and France, to discuss the king's marriage, the pope constituted him his plenipotentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales. In 1532, he married again; and on the death of archbishop Warham, was promoted to the see of Canterbury, and consecrated in 1533. In 1545—1546, he procured a repeal of the six articles, the establishment of the communion in both kinds, and a public liturgy, &c. Upon king Edward's death he appeared for lady Jane Gray, for which he was summoned before queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower. In the ensuing parliament he was attainted, and found guilty of high treason.—His treason being pardoned, he was next tried at Oxford as an heretic, and burned on the 21st of March 1555-6, in the 67th year of his age.

There are several editions of archbishop Cranmer's Bible; in particular, one in 1541, under the care of Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and Heath, bishop of Rochester; and another, printed at Roan, at the charge of Richard Carmarden, 1556.

In November 1539, the king appointed lord Cromwell to take especial care and charge, that no manner of person or persons within this his realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand to print any Bible in the English tongue of any manner of volume, during the space of five years next ensuing the date thereof, but only such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said lord Cromwell; and it is not improbable but this might have been done in favour of Taverner's Bible, which appeared at this time: Bale calls it, *Sacrorum recognitio, seu potius a bare revision*; but Mr. Lewis says, that it is neither a bare revision, nor a correct edition of the English Bible; nor yet strictly a new version, but between both; it is what may be called a correction of Matthew's Bible, wherever the editor thought it needful. He takes in great part of Matthew's marginal notes, but omits several, and inserts others of his own.

Richard Taverner was born at Brisley in Norfolk, in the year 1505, and first entered at Benet-college in Cambridge: after a year and a half spent in academical studies, he was chosen one of the junior canons of Christ-church (then Cardinal-college) in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 1529. From thence he went to Stane-Inn, otherwise called Strand-Inn, destroyed for the purpose of building Somerset-house, to study the law,

and from thence to the Inner Temple, where, it is said, his way was to quote the law in Greek when he read any thing thereof. In 1534 he went to court, being taken into the service of Sir Thomas Cromwell; and in 1537 was made one of the signet in ordinary: in which situation he made this recognition of the Bible, which was authorised to be read in churches.

After lord Cromwell's death in 1540, he was committed prisoner to the Tower for publishing the Bible; but he was soon acquitted, and restored to the king's favour, and to his place at court, in which he continued till the accession of queen Mary; from which time till her death, he retired to his seat called Norbiton-hall, in Surrey. He was afterwards a great favourite of queen Elizabeth, and received from her the honour of knighthood. He died at Woodeaton in Oxfordshire, in July 1575.

The title of Taverner's Bible is,

"The Most Sacred Bible, which is the Holy Scripture, conteynyng the Old and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognized with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Rycharde Taverner.

"Harken thou heaven, and thou earth gyve eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Psalme i.

"Prynted at London in Fleetestre at the sygne of the sonne, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet.—*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*  
M.D.XXXIX."

In the convocation held February 6, 1542, the archbishop in the king's name required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the scriptures; and for that purpose different parts of the New Testament were put into the hands of several bishops for their perusal: the archbishop took the gospel of St. Matthew; Mark was given to Longland, bishop of Lincoln; Luke, to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; John, to Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Acts, to Heath, bishop of Rochester; Romans, to Samson, bishop of Chichester; I. and II. Corinthians, to Capon, bishop of Sarum; Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, to Barlow, bishop of St. David's; I. and II. Thessalonians, to Bell, bishop of Worcester; Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, to Parfew, bishop of St. Asaph; I. and II. Peter, to Holgate, bishop of Landaff; Hebrews, to Skip, bishop of Hereford; James, the three epistles of John, and Jude, to Thyrleby, bishop of Westminster; and the Revelation, to Wakeman, bishop of Gloucester, and Chambers, bishop of Peterborough.

Many objections were raised on various pretences, and bishop Gardiner read a list of ninety-nine Latin words, which he said would not admit of being translated into English. By this the archbishop found that this motion of translation would come to nothing. And a determination of the king's to wrest the work

from the bishops, and place it in the hands of the Universities, seems to have had a similar fate; for the next year an act was passed which condemned all Tyndal's translation as crafty, false, and untrue; and enacted, that all books of the Old and New Testament of his translation should, by the authority of this act, be abolished, extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere in his majesty's dominions. But it was provided,

"That the Bibles and New Testaments in English, not being of Tyndal's translations, should stand in force, and not be comprised in this abolition or act. Nevertheless, if there should be found in anie such Bibles or New Testaments anie annotations or preambles, that then the owners of them should cut or blot the same in such wise as they cannot be perceived or read, on pain of losing or forfeiting for every Bible, &c. 40s. Provided that this article should not extend to the blotting, &c. any quotations or summaries of chapters in any Bibles."

It was likewise enacted, "That no manner of person or persons, after the first day of October then next ensuing, should take upon him or them to read, openly to other in any church or open assembly, within any of the king's dominions, the Bible or any part of the scripture in English, unless he was so appointed thereunto by the king, or by any ordinary, &c. on pain of suffering a month's imprisonment.—Provided, that the chancellor of England, capitaines of the warres, the king's justices, the recorders of any city, borough, or town, the speaker of the Parliament, &c. which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teach any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in anie assemblies, may use any part of the Bible or holic scriptures as they have been wont; and that every nobleman, and gentleman, being a householder, may read, or cause to be read by any of his familie, servants in his house, orchardes, or garden, and to his own familie, anie text of the Bible or New Testament: and also every merchant-man, being a householder, and any other persons other than women, prentises, &c. might read to themselves privately the Bible, &c. But no woman (except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others, any texts of the Bible, &c.), nor artificers, prentises, journeymen, serving-men, of the degrees of yomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the Bible or New Testament in English to himself or any other privately or openly, upon paine of one month's imprisonment."

Grafton was called to account for printing Matthew's Bible 1537, and examined as to the great Bible, what notes he intended to set to it: to which he replied, "that he added none to the Bible he printed, when he perceived the king and the clergy not willing to have any." Yet he was confined a

prisoner in the Fleet six weeks, and then released on being bound in a bond of 500*l.* neither to imprint or sell any more English Bibles till the king and clergy should agree upon a translation.

And again another act was passed, July 8, 1546, whereby the having and reading Tyndal's and Coverdale's translations was prohibited, as well as the use of any other than what was allowed by act of Parliament. Thus matters continued so long as king Henry lived; but, on the accession of his son Edward VI. they took another turn; the Reformation was encouraged, and the acts which prohibited the translation of the scriptures, were repealed. Injunctions were issued, and sent into every part of the kingdom, among other things enjoining, that within three months a Bible of the larger volume in English, and within twelve months Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Gospels, be provided, and conveniently placed in the churches for the people to read in.

### *Common Prayer.*

The same year also, 1549, was printed the Book of Common Prayer, compiled by Cramer, archbishop of Canterbury; Day, bishop of Chichester; Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Skip, bishop of Hereford; Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln; Ridley, bishop of Rochester; Thyrleby, bishop of Winchester; Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Taylor, dean of Lincoln; Dr. Haines, dean of Exeter; Dr. Robertson, dean of Durham; Dr. Redman, master of Trinity-College, Cambridge; and Dr. Cox, almoner to the king.

The title: "The booke of the Common Praier, and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England.

*Londoni, in officina Richardi Grafton regij impressoris, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

*Anno Domini MDXLIX, Mense Martij.*

### *Division into verses.*

On the death of Edward, when Mary came to the crown, many of the reformed fled into divers parts of Germany, and some of them who resided at Geneva, setting about a new translation of the Scriptures, in the year 1557 the New Testament was printed at Geneva by Conrade Badius, and is said to be the first in English divided into verses.

Whatever the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points may be, the division of verses in the Old Testament is antecedent to the discovery of printing, or any manuscripts that are known to exist; but in the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, there is no distinction of verses, and when

they were first used by printers, is perhaps not very accurately ascertained.

Robert Stephens is thought to have been the author or inventor of verses in the New Testament, which (says his son in the preface to his Concordance) he performed in a journey on horseback [*inter equitandum*] from Paris to Lyons.

Father Calmet says, "the first division of the New Testament was made by Robert Stephens in 1551, and of the whole Bible in 1555." Michaelis says, "verses were first used in the New Testament by Robert Stephens in 1551, and in the Old Testament by Hugo de St. Claro, a Dominican monk in the twelfth century." But a Latin Bible, translated by Sanctus Pagninus, and printed at Lyons in the year 1527 or 1528, before Robert Stephens had printed any Bible, on his own account, at least, is divided, the verses being numbered in the margin, and distinguished in the text, by paragraphical marks, both in the Old and New Testament, and in the Apocrypha. The New Testament is indeed made into fewer divisions. St. Matthew's gospel, in this edition, is divided into 576 verses (the first chapter containing 49, each of the present genealogical verses making 3) while the present division amounts to 1071. The gospel of St. Mark is as 257 to 678. In the Old Testament the difference is small; in Genesis only 22 verses. Father Calmet notes this Bible, but not the division of verses. In the title page the date is 1528, but the imprint at the end is, "*Veteris ac novi instrumenti nova translatio per Reverendum sacre Theolo. docto. Sanctem Pagninum Luceni nuper edita, explicit. Impressa est autem Lugduni per Antonium du Ry. calcographum diligentissimum impensis Francisci Turchi, et Dominicę Berticinum Lucensium, et Iacobi de Giuntis bibliopole civis Florentini. Anno Domini 1527, Die vero xix Januarii.*" Is there not then reason to conclude, that Robert Stephens had seen this Bible, foresaw the utility of verses, imitated, and improved thereon? The great advantage of such a division is allowed by all to whom the use of a concordance is known.

### *Punctuation of the Bible.*

The punctuation of the Bible is a modern invention. In the ancient manuscripts no marks are found, except a point and a blank space. The comma was invented in the eighth century; the semicolon in the ninth; the other stops were introduced afterwards. The spirits and the accents are not earlier, in the opinion of most writers, than the seventh century.



*Concordance to the Bible.*

The first English concordance that we read of is that of Marbeck, printed in the year 1550, by Richard Grafton, compiled, as it seems, from the great Bible, i. e. archbishop Cramer's Bible.

John Marbeck was an organist in Windsor choir, and much befriended by bishop Gardiner. He was accused and condemned on the statute of the Six Articles, but pardoned.

Another edition of the Geneva Testament was printed in 1560, in which year the whole Bible was also printed at Geneva by Rowland Harle, or Hall, in quarto. The persons who translated the Geneva Bible, are supposed to have been Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Samson, and Cole; to which some add Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullam.—The principal were, Coverdale, Whittingham, and Gilby, who did not return to England till the whole was finished in 1560.

Christopher Goodman was born in Cheshire, and after a grammatical education sent to Brazen-Nose-College at Oxford. In 1544 he took his Master of Arts degree, and in 1547 he was chosen one of the senior students of Christ-church, and professor of divinity, (whether of the Margaret lectures or of those founded by Henry VIII. does not appear) but quitted his preferment, and went abroad on Mary's coming to the crown, first to Franconfort; but afterwards he removed to Geneva, with Whittingham and other dissentients, on account of some ecclesiastical disputes, where he abode till the reign of queen Elizabeth, when he returned to England, and died at Chester in the year 1602.

Anthony Gilby was likewise a refugee.

*Singing Psalms.*

William Whittingham was a Cheshire man, and educated at the same college with Christopher Goodman; in 1545 he was elected fellow of All Souls, and two years after a senior student of Christ-church. He went abroad at the death of Edward VI. and returning in the reign of queen Elizabeth, he was made dean of Dunholme, (Durham) in 1563. He was one of those who assisted with Sternhold and Hopkins in translating the Psalms into metre, and his are distinguished by the initials W. W. Thomas Norton, of Sharpnhaile, or Sharpnhoie in Bedfordshire, was another of the translators.

The first edition of Sternhold's Psalms was probably in 1552. But before this the Psalms in metre were printed 1549, said to be translated by John Keper; and another version by Robert Crowley, the same year.

Thomas Sampson born about the year 1517, was

educated at Oxford; and renouncing popery, he was ordained by Dr. Ridley, bishop of London.—In 1551, he was collated by the archbishop of Canterbury, to the living of All Hallows, Broad-Street, which he resigned in 1553, being, it is said, promoted to the deanery of Chichester. In the reign of queen Mary, being married, (his wife was the niece of Hugh Latimer) he left the kingdom, and retired to Geneva; but on the accession of queen Elizabeth, returning to England, in 1561, he was promoted to the deanery of Christ church, Oxford, of which dignity he was deprived in 1564, for not wearing the habits then enjoined. The queen offered him the bishopric of Norwich, which he refused, for no other reason but his averseness from the ceremonies and habits of the church.

Thomas Cyle was, during the reign of queen Mary, a refugee at Geneva; but returning into England in the next reign, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Essex, in January 1559, by Grindal, bishop of London, and had the rectory of High-Ongar in Essex given him.

That which was done in the Geneva Bible was as follows:—

"1. Because some translations read after one sort, and some after another, they noted in the margin the diversities of speech, and reading, especially according to the Hebrew.

"2. Where the Hebrew speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, they noted in the margin, using that which was more intelligible.

"3. Though many of the Hebrew names were altered from the old text, and restored to the true writing, and first original, yet in the usual names, little was changed, for fear of troubling the simple readers.

"4. Whereas the necessity of the sentence required any thing to be added, whether verb, or other word, they put it in the text with another kind of letter, that it might easily be discerned from the common letter of the text.

"5. As touching the division of the verses, they followed the Hebrew examples, adding the number to each verse.

"6. The principal matters were noted; and the arguments, both for each book, and for each chapter.

"7. They set over the head of every page, some notable word, or sentence, for the help of memory.

"8. They set brief annotations upon all the hard places, as well for the understanding of obscure words, as for declaration of the text. And for this purpose they diligently read the best commentaries; and had much conference with godly and learned brethren.

"9. They set forth with figures certain places in the books of Moses, of the Kings, and Ezekiel;

which seemed so dark, that by no other description they could be made easy to the reader.

"10. They added certain maps of cosmography, of divers places and countries, partly described, and partly by occasion touched, both in the Old and New Testament.

"11. They adjoined two profitable tables: the one of interpretations of Hebrew names, and the other containing all the chief and principal matters of the whole Bible.

But in the year 1565 the Bible was preparing for a second impression. As this Bible had been set forth before by a joint company of men, (the name of one whereof, and we think the chief undertaker, was John Bodleigh) so about the beginning of March they had finished a careful review and correction of this translation, in order to the reprinting it. Bodleigh had applied himself to the queen's secretary Cecyl, for the renewing of his privilege, with longer term of years than was at first granted them, for the new printing of this Bible, that had been by him and his associates before published.—But the secretary suspended giving his furtherance, until he had heard the advice of the archbishop and bishop of London. Whereupon Bodleigh repaired unto them, and signified the charge he and the rest had been at, by the last impression, and by the late review, desiring their letter to the secretary. They secretary, I suppose, might make some scruple at the encouragement of this new impression; because the bishops had intended themselves speedily to publish a fair and accurate English translation. But both the archbishop and bishop willingly gave their letters to the secretary in Bodleigh's behalf: writing to him, that they thought so well of the first impression, and the review of those who had since travailed therein, that they wished it would please him to be a means, that twelve years longer term might be by special privilege granted to him in consideration of the charges by him and his associates in the first impression, and the review since sustained. And that though one other special Bible for the churches were meant by them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter might permit; yet should it nothing hinder, but rather do much good, to have diversity of translations and readings. And that if the license hereafter to be made went simply forth, without proviso of their oversight, as they thought it might so pass well enough, yet they told the secretary, they would take such order with the party, in writing [under his hand] that no impression should pass but by their direction, consent, and advice.—This was writ from Lambeth, signed by the archbishop, and bishop of London, March 9. *Strype.*

The reign of queen Mary was too unfavourable for any translation of the scriptures to be printed in England; and except the Geneva Testament before

mentioned, we meet with nothing but a quarto primer, Latin and English, after the use of Sarum, with the epistles and gospels in English, printed by John Kingston and Henry Sutton, 1557.

In the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, held January 1558, an act passed for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual; and another for the uniformity of common prayer, and service in the church, &c. The queen also appointed a royal visitation, and gave her injunctions, as well to the clergy as laity, by which it was ordered, as in the reign of Edward VI. that they should, at the charge of the parish, within three months, provide one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within twelve months the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The following year the liturgy was reviewed, and altered in some passages; and being presented to parliament, was by them received and established.—The persons employed were, according to Fuller, Master Whitehead, once chaplain to queen Ann Boleyn; Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; Grindal, bishop of London; Cox, bishop of Ely; Pilkington, bishop of Durham; Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's; and Sir Thomas Smith, principal secretary of state. And soon after a design was formed to make a new translation of the scriptures, under the direction of archbishop Parker; which, however, was not printed before the year 1568, when it first appeared in folio: this is called The Bishops' Bible.

The work was divided into several parcels, and assigned to men of learning and character, picked out for the purpose. Most of the divisions are marked with great initial letters, signifying either the titles or names of the persons employed. William Ally, bishop of Exeter, had the Pentateuch for his proportion, and at the end there stands the capital letters W. E. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the two books of Samuel, were given to Richard Davies, preferred to the see of St. David's, when Young was translated to York: it is marked R. M. The four books of Kings, and Chronicles, were assigned to Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester. The books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Job, were done by one whose name is marked A. P. C. which probably might stand for Andrew Person, one of the archbishop's chaplains, and prebendary of Canterbury. The book of Psalms is signed with T. B. whether this was Thomas Bentham, bishop of Coventry, or Thomas Becon, prebendary of Canterbury, is somewhat uncertain, but most probably the latter. The Proverbs were translated by one who subscribes A. P. C. the C stands at some distance, probably to distinguish the person from the former A. P. C. Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song, are marked with A. P. E. for Andrea Peric Elicensis.—

Esajah, Jeremy, and Laumentations, were done by Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester, as may be conjectured from the letters R. W. Ezekiel and Daniel, were translated by T. C. L. which is supposed to stand for Benthani, bishop of Litchfield. Hosea, Joel, and so forward through all the minor prophets, is signed E. L. and was done by Edmund Grindal, bishop of London. The Apocrypha, as it is said, was translated by Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; the capitals subjoined are T. N. Bishop Burnet relates, Barlow, bishop of Chichester, began with Psalms, and translated to the book of Wisdom. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Romans, were given to Cox, bishop of Ely; the capitals are R. E. for Ricardus Eliensis.—The first epistle to the Corinthians is subscribed G. G. which probably may stand for Gabriel Goodman, then dean of Westminster. The remainder of the New Testament has no capitals subjoined. Archbishop Parker had the main direction of this affair, reviewed the performance, and, it may be, gave the finishing hand. He employed several critics in the Hebrew and Greek languages to review the old translation, and compare it with the original. One Lawrence, an eminent Grecian, was made use of to examine the version of the New Testament. He seems to have been well qualified for this undertaking, managed with great exactness, and made several animadversions upon the performances of Beza and Erasmus in this way.

The bishop of Worcester, who was well skilled in the oriental languages, when he had finished his part, sent it to the archbishop, with his letter, dated Worcester, February 6, 1565.

My duty remembered: according to your Grace's letter of instruction, I have perused the book you sent me, and with good diligence; having also, in conference with some other, considered of the same, in such sort, I trust, as your Grace will not mislike of. I have sent up with it my clerk, whose hand I used in writing forth corrections and marginal notes. When it shall please your Grace to set over the book to be viewed by some one of your chaplains, my said clerk shall attend a day or two, to make it plain unto him how my notes are to be placed. In mine opinion, your Grace shall do well to make the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed by some well learned, before it be put to print; and also to have skilful and diligent correctors at the printing of it. That it may be done in such perfection, that the adversaries can have no occasion to quarrel with it. Which thing will require a time; *sed sat cito, si sat bene*.—The setters forth of this our common translation followed Munster too much, who doubtless was a very negligent man in his doings, and often swerved very much from the Hebrew. Thus, trusting that your Grace will take in good part my tidings, wherein

wanted no good will, I commend the same to the grace of Almighty God. From my house at Worcester. Your Grace's in Christ at commandment.

EDW. WIGORN.

And in another letter the same pious bishop puts the archbishop in mind of this great work to proceed earnestly forward in it:—

Your Grace (said he) should much benefit the church in hastening forward the Bible, which you have in hand: those that we have, be not only false printed, but also give great offence to many by reason of the depravity in reading."

To Guest, bishop of Rochester, the archbishop sent the book of Psalms to revise; and he sent it back again with his notes and advertisements, as the bishop of Worcester had done. In his letter to the archbishop, he said,

"He had not altered the translation, but where it gave occasion of an error. As at the first Psalm, at the beginning, I turn the preterperfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too harsh in the preterperfect tense. Where, in the New Testament, one piece of a psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalms according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon divers translations.—Where two great letters be joined together, or where one great letter is twice put, it signifieth that both the sentences of the words be expounded together."

To Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, the archbishop sent another part of the Bible, to make his notes and advertisements upon, who wrote back to the archbishop, "That he would travail therein with such diligence and expedition as he might."

Davies, bishop of St. David's, had another portion, and he wrote to the archbishop, "That he was in hand with that part of the Bible he sent him."—And again, not long after the year 1566, he wrote the archbishop, "That he would finish it with as much speed as he could; and that he bestowed for his performance of the same all such time as he could spare."

This bishop was now very busy in translating the Bible into Welch, together with William Salisbury, bishop of Man, a man very learned in the British antiquities.

This business in correcting the former translation of the Bible went forward the next year 1566.

Cox, bishop of Ely, who seems to have had another part of the holy scripture committed to him, in a letter dated May 3, 1566, had these words concerning this noble work: "I trust your Grace is well forward with the Bible by this time. I perceive the greatest burden will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. I would wish that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with, might still remain in their form and sound, so far as



the Hebrew will well bear; inkhorn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense, &c. And if ye translate *bonitas*, or *misericordia*, to use it likewise in all places of the Psalms, &c. God send this good travail a blessed success."

We shall hear more of the archbishop Parker's care and pains in this translation, under the years 1568, 1569, and 1572, when it seems first to have been printed in the largest folio, according to Dr. Fulk, in his Defence of the English Translation against Gregory Martin, where he speaks of the Bible revised by divers bishops to be first printed in the large volumes, and authorised for the churches."

Matthew Parker was born at Norwich in the year 1504, and was sent by his mother (his father dying when he was but twelve years old) to the University of Cambridge. He was first a Bible clerk in Corpus-Christi-College, and afterwards a fellow. His first preferment was the deanery of Stoke, which he obtained by the favour of queen Ann Boleyn to whom he was chaplain. At her death king Henry VIII. appointed him chaplain to himself, in which capacity he also served his son Edward VI. By the former he was promoted to a prebend of Ely, and the mastership of Corpus-Christi, (by the election of the fellows, at the command of the king.) Edward VI. gave him the deanery of Lincoln, with the prebend of Coldingham; which preferments he enjoyed till the reign of queen Mary, in which, for being married, he was deprived, and lived poorly during her reign. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, the see of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, he was thought the properest man for that high place and preferment, and consecrated December 17, 1559, and held the same 15 years and 5 months, dying May 17, 1575, in the seventy-second year of his age.

A translation of the New Testament by Laurence Tonson, who was under-secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, was printed in 1576. This was afterwards reprinted frequently in the Geneva Bible, instead of the former translation.

These labours of the Protestants had their effect on the Catholics; who, as they would not use the versions of those whom they thought heretics, yet were ashamed of having no version of Scripture for use, set themselves to translate, so far as they lawfully might.

In the year 1582, was printed the New Testament, translated by the English college at Rheimes; and twenty-seven years after, in 1609, appeared the first volume, and in 1610, the second volume of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, printed at Doway, and thence called the Doway Bible. Both

these have been reprinted several times; but an edition in five volumes 12mo, 1750, is much improved in point of language, especially from the Doway, which is in many instances very obscure. The translators were, William Allen, Henry Holland, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristol. The notes by Dr. Worthington. Le Long says, the New Testament was principally translated by Wm. Raynold, or Reynolds.

Dr. William Allen was born in Lancashire, and educated at Oriel College Oxford. In the reign of queen Mary, he was principal of St. Mary-Hall, and canon of York; but on the accession of queen Elizabeth, he went to Lovain, was made canon of Cambray and Rheimes, and in 1587 he was promoted by pope Pius V. to be cardinal priest of St. Martin's, and archbishop of Mechlin: he died at Rome in 1594, and was buried in the English school.

Gregory Martin was born at Macfield near Winchelsea in Sussex, and educated at St. John's College, Oxford, as one of the original scholars placed there by the founder Sir Thomas White in 1557, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1564. Quitting Oxford, he was taken into the family of the duke of Norfolk as tutor to his son. Being a papist, he went to Doway; where applying himself to the study of divinity, he was made licentiate in that faculty in 1575, and not long after going to Rheimes, he was chosen divinity professor to that university; and died in 1592.

Henry Holland was a Worcestershire man, and fellow of St. John's in Oxford; from whence he went to Doway, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and the order of priesthood.—He was living in 1611.

Richard Bristol, or Bristow, was born in the city of Worcester, commenced Master of Arts at Oxford in 1562, was afterwards fellow of Exeter, and in 1569 he left the college and the kingdom. Going to Lovain, he abjured the Protestant religion, and became acquainted with Dr. Allen; who made him "the first moderator or prefect of the divinity study," at Doway, and afterwards committed to his care his new seminary at Rheimes, where he lived two years, and then coming to England for his health, died in 1582.

Thomas Worthington, a native of Lancashire, and well-descended, after taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford about 1570, went to the college of Doway, and some years after was translated thence to Rheimes: a little before the intended Spanish invasion, he came over to England, was taken up for a spy, and committed prisoner to the tower, yet escaped with his life. Returning to Doway, he reviewed and published the English translation of the Old Testament above-mentioned,

which had been made at Rheimes some years before. He commenced D. D. at Triers, and was made president of the English college at Rheimes. He was alive in 1611.

At a convocation in the year 1603, soon after the accession of James I. complaints were made that many and great faults existed in the translation authorised to be read; and Fuller says, one of the best things produced by the Hampton-court conference was a resolution to his Majesty for a new translation of the Bible; and to this purpose the king writes thus to the archbishops and bishops:—

“Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translation of the Bible, and that in this number divers of them have either no ecclesiastical preferment at all, or else so very small, that the same is far unmeet for men of their defence. And yet we of ourself in any convenient time cannot well remedy it. Therefore we do hereby require you, That presently you write in our name, as well to the archbishop of York, as to the rest of the bishops of the province of Canterbury, signifying unto them, that we do well and straightly charge every one of them, as also the other bishops of the province of York, as they tender our good favour towards them, that (all excuses set apart) when any prebend or parsonage being rated in our book of taxations, the prebend to twenty pounds at the least, and the parsonage to the like sum and upwards, shall next upon any occasion happen to be void, and to be either of their patronage or gift, or the like parsonages so void to be of the patronage and gift of any person whatsoever, they do make stay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying us of the avoidance of it, and of the name of the patron (if it be not of their own gift), that we may commend for the same some such of the learned men as we shall think fit to be preferred to it; not doubting of the bishops' readiness to satisfy us herein, or that any of the laity, when we shall in time move them to so good and religious an act, will be unwilling to give us the like due contentment and satisfaction: we ourself having taken the same order for such prebends and benefices as shall be void in our gift, what we write to you of other, you must apply to yourselves, as also not forget to move the said archbishop, and all the bishops, with their deans and chapters of both provinces, as touching the other point to be imparted by you unto them.

“Furthermore, we require you to move all our bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains in their private studies of the scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistak-

ings in the former English translations, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended; and thereupon to write unto them, earnestly charging them, and signifying our pleasure therein, that they send such their observations, either to Mr. Livelie, our Hebrew reader in Cambridge; or to Dr. Harding, our Hebrew reader in Oxford; or to Dr. Andrews, dean of Westminster; to be imparted to the rest of their several companies, that so our said intended translation may have the help and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our kingdom. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the two and twentieth day of July, in the second year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the thirty-seventh.”

This letter being written about three years before, it is probable seven of the persons nominated for this performance died in the interval, or that so many might have been employed in revising the translation; for Fuller's list of the translators amounts but to forty-seven. This number, ranged under six divisions, entered upon the work this spring. The names of the persons, the places where they met, together with the portions of scripture assigned each company, are as follow:—

*Westminster* 10. The Pentateuch, the history from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles exclusively.—Dr. Andrews, fellow and master of Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, then dean of Westminster, afterwards bishop of Winchester. Dr. Overall, fellow of Trinity-college, master of Katherine-hall, in Cambridge, then dean of St. Paul's, after bishop of Norwich. Dr. Saravia, prebendary of Canterbury. Dr. Clarke, fellow of Christ's-college in Cambridge, vicar of Mynstre and Monckton in Thanet, and one of the six preachers in Canterbury. Dr. Laifield, fellow of Trinity in Cambridge, and parson of Clement Danes: being skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on for the description of the tabernacle and temple. Dr. Leigh, archdeacon of Middlesex, parson of All-Hallows, Barking. Master Bagley, Mr. King, Mr. Tompson, Mr. Bedwell, of Cambridge, and vicar of Tottenham nigh London.

*Cambridge* 8. From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the history and the Hagiographia, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.—Mr. Lively. Mr. Richardson, fellow of Emanuel, after D. D. master first of Peter-house, then of Trinity-college. Mr. Chadderton, after D. D. fellow first of Christ-college, then master of Emanuel.—Dillingham, fellow of Christ-college, beneficed at — in Bedfordshire, where he died. Mr. Andrews, after D. D. brother to the bishop of Winchester, and master of Jesus-college. Mr. Harrison, the Rev. vice-master of Trinity-college. Mr. Spalding, fellow of St. John's, in Cambridge, and Hebrew professor

therein. Mr. Bing, fellow of Peter-house, in Cambridge, and Hebrew professor therein.

*Oxford* 7. The four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets.—Dr. Harding, president of Magdalen-college. Dr. Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi-college. Dr. Holland, rector of Exeter-college, and king's professor. Dr. Kilby, rector of Lincoln-college, and regius professor. Mr. Smith, after D.D. and bishop of Gloucester; he made the learned and religious preface to the translation. Mr. Brett, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Fairclowe.

*Cambridge*. The Prayer of Manasseh, and the rest of the Apocrypha.—Dr. Dupont, prebendary of Ely, and master of Jesus-college. Dr. Braintwaite, first fellow of Emanuel, then master of Gonvil, and Caius-college. D. Radclyffe, one of the senior fellows of Trinity-college. Mr. Ward, of Emanuel, after D.D. master of Sidney-college, and Margaret professor. Mr. Downes, fellow of St. John's-college, and Greek professor. Mr. Boyse, fellow of St. John's-college, prebendary of Ely, parson of Boxworth, in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Ward, of King's-college, after D.D. prebendary of Chichester, rector of Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire.

*Oxford*. The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Apocalypse.—Dr. Ravis, dean of Christ-church, afterwards bishop of London. Dr. Abbot, master of University-college, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Eedes, [instead of Dr. Eedes, Mr. Lewis has James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells]. Mr. Thompson, Mr. Savill, Dr. Peryn, Dr. Ravens, Mr. Harmer.

*Westminster*. The epistles of St. Paul, and the other canonical epistles.—Dr. Barlowe, of Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, dean of Chester, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Hutchinson, Dr. Spencer, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Rabbet, Mr. Sanderson, Mr. Dakins.

And that they might proceed to the best advantage in their method and management, the king suggested the instructions following:—

1. The Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, was to receive as few alterations as might be; and to pass throughout, unless the original called plainly for an amendment.

2. The names of the prophets and the inspired writers, with the other names in the text, to be kept as near as may be, as they stand recommended at present by customary use.

3. The old ecclesiastical words to be retained.—For instance, the word church not to be translated congregation, &c.

4. When any word has several significations, that which has been commonly used by the most celebrated fathers should be preferred; provided it be agreeable to the context, and the analogy of faith.

5. As to the chapters, they were to continue in their present division, and not be altered without apparent necessity.

6. The margin not to be charged with any notes, excepting for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot be turned without some circumlocution, and therefore not so proper to be inserted in the text.

7. The margin to be furnished with such citations as serve for a reference of one place of scripture to another.

8. Every member of each division to take the chapters assigned for the whole company; and after having gone through the version or corrections, all the divisions was to meet, examine their respective performances, and come to a resolution which parts of them should stand.

9. When any division had finished a book in this manner, they were to transmit it to the rest to be farther considered.

10. If any of the respective divisions shall doubt or dissent upon the review of the book transmitted; they were to mark the places, and send back the reasons of their disagreement: if they happen to differ about the amendments, the dispute was to be referred to a general committee, consisting of the best distinguished persons drawn out of each division.—However, this decision was not to be made till they had gone through the work.

11. When any place is remarkably obscure, letters were to be directed by authority to the most learned persons in the Universities, or country, for their judgment upon the text.

12. The directors in each company were to be the deans of Westminster and Chester, and the king's professors in Hebrew and Greek in each University.

13. The translations of Tyndal, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitechurch, and Geneva, to be used when they came closer to the original than the Bishops' Bible.

Lastly, Three or four of the most eminent divines in each of the Universities, though not of the number of the translators, were to be assigned by the vice-chancellor, to consult with other heads of houses for reviewing the whole translation.

A copy of these instructions being sent, as has been said, to Mr. Lively at Cambridge, and, it is to be supposed, other copies of them to Dr. Harding, the king's reader of Hebrew at Oxford, and Dr. Andrews, dean of Westminster; it seems as if (some other doubts arising concerning them) application was made by the vice-chancellor to the bishop of London, for the resolution of them. To which his lordship replied, "That to be sure, if he had not signified so much unto them already, it was his Majesty's pleasure, that besides the learned persons employed with them for the Hebrew and Greek, there



should be three or four of the most eminent and grave divines of their University, assigned by the vice-chancellor upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the rules appointed by his Highness, and especially concerning the third and fourth rule: and that when they had agreed upon the persons for this purpose, he prayed them to send him word thereof."

This letter is inscribed, 'To the right worshipful Dr. Cowell, vice-chancellor,' and dated at Fulham, the 30th of August 1604; and to it is added, by way of postscript, "That at the very writing thereof, a learned epistle was delivered unto him of Mr. Broughton, which though it was of an old date, yet he thought good to send it unto them, that Mr. Lively and the rest might have the perusal of it, if they had not before seen it." This letter seems to be that before mentioned, to the learned nobility of England, touching translating the Bible, or else that to king James, written on occasion of this translation being ordered by him, as is before-mentioned.

The bishop of London, at the same time that he wrote to the vice-chancellor, &c. at Cambridge, sent letters to the several bishops, with copies of the king's letter before-mentioned: A copy of one of these to the bishop of Norwich, which immediately follows the king's letter, runs thus:

"Your lordship maie, see how carefull his Majestie is for the providing of lyvings for theis learned men. I doubt not therefore but your lordship will have that due regarde of his Majestie's request herein as is fitt and meete, and that yow will take sutch order with your chancellor, register, and sutch your lordship's officers who shall have intelligence of the premisses, as also with the deane and chapter of your cathedraile church, whom his Majestie likewise requireth to be putt in mynde of his pleasure therein, not forgetting the latter parte of his Majestie's letter touchinge the informinge of yourselfe of the fittest linguist within your dioces for to performe and speedily to returne that which his Majestie is so carefull to have faithfully performed. I could wish your lordship would for my discharge returne me in some few lynes the tyme of the receipte of this letters, that I may discharge that dutie which his Majestie by theis his letters hath layed upon me. And soe I bidd your lordship right hartely farewell. From Fulham, this 31st of July, 1604. Your lordship's loving friend and brother,

"RICHARD LONDON.

"*Delibat. apud Ludham, 16 Augusti 1604.*

"His Majestie's meaning is, that twoe lyvings should be staid, one of your owne, and one of a lay patron's."

In his Majestie's letter was a clause, that R. L. and the archbishops of both provinces, should not forget

to move the deans and chapters as touching the other points to be imparted otherwise by them unto the said deans, &c. This in another letter to the bishop of Norwich, wrote at the same time with the other, his lordship tells him is referred to his relation.— And this he said it was,

"There are manie, as your lordship perceyveth, who are to be employed in this translatinge of the Bible, and sundry of them must of necessitie have their charges borne, which his Majestie was very ready of his most princely disposition to have borne, but some of my lords, as things now goe, did howlde it inconvenient. Whereuppon it was left to me to move all my brethren, the bishops, and likewise every severall deane and chapter, to contribute toward this worke. According therefore to my dutie, I hartely pray your lordship not onely to thinke yourselfe what is meete for yow to give for this purpose, but likewise to acquaint your deane and chapter not onely with the said clause of his Majestie's letter, but likewise with the meaninge of it, that they may agree upon sutch a somme as they meane to contribute. I doe not thinke, that a thousand marks will finishe the worke to be employed as is aforesayd; whereof your lordship with your deane and chapter having due consideration, I must require you in his Majestie's name, accordinge to his good pleasure in that behalfe, that assoon as possibly you can, yow send me word what shall be expected from you and your said deane and chapter. For I am to acquaint his Majestie with every man's liberality towards this most godly worke. And thus not doubtinge of your especiall care for the accomplishment of the premisses, and desyringe your lordship to note the date to me of your receipt of this letter, I comitt your lordship unto the tuicion of Almighty God. From Fulham this 31st of July, 1604.

"*Delibat. apud Ludham, 16 Augusti 1604.*"

What success these last letters met with does not appear; but it seems as if they had but a very cold reception. The two Universities, we have seen, were before ordered to entertain in their colleges such as came out of the country thither on this occasion, without any charge unto them, &c. Accordingly, the writer of John Bois's life in MS. who was rector of Boxworth near Cambridge, tells us, that part of the Apocrypha was allotted to him, and that all the time he was about his own part, his diet was given him at St. John's, where he abode all the week till Saturday night, and then went home to discharge his cure, and returned thence on Monday morning; and that when he had finished his own part, at the earnest request of him to whom it was assigned, he undertook a second, and then was in common at another college. As for those who were appointed to meet at Westminster, they seem, for the most part, to be very well provided for. What then was to be

done with the thousand marks which were to be raised, by way of contribution, on the bishops, and deans, and chapters?

However this be, almost three years it seems were spent in this service, the entering on which was, perhaps, somewhat delayed by Mr. Edward Lively's death. At the end thereof, the writer of Mr. Bois's life tells us, the whole work being finished, and three copies of the whole Bible sent to London, viz. one from Cambridge, a second from Oxford, and a third from Westminster; a new choice was to be made of two out of each company, six in all, to review the whole work, and polish it, and extract one out of all the three copies, to be committed to the press. For the dispatch of this business, Mr. Andrew Downes, fellow of St. John's-college, and the king's Greek professor at Cambridge, and the aforesaid Mr. John Bois, were sent for up to London out of the Cambridge company; where, meeting their four fellow-labourers, they went daily to Stationers'-hall, and in three quarters of a year fulfilled their task. All which time they received thirty pounds each of them by the week from the company of stationers, though before they had nothing; which seems a confirmation of what was before observed, that the proposal of raising one thousand marks on the bishops, &c. was rejected by them. Last of all, Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Myles Smith, who from the very beginning had been very active in this affair, again reviewed the whole work, and prefixed arguments to the several books; and Dr. Smith, who for his indefatigable pains taken in this work, was soon after the printing of it deservedly made bishop of Gloucester, was ordered to write a preface to it, the same which is now printed in the folio editions of this Bible; the first of which was at London, A.D. 1611.

Much the same account of the manner of making and finishing this translation was given afterwards by the English divines at Dort, in a paper which they delivered to the Synod, Nov. 20, 1618, only with this difference, that in this paper the translators are said to be divided into six companies, consisting of seven or eight each, or about forty-eight in all; and that out of these, twelve select men met together to review and correct the whole work.

This translation was first printed in the year 1611, (so says Fuller, but Dr. Durell says 1612) on a black type. The title-page to the Old Testament is a copper-plate, with an emblematical border, engraved by Boel. The title of the New Testament is in a border cut in wood, with the heads of the twelve apostles, tents of the tribes, &c. It has been a matter of doubt, and an object of no small inquiry, to ascertain the exact date of this edition. The scarcity of title-pages began the doubts, which were still strengthened by the total want of the folio dated

1612, and the date 1615 frequently found to the letter-press title of the Old Testament, with a wooden border, in the same Bible where the date to the New Testament is 1611.

We can only account for this by supposing, what is very reasonable, that the copper-plate was soon worn out, and absolutely unfit to afford half the number necessary to supply the churches throughout the kingdom. As many therefore as could be, were wrought off and published, probably enough to supply the sale till the year 1613, when a new title-page is placed to this very impression, and likewise to another folio printed on a black type of a different size. But the title-page of the New Testament being letter-press, and the border engraved on wood, would serve for as numerous an impression as the rest of the Bible, and consequently the whole number was wrought off at once to serve for the whole edition. But a new title-page being absolutely necessary to the old, was probably dated, according to the time of printing, in 1613. The engraved titles are scarce; we have heard of four, namely, at the British Museum, at the Bodleian, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Harper at the British Museum, and in the possession of Mr. Denyer. The first is much damaged, the date of the last seems to have suffered some kind of erasure, but the other two are perfectly fair, and beautiful engravings.

In 1612, a quarto edition was printed on Roman type, with an engraved title copied from the folio by Jasper Isaac.

At the beginning of the present century, we read in Le Long an account related, seemingly with good credit, that Athias, the celebrated Jew printer at Amsterdam, printed an edition of the English Bible, (probable the Old Testament only, and for the use of the Jews), during the whole impression of which he did not, for the sheets in succession, distribute the types, but kept the whole forms standing; and that of this impression Athias himself boasted he had sold more than a million of copies.

We have now seen what difficulties the translation of the Bible had to struggle with, before it could be accomplished: the perseverance of its friends is entitled to our most grateful acknowledgments.

#### *Marginal References.*

In the year 1664, John Canne published a Bible of the present translation in octavo, with many marginal references. Mr. Blayney examined these for his edition of the Oxford Bible in 1769. John Canne was a leader of the English Brownists, at Amsterdam, by whom he was chosen pastor at the death of Dr. Ainsworth.

In 1677, a Bible was printed by Hayes, at Cambridge, with many references added to the first

edition; and in 1678, a Bible also was printed at Cambridge with still more references, the labour of Dr. Scattergood, rector of Wilwick and Elverton in Northamptonshire, and one of the compilers of the *Critical Sacri*. Probably the former of 1677, might likewise have been by his care. According to Le Long, this Bible was reprinted at London in octavo, 1679; at Oxford in folio, 1680; at Oxford in folio and quarto, with Usher's chronology, 1682; at London in octavo, 1683; at Cambridge in quarto, 1683; at Oxford in folio, 1684; at London in 12mo. 1684; at Oxford — 1686; at Oxford in folio, 1688; and at London in 12mo. 1717; but as to the Oxford edition of 1680, there is certainly a mistake, unless there be two folio editions of that year, for the copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian libraries, most certainly do not contain Dr. Scattergood's marginal references.

In the year 1699, a new edition of the Royal Bible in quarto was printed at London, with a great addition of parallel texts, and a new chronological index, by Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Worcester, which has been many times reprinted in folio and quarto.

It is not to be understood that archbishop Tenison and bishop Lloyd were at all concerned in the printing or editing of this Bible, further than sending to the printers the additional parallels and new tables, having no superintendence of the press: and this is but justice to their memory to declare; for the first edition was so full of typographical errors, that a complaint was exhibited against the printers by the clergy of the lower house of convocation.

*The gradual increase of parallels from the first edition, by different editors, will appear from the following scale:—*

	Old Test.	Apoc.	N. Test.	Total.		
First edition, 1611	—	—	6553	285	1527	3380
Hayes's edition, 1677	—	—	14629	1409	9357	25395
Dr. Scattergood, 1683	—	—	20537	1117	11371	33145
Bp. Tenison and Lloyd, 1704	—	—	24382	1119	13717	39488
Mr. Biavney, 1769	—	—	45518	1772	19893	64983
Bishop Wilson	—	—	45190	1772	19993	66955

Mr. Purver's translation of the Bible was published in 1764, in two volumes folio.

Anthony Purver was one of the people called Quakers, and born at Up-Hushorne, near Andover in Hampshire, of very poor parents. He was apprentice to a shoemaker in the same place, and followed that business for some years; while he was apprentice, journeyman, and master, it was his constant custom to study the Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages; but he never took much pains in his English, confining his reading in that language chiefly to old authors. He kept a school some time in his

native place, and about the year 1740 went and settled, as a schoolmaster, at Frenchay near Bristol, and continued there, and at Fish-ponds in Stapleton, for about twenty years, when he removed to Andover, where he died about the years 1777, or 1778.

The object of his insatiable pursuit after the dead languages, was a desire of understanding the scriptures in the original; and after he was tolerably versed in the Hebrew, he formed a resolution of translating the whole Bible, which, as it seems, was at first intended to have been printed in occasional numbers: for in the year 1746, that eminent physician the late Dr. Fothergill, wrote a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine, in which he strongly recommends him as the author of a work then publishing, which was to be continued in numbers if it met with encouragement; being a translation of the scriptures, under the title of "*Opus sacra in Biblia elaboratum.*"—Dr. Fothergill in his letter, after speaking in high terms of his learning, says, "As to his personal character, he is a man of great simplicity of manners, regular conduct, and a modest reserve; he is steadily attentive to truth, hates falsehood, and has an unconquerable aversion to vice; and to crown the portrait, he is not only greatly benevolent to mankind, but has a lively sense of the divine attributes, and a profound reverence of, and submission to, the Supreme Being." Mr. Purver is not named: but that it is applicable to him, we are obliged to Mr Joseph Fry of Bristol, as well as for other circumstances relating to this extraordinary man.

The mode of publication in numbers seems to have been unsuccessful, and in all probability soon dropped; yet it did not prevent his going on with his translation which, after thirty years, he finished, but was unable to publish it, nor could he meet with a bookseller who would run the hazard of assisting him: at length Dr. Fothergill stood his friend, gave him a thousand pounds for the copy, and published it at his own expence.

Mr. Purver afterwards revised the whole, and made considerable alterations and corrections for a second edition, which, however, has not yet taken place; but the MS. remains in the possession of his grandson John Purver Bell.

Thus have we endeavoured to set before the reader such a history of the Bible as may answer most of the principal questions usually asked on the subject.—The length of this article must be justified by its importance. There are many collateral inquiries which might be entered into, but what we have already given we conceive sufficient.



# APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

## *A Geographical Account of the various Parts,*

THE

RELIGION OF WHOSE INHABITANTS ARE MENTIONED

*In this Work.*

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[The figures refer to the page where each place is inserted in the work.]

(Page 29.) **E**GYPT, situate in the N. E. part of Africa, between 29 and 38 degrees of E. long. and between 21 and 31 degrees of N. lat. bounded by the Levant, or Mediterranean sea, on the N. by the Red sea, and the Isthmus of Suez, which divides it from Arabia, on the E. by Abyssinia, or Ethiopia Superior, on the S. and by the desarts of Barca and Nubia, on the W. being 600 miles in length, from N. to S. and from 100 to 200 in breadth, from E. to W.; the river Nile, which rises in Abyssinia, running the whole length of it, from S. to N. and overflowing it annually, beginning to rise in the months of May or June, and is at the height usually in September, from which time the waters decrease till May or June again. There being no other water in the country (or not more than two springs), they were under a necessity of building their towns on the banks of the Nile, on some eminences, natural or artificial; so that on the overflowing of the river, they look like so many islands, which have no other communication but by boats. The Lower Egypt is contained in a triangular island, made by the Levant, and the two chief branches of the Nile, which, dividing five miles below Cairo, one branch takes its course to the N. W. and falls into the Levant at Rosetta, and the other N. E. falling into the sea at Damietta, an ancient Pelusium; these mouths being about 100 miles asunder. This part of the country called the Delta, or Lower Egypt, having the greatest advantage by the overflowing of the Nile, is much the most fruitful, but not the most healthful; the mud which covers it, after the flood is gone, sending up an unwholesome vapour. The mountains and sands which inclose Egypt on the E. and W. would render the valley between excessive hot, if it were

not for this annual flood; nor would the soil produce much without it, for the country is naturally barren, where the waters do not reach, and they have seldom any rain, unless in the Lower Egypt, though travellers relate, that they have sometimes seen heavy showers even in Upper Egypt. They have canals cut quite through Upper Egypt, to distribute the water to their fields and gardens, and preserve it in the dry season; and these they fill with great ceremony annually, when the river rises to a certain height; and by these means Egypt is rendered the most fruitful country of Africa, supplying Constantinople, and other towns in European Turkey, with corn, as it did Rome and Italy of old. They only harrow their grain into the mud, on the retiring of the waters, and in March following, usually have a plentiful harvest. As to their rice fields, they supply them with water from their canals and reservoirs constantly, this grain usually growing in water. Those lands that are not sown, yield good crops of grass for their cattle.

No place in the world, says Mr. Sandys, is better furnished with grain, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, melons, roots, and other garden stuff, than the Lower Egypt; oranges, lemons, figs, dates, almonds, cassia, and plantains, abound here, and they have some grapes, but not proper for wine; which defect is, in some measure, supplied with palm-wine. The country is excessive hot for two or three months before the flood rises, and the musketoes, or gnats, will not suffer people to sleep in the night. The sands also are extremely troublesome, insinuating themselves into the closets, chests, and cabinets, and even into the bed-clothes, making them as hot as if they had been warmed with coals; and these sands are probably the occasion of sore eyes, with which the natives are

almost universally afflicted in summer. Fevers and fluxes are frequent in autumn, and the swelling of the scrotum; but the greatest misfortune is the plague, which visits them at least once in seven years; but when the Nile begins to overflow, it is said the plague and all other diseases are abated. It must not be forgotten, also, that the hot winds are very troublesome in April and May, and occasion their sore eyes, as well as the sands.

Among the curiosities of Egypt, the pyramids are the most considerable; they are built of stone, but by whom, or when, no one knows; the base of the largest taking up ten acres of ground, and running up to 700 feet perpendicular height; eye witnesses frequently differ 100 feet as to their height, and indeed the sands are driven up so high on the sides, that it is impracticable to take the height exactly. The mummy-pits are another curiosity, which, with the pyramids, are on the W. side of the river, opposite to Cairo: in these pits have been thousands of embalmed bodies interred, which have continued three or 4000 years at least: the coffins are set upright, in niches in the walls, and never laid at length. Egypt is generally held to be subject to the Grand Seignior, and so it is in part, but his authority is extremely limited by the Egyptian princes, who are all of them absolute in their respective territories, and assemble at Cairo, in a kind of parliament, or great council, which submits to the Grand Seignior's Bassa, or viceroy, no farther than they see fit, and sometimes they depose him, and demand another of the Grand Seignior, who is more acceptable to them; however, they suffer the Grand Seignior to collect a revenue in their several districts, but by no means equal to what the country is able to pay; and, if more is demanded, or any innovations attempted, it endangers a revolt. They come to Cairo with such bodies of troops as protect them against the arbitrary administration of the Bassa, and the only way he has to manage them, is by dividing them into parties, and siding with that party which is most devoted to the Grand Seignior. These Egyptian princes are not natives of the country, neither are they ever succeeded by their children in their respective governments, but by some slave, whom they appoint their successor, and these are usually slaves purchased in Georgia or Circassia. This is their constitution, as was that of the ancient Mamalukes; no man could be sovereign who had not been a slave, and purchased in some foreign country; but out of these we must except some Chicks, or Arab chiefs, who are proprietors of villages, or small districts in the country; these are succeeded by their children, on paying a fine, or small rent, to the government. The religion of the governors of the country is Mahometan; but the Copts, the posterity of the ancient Egyptians, the Greeks and Latins, are Christians, but of different

sects; and there is a great number of Jews at Cairo, and in the great towns where any thing is to be got.

(p. 33.) TYRE, a seaport of Syria, in that part formerly called Phenicia, once a place of exceedingly great trade. It is also famous for a shellfish, which dyes a fine purple, thence called the Tyrian dye.—Tyre was destroyed by Alexander the Great, in the year 332 B. C. and (in exact conformity to the prophecies in the Old Testament) is now nothing but a heap of ruins. It has two harbours, one exceedingly good, the other choked up by the ruins of the city. It is 60 miles N. W. of Damascus. Long. 35 20, E. lat. 33 0 N.

(p. 37.) ASSYRIA anciently comprehended those provinces of Turkey and Persia, which are now called Kurdistan, Diarbec, and Irac-Arabic; being bounded by Armenia on the N. Media and Persia on the E. Arabia on the S. and the river Euphrates, which divides it from Syria and Asia Minor, on the W.—This was one of the first empires we have any knowledge of, and continued upwards of 1200 years; Nimrod was supposed to be the first sovereign, and Sardanapalus the last, who had many more kingdoms and provinces under their dominion, than those already enumerated.

(p. 40.) BABYLON, once the capital of the Babylonish empire, has now no remains of it left, but is supposed to have lain in 44 deg. of E. long. and 32 deg. of N. lat. on the river Euphrates, but not on the present channel; and hereabout is supposed to have been the seat of paradise.

(p. 43.) PERSIA, or ELAM; an ancient kingdom in Middle Asia, on the south of Media, and south-east of Assyria and Chaldea. The Persians were anciently called Elamites, and sprung from Elam the eldest son of Shem, and their original residence was called Elymais. Chedorloamer, one of their first kings, was a noted conqueror. About the time of Jehoshaphat, one Mennon the son of Aurora, seems to have been their king. The Assyrians extended their conquest over the Persians; but under Achmerides, they revolted about the same time with the Medes. The government continued in his family till the Chaldeans ravaged their country. After this, the country was in a wretched condition, till Cyrus appeared on the stage. He connected it with the kingdom of Media, and subdued the kingdoms of Assyria, Egypt, and Lybia; and by his great wisdom, settled the empire on so very solid a foundation, that notwithstanding the folly of many of his successors, it continued about 208 years. His son Cambyzes during the seven years of his reign, was famous for almost nothing, besides mad murders, and the furious ravage of Egypt. Darius Hystaspes soon killed the pretended Smerdis, and reigned 36 years. He took and de-

molished part of the walls of Babylon, but supplied the inhabitants who survived his cruelties, with 50,000 women, instead of their wives, which themselves had murdered during the siege. To revenge the Scythian invasion of Upper Asia about 120 years before, he invaded Scythia. He conquered Thrace in Europe, and part of East India; reduced the rebellious Ionians in Asia; but his expedition into Greece cost him the ruin of a great part of his army. Xerxes his son having fallen heir to the kingdom, and excessive wealth of his covetous father, reduced the rebellious Egyptians; stirred up the Carthaginians to attack the Greeks in Sicily, while himself with an army of about 5,283,000 persons, but not half of them warriors, invaded Greece. These were mostly cut off by the Greeks at Thermopylae, Platea, Salamis, and Mycale.—After 12 years, he was succeeded by Artaxerxes Longimanus his son, who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to promote the welfare of the Jews. He reduced the Egyptians to a still more grievous servitude. After a reign of 41 years, he was succeeded by Xerxes his son. He after one year, was murdered by Sogdianus his bastard brother; and he, in another seven months, by Darius Nothus, or Ochus, another bastard brother. After a reign of 18 years, he was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes Mnemon. His defeating of his brother Cyrus, his victory over the Lacedaemonians, his difficult reduction of Cyprus, and his struggles with the Egyptians, are the most noted events of his long reign of about 45 years. Artaxerxes Ochus his son, after murdering his two elder brethren, succeeded him. After a cruel reign of 23 years, in which he ravaged Egypt, Phoenicia, and part of Judea, he, and soon after, Arses his son, were murdered by Bagoas an eunuch; and Darius Cadomannus, a very distant relation, was placed on the throne, in whose time the Persian empire was quite overturned by Alexander and the Greeks. From A. M. 3675 to 3754, Persia was wholly under the dominion of the Greeks; and Elymais, and other of the western parts, were so long afterwards; but the Parthians gradually rendered themselves masters of the whole of it. About A. M. 4236, or A. D. 232, Artaxerxes, a noble prince of the Persians, siezed the kingdom. Twenty-eight kings of his family reigned in succession above 400 years. Some of them were noted persecutors of the Christians. Many of them had violent struggles of war with the Roman emperors.

Hitherto a kind of Deism had been the established religion of Persia. They had neither temples, nor statues, nor altars, nor did they believe there was need for any, as God was every where. They sacrificed to the elements and heavenly luminaries, as symbols of him. They learned not a little of idolatry from the Assyrians and Chaldeans; but Zoro-

aster or Zerdush, a crafty fellow, perhaps an apostate disciple of the prophet Ezekiel, about the time of Darius Hystaspes, mightily reformed their religious system. His scheme continued as long as their kingdom: nay, these who call themselves Persees, and pretend to be the true Persians, still retain it. They hold one eternal God, and a good and evil principle under him: light they reckon the symbol of the good, and darkness of the bad one. They maintain that the world was created in six days, and one man and one woman made for the parents of mankind; and that the good principle of light withdrawing himself, the child of darkness will, at the last day, produce a dissolution of nature.

About A. D. 634, the Saracens spread themselves into Persia, and established their Mahometan delusion: but for the most part, the Persians have been of the sect of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet; and are heartily despised by the Turks, and other of the sect of Omar. After the Saracen Calipha had governed Persia by their sultans about 420 years, the Turks, who for some ages before had poured themselves into it while it was under the government of the Buides, siezed the sovereignty, A. D. 1055. Tangrolipix, and his Seljukian successors, ruled it till about A. D. 1260, when Halou, the son of Jenghizkan the famed Tartar, wrested it from them. After he, and eight of his descendants, had swayed the sceptre, Tamerlane, another Tartarian prince siezed it, about A. D. 1400, and left it to Mirza his son. Contentation raged in his family till they were all driven from the throne, and Usumcassan, the Turkman king of Armenia siezed on it, A. D. 1472. His male line quickly failed; but Ishmael, his grandson by his daughter, whom he had married to Shiek Eidar the famed preacher, after his father had been murdered, struggled into the throne, A. D. 1499. The sovereignty continued in his family for eleven generations. Some of his successors were absolute infernals in cruelty and murder. Hussein, the last, and one of the best of them, was wickedly dethroned in 1723, and afterwards murdered by the wretch Myr-weis. Not long after his death, the famous Kuli-kau mounted the throne, subdued the Moguls, chastised the Turks, and attempted to change the religion of his country into a conformity with that of other Mahometans; but he was murdered. With terrible struggling, Keimkhan, we hear, got himself enthroned about 1763, after the country had almost 40 years been a shocking scene of treachery and murder. Millions had perished in ways the most wretched. At present, the Persian empire is very large, bounded with the Turkish on the west, with the Russian on the north, and with that of the Mogul on the south, and with Tartary on the east. We know of few Christians in it.



except the Arminians, who have 15 or 16 churches at Zulpha, the famed suburb of Isaphan the capital; and some others on the south and west of the Caspian sea, who scarce deserve the name.

(p. 46.) CANAAN was the name of the country where Canaan and his posterity dwelt. It is about 200, or rather 160 miles in length, from Dan on the north, to Beersheba on the south; and from east to west, about eighty; and so comprehended, in all, about 9,231,000 acres of ground; of which each of the 601,730 Hebrew warriors, who conquered it, might have about 12 acres allotted him for his share. It lies in the 32, 33, and 34th deg. of N. lat. and in the 36th and 37th of E. long. from London. It has the Mediterranean Sea on the west; Lebanon and Syria on the north; Arabia the Desert, and the land of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Midianites, on the east; the land of Edom, and wilderness of Paran, on the south; and Egypt on the south-west. No more than this was wont to be called Canaan; and this only was promised to the Hebrews in possession; but if we take in the whole extent of territory promised to them in dominion, from the river Euphrates on the north-east, to the river Nile on the south-west; it comprehended all these countries which David reduced, Syria, Ammon, Moab, Edom, &c.; and in this sense, it may be readily granted to the learned Dr. Shaw, that its south borders were the gulfs of the Red Sea; and that it comprehended the land of Goshen in Egypt. Whatever the land of Canaan, properly so called, be now, when it lies under a curse, and lies almost wholly uncultivated, it was anciently a most beautiful and fertile country. The Jordan running southward through it, and forming the lakes of Merom and Tiberias; and a multitude of brooks and rivulets crossing the country on both sides the Jordan; and a multitude of valleys and hills, pleasantly diversified the form thereof. The rich pastures produced prodigious quantities of milk and honey. The arable grounds, which, according to Hecateus, (but we suppose his account too low), amounted to about 3,000,000 of acres, produced the richest crops. The mines of the mountains produced plenty of iron and brass. When God, by seasonable warmth and rains, concurred with the laborious improvers of this soil, it is abundantly credible, how it supported the numerous millions that dwelt therein.

(p. 46.) SYRIA, or SURISTAN, a part of Asiatic Turkey, is bounded by Natolia and Turcomania, on the N. by Diarbee, or Mesopotamia, on the E. by Arabia, and Palestine on the S. and by the Levant Sea on the W. The Turks divide Syria into 3 beglerbeglies, or viceroalties, viz. Those of 1. Aleppo; 2. Tripoli; and 3. Damascus, or Scham; the seats of the respective viceroys. That of Aleppo takes

in the N. part of Syria, Tripoli the middle, and Damascus the S. of Syria. This country produces corn, wine, oil, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, pease, beans, and all kinds of pulse and garden-stuff, and has a good trade in silks, camblets, and Turkey leather, and they export vast quantities of salt, with which the surface of the earth, as well as the lakes, is covered, in some places. Damascus is the capital city.

(p. 46.) ARABIA, a country of Asia, having Turkey on the N. Persia and the gulph of Persia on the E. the Indian ocean on the S. and the Red sea and Isthmus of the Suez on the W. a country of very great extent, divided amongst many Arabian princes and states, most of them living in tents, and wandering from place to place to find pasture and water for their cattle, most of the country being a barren desert, without water or vegetables, in many places. The impostor Mahomet was a native of this country, and made the Arabs his first proselytes; who, within 40 years after his death, subdued great part of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and established their religion wherever they came. Arabia is situated between 35 and 60 degrees of E. long. and between 11 and 30 deg. of N. lat. the three grand divisions whereof are, 1. Arabia Felix. 2. Arabia Deserta. and 3. Arabia Petrea.

(p. 52.) ETHIOPIA SUPERIOR, a country of Africa, comprehending the greatest part of it, viz. Abyssinia, Nubia, and Abex, as it did in its most flourishing state; is bounded by Egypt and the desert of Barca on the N. by the Red sea and the Indian ocean on the E. by Anian and the unknown parts of Africa on the S. and by another desert and unknown countries on the W. Abyssinia Proper has now little communication with the rest of the world, the Turks having possessed themselves of Abex, which runs along the western coast of the Red sea. The river Nile rises from a lake almost in the middle of Abyssinia, and being swelled by the rains, which annually fall at a certain season between the tropics, overflows Egypt, and all the lower grounds which border on the river, which is the case of all rivers that rise within the tropics, though the ancients were at so great a loss for the occasion of this periodical flood; and what increases the flood still more, are the torrents that fall from the numerous hills with which this country is encumbered, though they have this advantage from their hills, that they can remove thither in the hot season, and enjoy a cooler air than they do in Egypt, which lies several degrees N. of Abyssinia. Their valleys are also rendered fruitful by the annual rains and the numerous rivulets, producing plenty of corn, rice, wine, flax, sugar, and fruits proper for the climate; and gold is in plenty here; but the Turks have shut up all the avenues to the country, that no other people

can traffic with them for it at this day. Their cattle are camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and asses, with which they abound. As to the persons of the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, they are perfectly black, but their features more agreeable than their southern neighbours, having neither flat noses, nor thick lips, like other Caffies. The sovereign of this country was once absolute, but at present the great men set up for princes in their respective governments, and the king can transact nothing without them of any consequence. It was the king of this country that the Europeans used to style Prestor John. The Portuguese, it is said, when they first discovered this country, seeing a cross always carried before him, styled him priest, or Presbyter Maximus. He took upon him the supreme ecclesiastical, as well as civil powers; others say, the Turks gave him the name of Prestor Cham, or Cam, i. e. king of slaves, because they purchased most of their negro slaves in this country. The government appears now to be a republic, or rather a mixed monarchy, in which the prince's power is extremely limited by the great men. As to the common people, it is not very material whether the power be lodged in the king or lords, for they are all slaves either to one or the other.—This is the country from whence it is supposed the queen of Sheba came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and from whence the Eunuch, the prime minister of queen Candace came, who was converted to Christianity, and baptized by St. Philip.

(p. 56.) GEORGIA, a country of Asia, called by the Persians Gurgistan, and by the Turks Gurthi. It is one of the seven Caucasian nations, in the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and comprehends the ancient Iberia and Colchis. It is bounded on the N. by Circassia, on the E. by Daghestan and Schirvan, on the S. by Armenia, and on the W. by the Cuban, or new Russian government of Caucasus. It is divided into nine provinces.—Of these, five form the kingdom of Georgia; and four the kingdom or principality of Imeretia. This country is extremely beautiful. The hills are covered with forests of oak, ash, beech, chestnuts, walnuts, and elms, encircled with vines, growing perfectly wild, but producing vast quantities of grapes. From these is annually made as much wine as is necessary for their yearly consumption; the remainder are left to rot on the vines. Cotton grows spontaneously, as well as the finest European fruit trees. Rice, wheat, millet, hemp, and flax, are raised on the plains, almost without culture. The valleys afford the finest pasturage; the rivers are full of fish; the mountains abound in minerals, and the climate is delicious: so that nature appears to have lavished on this favoured country every production that can contribute to the happiness of its inhabitants. On the other hand, it labours under great disadvantages from the want

of navigable rivers, the incursions of predatory nations, &c. The inhabitants are Christians of the Greek communion, and appear to have received their present name from their attachment to St. George, the tutelary saint of these countries. Teflis is the capital.

(p. 56.) CIRCASSIA is situated between 40 and 50 degrees of E. lon. and between 45 and 50 degrees of N. lat. bounded by Russia on the N. by Astracan and the Caspian sea on the E. by Georgia and Dagistan on the S. and by the river Don and the Palus Meotis on the W. The Circassian Tartars are a kind of republic, but sometimes put themselves under the protection of Persia, and sometimes of Russia, or the Turks. They live in tents most commonly, rambling from place to place with their flocks and herds. Their country is now most taken notice of for its beautiful children, from whence, and the neighbouring country of Georgia, the seraglios of Turkey and Persia are usually supplied with boys and young virgins.

(p. 59.) MOGULAS, Country of the, or WESTERN CHINESE TARTARY, is bounded on the N. by Siberia, on the E. by Eastern Tartary, on the S. by the Wall and the Leno-tong, and on the W. by Independent Tartary. The Mogul Tartars have neither towns, villages, nor houses: they form themselves only into wandering herds, and live under tents, which they transport from one place to another, according as the temperature of the different seasons, or the wants of their flocks require: they pass the summer on the banks of their rivers, and the winter at the foot of some mountain, or hill, which shelters them from the cutting north wind.—They are naturally clownish, and dirty in their dress, as well as in their tents, where they live amid the dung of their flocks, which, when dried, they use for fuel instead of wood. Enemies to labour, they choose rather to be satisfied with the food with which their flocks supply them, than take the trouble of cultivating the earth: it even appears that they neglect agriculture from pride. During the summer, they live only on milk, which they get from their flocks, using without distinction that of the cow, mare, ewe, goat, and camel. Their ordinary drink is warm water, in which a little coarse tea has been infused; with this they mix cream, milk, or butter, according to their circumstances. They have also a method of making a kind of spirituous liquor of sour milk, especially of that of the mare. The Moguls are free, open, and sincere. They pride themselves chiefly on their dexterity in handling the bow and arrow, mounting on horseback, and hunting wild beasts. Polygamy is permitted among them, but they generally have but one wife. They burn the bodies of their dead, and transport the ashes to eminences, where they inter them, and cover the grave

with a heap of stones, over which they plant a great number of small standards. They are unacquainted with the use of money, and trade only by barter.

Although the Moguls might appropriate to themselves the spoils of a great number of animals, the skins which they use for clothing are generally those of their sheep. They wear the wool inmost, and the skin on the outside. All the Moguls are governed by kans, or particular princes, independent of each other, but all subject to the emperor of China, whom they consider as the grand kam of the Tartars.—When the Mantchews subdued China, they conferred on the most powerful of the Mogul princes the titles of vang, peilè, peizè, and cong, which answer to our titles of king, duke, count, and marquis; each of them had a revenue assigned him, but far inferior to the appointments of the Mantchew lords at Peking; the emperor settled the limits of their respective territories, and appointed them laws, according to which they are at present governed. All the Mogul nations under the Chinese government, may be divided into four principal tribes, which are the Moguls, properly so called, the Kilkas, the Ortous, and the Tartars of Kokonor.

(p. 67.) CHINA, including Chinesian Tartary, is situated between 95 and 135 degrees of E. lon. and between 21 and 35 degrees of N. lat. being bounded by Russian Tartary on the N. by the Pacific ocean on the E. and S. and by Tonquin, Tibet, and the territories of Russia on the W. from which it is separated by the river Argun, being about 2000 miles in length from N. to S. and 1500 in breadth from E. to W. It is usually divided into 16 provinces, which will be described in their alphabetical order, as occur. In these provinces it is computed there are 155 capital cities, 1312 of the second rank, 2357 fortified towns, and upwards of ten millions of families, which may amount to fifty millions of people; and some have computed them at fifty-eight millions.—There are several very large rivers, and where these are wanting, the whole country is cut through with navigable canals; and a brisk trade is driven on from one end of the kingdom to the other.—There is a long wall of stone, 1500 miles in length, which the Chinese built to defend themselves against the incursions of the Tartars; but the Tartars, notwithstanding, made a conquest of their country, about 160 years since; and they are now governed by Tartar princes, who permit them however to retain their own laws, obliging them only to cut off their hair. The chief produce of this country is silk, tea, china, japan-ware, and gold-dust, of which every maratime people of Europe, almost, import a great deal, sending them silver in return. The Europeans complain of them as very tricking unfair dealers, and that their custom-house officers take all opportunities of extorting

money from foreigners. Their writing and painting is a sort of short-hand, every character expressing a word, and sometimes a sentence. They have not the use of letters. The emperor is an absolute prince, but all his laws and acts must be passed by a certain great council of his nobility, before they are of any force; however he does not want means to oblige them to yield their assent to what he proposes, any more than the sovereigns in this part of the world. The government requires a profound submission of children to their parents; they even make statues and images to represent their ancestors and worship them in their houses; and mutual civility among all men is enjoined by law, which seems to have made them a nation of hypocrites, having very little regard to the solemn professions they make of their friendship. The revenues of the crown are computed at 21,000,000. sterling, which is not difficult to know, because an account of every man's family, estate, and substance, is taken every year and enrolled. Their forces are said to consist of 5,000,000 of men in time of peace; a militia that are very seldom raised, having few enemies since the union of Tartary with China. Peking is the capital of the whole empire.

(p. 77.) GOLCONDA, a country of the Decan of Hindostan, between the lower parts of the rivers Kistna and Godavery, and the principal part of Dowlatabad. It was formerly called Tellingana, or Tilling, and is subject to the Nizam of the Decan. It is most remarkable for its diamond mines, the most considerable in the world. Hydrabad is the capital.

(p. 77.) BISNAGER, E. lon. 78. O. lat. 13. 20. the cap. of the pr. of Bisnagar, in the hither peninsula of India, sit. 254 m. N. W. of Madras, or Fort St. George, and 240 m. S. E. of Goa, sub. to the Mogul.

(p. 77.) DECAN, a pr. of the Hither Peninsula of India, in Asia, is bounded by the pr. of Cambaya Guzurat on the N. by Golconda, and Berar on the E. by Visapour on the S. and by the Indian Ocean on the W. The chief inland town Aurengabad, and upon the coast the town of Bombay. The principal trade consists in cotton and silk.

(p. 81.) AVA, a country of Asia, on the Bay of Bengal, extending from the S. extremity of Aracan to Cape Negrais, divided from Pegu on the E. by the river Ava. The kingdom of Burmah has been erroneously called Ava, from its capital so named.

(p. 81.) ARACAN, or RECCAN, a country of Asia, bounded on the N. by Roshan, on the E. by Burmah, on the S. by the river Ava, and on the W. by the Gulf of Bengal. It is a fertile, but not populous country, governed by 12 princes, subject to the chief king; who resides in his capital. They have only two seasons; the rainy season, which



continues from April to October, and the fair season, which includes all the rest of the year, and is called the summer. The inhabitants are idolaters, and the women tolerably fair; but the longest ears are reckoned the most beautiful, and in these they wear many rings. There are such numbers of elephants, buffaloes, and tigers, that but few places are inhabited, on account of the ravages made by these animals.

(p. 84.) PEGU Kingdom, is sit. on the S. E. side of the Bay of Bengal, in the E. Indies, in Asia, bounded by the kingdom of Ava on the N. by the mountains, which separate it from Laos on the E. by the kingdom of Siam, and the Bay of Bengal, on the S. and by another part of the Bay of Bengal on the W. This country, like others between the tropics, is flooded when the sun is vertical, but the mud and slime, which the waters leave when they retire, render the low lands fruitful, as the Nile does those of Egypt. As to the higher grounds, they are parched up soon after the rains are over; and if they sow wheat on them, (as they sometimes do) they are forced to water them by little channels, which convey the water to them, from their cisterns and reservoirs. But they sow much more rice than wheat, which is more suitable to the flooded soil. They have not many of the European fruits, unless figs, oranges, lemons, citrons, and pomegranates: But they have bananas, goyyas, durions, mangoes, tamarinds, annanas or pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, and other tropical fruits; they have also pepper, and sugar-canes, and great variety of melons, cucumbers, roots, and other garden-stuff, which is their principal food. Their hills are covered with wood, and they have a great deal of good timber; but their bamboos, a kind of hollow cane, which grows to the bigness of a foot diameter, is of the greatest use; this they bend and form while it is young, making it fit for whatever they design it, and particularly to hang their palanquins upon: These are couches on which they lie when they travel, carried upon men's shoulders. They have few horses or sheep, but plough with oxen and buffaloes, and carry burdens upon them, as well as camels; nor does any place abound more in elephants than this and the adjacent countries; they compute the strength of their armies by the number and size of their elephants. The English from Fort St. George traffic pretty much with this country; and, besides furs and skins, import from thence rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones. The houses here are built frequently on pillars, by the river side; and, in the time of the rains, they have no communication with one another but by boats, in the flat country. According to late accounts, the king of Ava is now master of Pegu. The government is arbitrary; yet it is said, he seldom abuses his power. There

is one thing that seems peculiar to the people on the E. side of the Bay of Bengal, they are so far from resenting a foreigner's being free with their women, that they will offer their daughters to them for temporary wives while they remain in the country. They are of a copper colour, though the women are whiter than the men. Their priests are called Talapoins, and they worship idols; yet they inculcate clarity as the highest virtue; are strict observers of morality, and hold that religion to be best, which teaches men to do most good.

(p. 88.) SIAM, a kingdom of Asia, bounded on the N. E. by that of Laos, on the E. by Cambodia, on the S. by a gulf of the same name, and on the W. by the Bay of Bengal. It is 550 miles in length, and 250 in breadth, though in some places, not above 50. It is divided into higher and lower, and some French authors have extolled it as the finest and richest country in the world; but the inhabitants both men and women, go almost naked; the better sort indeed, wear rich garments. The king shows himself but once a year to the common people. He is proprietor of all the lands in the country, and keeps a numerous army, among which are 1000 elephants. It is a flat country, which, in the rainy season is overflowed; for which reason most of the houses are built on pillars, and they have no communication for some months but by boats.—They are Pagaus, but have some ideas of integrity and benevolence. There are mines of gold, silver, tin, and copper, and they have plenty of pepper, aloes, benjamin, and musk. The woods abound with elephants, rhinoceroses, leopards, and tigers; beside which there are large crocodiles, and serpents 20 feet long.

(p. 95.) TONQUIN, a kingdom of Asia, bounded on the N. by China, on the E. by China and the Bay of Tonquin, on the S. by Cochinchina, and the W. by Laos. It is 120 miles in length, and 500 in breadth, and is one of the finest and most considerable kingdoms of the east, on account of its population and commerce. The country is thick set with villages, and the natives are of a middling stature, with a tawny complexion. Their faces are oval and flattish; their noses and lips well proportioned. Their hair is black, long, lank, and coarse; and they let it hang down their shoulders. They dye their teeth black. They are dexterous, active, and ingenious in mechanic arts.—They weave a multitude of fine silks, and make curious lacker works, which are exported to other countries. They are so addicted to gaming, that when every thing else is lost, they will stake their wives and children. Their houses are small and low, and the walls either of mud, or hurdles daubed over with clay. They have only a ground floor, with two or three partitions, and each room has a

square hole to let in the light. The villages consist of 30 or 40 houses, surrounded by trees, and in some places are banks to keep the water from overflowing their gardens. In the rainy season they cannot pass from one house to another, without wading through the water. The language is spoken very much in the throat, and some of the words are pronounced through the teeth: it has a great resemblance to the Chinese. They have schools of learning, and their characters are the same, or like those of China; and like them, they write with a hair pencil. Their commodities are gold, musk, silks, calicões, drugs of many sorts, woods for dyeing, lackered ware, earthen ware, salt, &c.—The lackered ware is not inferior to that of Japan, which is accounted the best in the world. With all their merchandise one would expect the people to be very rich; but they are in general, very poor, the chief trade being carried on by the Chinese, English, and Dutch. The kingdom is an absolute monarchy. Tong-tou is the capital.

(p. 99.) COCHIN-CHINA, a kingdom of Asia, bounded on the E. by the Eastern ocean, on the N. by Tonquin, on the W. by Cambodia, and on the S. by Ciampa. It abounds in gold, raw silk, and drugs. Their towns have gates at the end of each street, which are shut every night. If any fire break out in a ward, all the inhabitants are destroyed, except the women and children.

(p. 99.) CAMBODIA; E. lon. 04. 15. lat. 2. 40. the capital of a kingdom of the same name, in India beyond the Ganges, in Asia situate near the western shore of the river Mecon (by some said to be the largest in the world), about 150 miles N. of the mouth of that river. Cambodia kingdom extends from the 9th to the 15th degree of N. lat. being bounded by the kingdom of Laos on the N. Cochin China and Chiampa on the E. the Indian ocean on the S. and the bay of Siam on the W. A country annually overflowed in the rainy season, viz. between June and October, as most countries are which lie within the tropic of Cancer, and north of the equator, producing rice, and such fruits as are usually found between the tropics.

(p. 102.) PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, islands in the Indian ocean, discovered by Magellan, in 1521. The principal islands are, Manila, or Luconia; Mindanao; Samar, or Tandago, sometimes called Philippina; Masbate; Mindoro; Luban; Paragoia, or Paragos; Panay; Leyta; Bohol; Sibiu, Cibau, or Zebu; Negro's island; St. John's; Xolo; and Abyo. They are chiefly subject to the Spaniards. Lon. from 115 13 to 120 50 E. lat. from 6 30 to 18 15 N.

(p. 105.) MOLUCCAS, or SPICE ISLANDS, a cluster of small islands in the eastern ocean, the largest not more than 30 miles in circumference.—

The principal are, Ternate, Tydore, Machian, Motyr, and Bachian. They lie between Gilolo to the E. and Celebes to the W. They are most remarkable for spices, especially cloves, and are subject to the English. Lon. from 125 to 130 E. lat. from 2 0 N. to 1 50 S.

(p. 103.) CEYLON island, situated between 73 and 82 degrees of E. lon. and between 6 and 10 N. lat. being 250 miles long, 195 broad, situate in the Indian sea near the S. E. coast of the continent of the Eastern India. The Dutch are possessed of all the sea coast, and have shut up the king in the middle of the island, who resides at the capital city of Candy, while the Dutch monopolize all the cinnamon which this island only produces, and suffer no other nation to trade with the natives, or get any cinnamon but what they purchase of them. They pretended to assist the king of Ceylon against the Portuguese, who had several towns and fortresses on the coast; and when they had driven the Portuguese out, usurped the dominion of the country, and in 1765, they attacked the city of Canada also, and have established a governor there of their own. The island is full of woods, which abound in wild beasts and very dangerous serpents, some of whom are so large that they will kill a tyger, and swallow him whole afterwards, having first broken all his bones, by twisting themselves round him. The most extraordinary vegetable production is the tree called the Tallipot, one of whose leaves will cover ten men, and keep them from the rain; they are very light, and travellers carry them from place to place, and use them as tents.

(p. 115.) JAPAN, a large empire in the most eastern part of Asia. It is composed of several islands, the principal of which is Nippon. It was discovered, in 1542, by the Portuguese, who were cast on shore by a tempest. This empire is the richest in the world for gold. The inhabitants are naturally ingenious, and have a happy memory; but their manners are diametrically opposite to those of the Europeans. The sciences are highly esteemed among them, and they have several schools at different places, in which are taught arithmetic, rhetoric, poetry, history, and astronomy. Some of their schools at Meaco have each above 3000 scholars.—They treat the women with great severity, and punish adultery with death. They formerly carried on a trade with the neighbouring countries; but now all communication is forbidden, except with the Chinese and Dutch. Their emperor is called Dairo; and in the minority of one of them, in 1150, when they had civil wars, one of the competitors for the crown assumed the ecclesiastical government, retaining the same title; while the other, who ruled in civil affairs, was called Cuba; and things have remained on the same footing to this day. The Dairo is the chief

emperor, and confer the dignity upon the other, as if he were his vassal. The religion is paganism; but there are two different sects. There was once a great number of Christians in different parts of the empire; but, in 1638, they were all extirpated. The palace of the emperor is at Jedo, in the island of Nippon, and it is the capital of the whole. The merchandise which the English carry to Japan, are spices, sugar, silks, linen and woollen cloth, elephants' teeth, and haberdashery wares, for which they receive gold, silver, cabinets, and other japanned and lackered wares.

(p. 124.) COREA, an island or peninsula on the N. E. of China, between 29 and 109 degrees of E. lon. and between 26 and 46 degrees of N. lat. bounded by Tartary on the N. by the Indian ocean, which separates it from Japan, on the E. by the Kang sea, and bay of Nankin on the S. and by the province of Leatong on the W. said to have good mines of gold and silver; subject to China.

(p. 124.) JESSO, or Yedso, E. lon. 140, N. lat. 40, a country of Asia, which lies north of Japan, and is conjectured to extend N. E. to the American continent; but we have little knowledge either of the country, or of the people who inhabit it.

(p. 176.) ROME, a famous city, formerly three times as large as it is at present, but still one of the largest cities of Europe. It contains 170,000 inhabitants, which, though greatly inferior to what it could boast in the days of its ancient power, is more than it has been able to number at some former periods since the fall of the empire; there being reason to think, that, at particular times since, it has been reduced below 40,000. The numbers have gradually increased during the present century.—Rome exhibits a strange mixture of magnificent and interesting, and of common and beggarly objects.—The former consists of palaces, churches, fountains, and the remains of antiquity. The latter comprehend all the rest of the city. The church of St. Peter, in the opinion of many, surpasses, in size and magnificence, the finest monuments of ancient architecture. Its length is 730 feet, the breadth 520; and the height from the pavement to the top of the cross, which crowns the cupola, 450. A complete description of this church, and of its statutes, basso-relievos, columns, and other ornaments, would fill volumes. The Pantheon is the most perfect of the Roman temples which now remain. From its circular form, it has obtained the name of the Rotundo. There are no windows, the central opening in the dome admitting sufficiency of light. The rain which falls through this aperture, immediately drills through holes which perforate a large piece of porphyry that forms the centre of the pavement. Being converted into a Christian temple, the Pantheon, originally erected to the honour of all the gods, is now dedi-

cated to the Virgin, and to all the martyrs and saints. As the Pantheon is the most entire, the Amphitheatre of Vespasian is the most stupendous monument of antiquity in Rome. One-half of the external circuit remains, from which a pretty exact idea may be formed of the original structure; by a computation of Mr. Byres, it could contain 85,600 spectators. But the antiquities of Rome are too numerous to be minutely described; we shall, therefore, pass over the ancient forum, now a cow-market; the beautiful column of Trajan, 120 feet high, &c. The pope has three superb palaces, of which the principal is the Vatican. The library of this palace is the largest and most complete in the world. In Rome the connoisseur will meet with innumerable paintings by the greatest masters, and with the chief *de-cœuvres* of sculpture, &c. The castle of St. Angelo serves only to keep the city in awe. Rome is seated on the Tiber, which runs through a part of it; and it is 600 miles S.E. of Paris, 410 S.S.W. of Vienna, and 780 S.E. of London. Long. 12 55 E. lat. 41 54 N.

(p. 400.) TARTARY, a country of Asia, which taken in its utmost limits, reaches from the Eastern ocean to the Caspian, and from Coora, China, Thibet, Hindostan, and Persia, to Russia and Siberia. It lies between 55 and 135 E. long. and between 35 and 55 N. lat. being 3600 miles in length, and 960 in breadth; but in the narrowest part not above 330 broad. It may be considered under two grand divisions, namely, Eastern and Western Tartary.—The greatest part of the former either belongs to the emperor of China, is tributary to him, or is under his protection; and a very considerable part of Western Tartary has been conquered by the Russians. These vast countries include all the middle part of Asia, and are inhabited by Tartars of different denominations and manners.

(p. 410.) LAPLAND, a country of Europe, bounded on the N. by the North sea and the Frozen ocean, on the E. by the White sea, on the S. by Sweden and the gulf of Bothnia, and on the W. by Norway. It is situate between 69 and 75 of N. lat. Swedish Lapland occupies the south division, which is the largest; Russian Lapland is situate in the east part; and Danish Lapland, which is the smallest, extends the whole length of the Severnoy, a chain of lofty mountains, on their northern side. The Laplanders are of a middling stature. They have generally a flattish face, fallen cheeks, dark grey eyes, thin beard, brown hair, are stout, straight, and of a yellowish complexion, occasioned by the weather, the smoke of their habitations, and their habitual filthiness. Their manner of life renders them hardy, agile, and supple, but, at the same time, inclined to indolence. They are so proud of their country and constitution, that, when removed from



the place of their nativity, they usually die of the nostalgia, or longing to return. Their women are short, often well made, complaisant, chaste, and extremely nervous; which is also observable sometimes among the men. The men are divided into Fishers and Mountaineers. The former make their habitations in the neighbourhood of some lake, whence they draw their subsistence. The others seek their support on the mountains, possessing herds of reindeer, which they use according to the season; but they go generally on foot. The Fishers, who are also called Laplanders of the woods (because in summer they dwell upon the borders of the lakes, and in winter in the forests) live by fishing and hunting, and choose their situation from its convenience for either. All the Swedish and Norwegian, as well as the greatest number of the Russian Laplanders, bear the name of Christians; but their religion is full of superstition, a compound of Christian and Pagan ceremonies.

(p. 427.) GUINEA Coast, in Africa, is situate between 15 E. and 15 W. long. and between 4 and 10 degrees of N. lat. bounded by Nigritia, or Negroeland, on the N. by unknown lands, on the E. by Congo and the Atlantic Ocean on the S. and by the same ocean on the W. comprehending, 1, The Grain Coast, from its producing chiefly Guinea-grain, 2, The Ivory Coast, from the plenty of elephants' teeth found there; 3, The Gold Coast, from its furnishing most gold; 4, The Slave Coast, so designated from the quantity of slaves that used formerly to be purchased from thence; which, previous to the abolition of that infernal traffic by the British government, are said to have amounted to nearly 40,000 annually in English vessels. Every one of these divisions produces some of the above-said articles. The English, Dutch, Portuguese, and other European nations, previous to this war, had numerous forts and factories on this coast; but they are now chiefly occupied by the English.—There is abundance of little princes and states in the inland country, who are usually at war, and who sold their prisoners to the Europeans for slaves. The African traders do not only visit this coast, which is properly called Guinea, but all the W. coast of Africa, from Cape Verd at the mouth of the river Nigre, in 15 degrees N. lat. to Cape Negro, in 18 degrees S. lat. where they meet with the same merchandize they do in Proper Guinea.

(p. 433.) BENIN, a kingdom of Africa, bounded on the W. by Dahomy and the Atlantic; on the N. by Biafara; on the E. by parts unknown; and on the S. by Loango. It begins in 1 S. lat. and extends to about 9 N. lat. The women use great art in dressing their hair, in a variety of forms. The people are skilful in making various sorts of dies, and they manufacture and export cotton cloths.—

They eat the flesh of dogs and cats in preference to that of any other animal. Though jealous of each other, they are not so of the Europeans, thinking it impossible that the taste of the women can be so depraved as to grant any liberties to a white man. Their religion is paganism. Their king is absolute, and has a great number of petty princes under him.

(p. 439) CONGO, a country of Africa, between the equinoctial line and 18 degrees of S. lat. containing the countries of Loango, Angola, and Benguela. It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1481, and is bounded on the N. by Benin, by the inland part of Africa on the E. by Matanion on the S. and by the Atlantic on the W. It is sometimes called Lower Guinea; and the Portuguese have a great many settlements on the coast, as well as in the inland country. The inhabitants go almost naked, worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, beside animals of different kinds; but the Portuguese have made many converts. Congo, properly so called, extends 150 miles along the coast, and 372 inland. From March to September is called the winter season, when it rains almost every day; and the summer is from October to March, when the weather is serene. The inhabitants are skilful in weaving cotton cloth, and trade in ivory, cassia, and tamarinds. The river Zaire is full of crocodiles and river-horses. The principal town is S. Salvador.

(p. 439.) ANGOLA, a kingdom of Africa, bounded on the N. by Congo Proper, on the E. by Malemby, on the S. by Benguela, on the W. by the Atlantic. The country is divided among some petty princes, and the Portuguese have several settlements on the coast; the English and Dutch also traffic with the natives.

(p. 452.) CAFFRARIA, (South) a country of Africa, lying to the S. of the tropic of Capricorn, and extending along the Indian Ocean to the mouth of the Great Fish River, in lat. 30 30 S. By this river it is divided from the country of the Hottentots. Its other boundaries cannot, at present, be ascertained, it having never been visited by any European, before the voyage which Lieutenant Patterson made in these parts in 1779. The Caffres are tall and well proportioned; and, in general, evince great courage in attacking lions and other beasts of prey. Their colour is a jet black; their teeth white as ivory. They are so fond of dogs, that if one particularly pleases them, they will give two bullocks in exchange for it; and their whole exercise through the day is hunting, fighting, or dancing. They have great pride in their cattle; and cut their horns in such a way as to be able to turn them into any shape they please; when they wish their cattle to return, they go a little way from the house and blow a whistle, which is made of ivory

of bone, and in this manner bring them all home, without any difficulty. The women make a curious kind of baskets, of a texture so compact as to contain milk. Industry is the leading trait in the character of the Caffres, who are distinguished from their neighbours to the S. by their fondness for agriculture. They are governed by an hereditary king, whose power is very limited, receiving no tax, and having no troops at his command; but being permitted to take as many wives as he pleases, it is necessary that he should have a large portion of land to cultivate, and a greater number of cattle to tend and feed. His cabin his neither higher, nor better decorated than the rest; and his whole family live around him, composing a group of about 15 huts. The distance of the different hordes make it necessary that they should have inferior chiefs, who are appointed by the king.

(p. 461.) **MONOMOTAPA**, a kingdom of Africa, bounded on the N. by Monomngi, on the E. by Sofala, on the S. by Caffraria, and on the W. by unknown regions. The air is temperate, and the soil fertile in rice and sugar-canes, which last grow without cultivation. There are a great many ostriches and elephants, with several mines of gold and silver. It lies on the E. coast of Africa, between 14 and 25 S. lat. Its capital is of the same name.

(p. 466.) **SOFALA**, a kingdom on the E. coast of Africa, extending S. of Zanguebar, from the river Cuama to the river Del Espirito Santo; that is, from 17 to 25 S. lat. It contains mines of gold, and is tributary to the Portuguese.

(p. 469.) **SOCOTORA**, an island of Asia, between Arabia Felix and Africa, 50 miles in length, and 22 in breadth. It is noted for its fine aloes.

(p. 472.) **MADAGASCAR**, the largest of the African islands, lies between 44 and 51 degrees E. lon. and 12 and 25 S. lat. It is 40 leagues E. of the continent of Africa, from which it is separated by the straits of Mosambique. It extends 900 miles from N. to S. and is from 200 to 300 broad. The natives are commonly tall, well made, of an olive complexion, and some of them pretty black. Their hair is not woolly, like that of the negroes of Guinea; but it is always black, and for the most part curls naturally: their nose is small, though not flat, and they have not thick lips. There are a great many petty kings, whose riches consists in cattle and slaves, and they are always at war with each other. They have neither temples nor priests.—They have no rules relating to marriage; for the men and women cohabit for some time, and then leave each other as freely. Here is a great number of locusts, crocodiles, cameleons, and other animals common to Africa. They have corn and grapes, and several sorts of excellent honey; as

also minerals and precious stones. The French have attempted to settle here, but have always been expelled. There are only some parts on the coast yet known.

(p. 483.) **FLORIDA**, a country of N. America, bounded on the N. by Georgia, on the E. by the Atlantic, on the S. by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the W. by the Mississippi. It is 600 miles long, and 130 broad, lying between 25 and 31 degrees N. lat. and 82 and 92 W. long. It is divided into E. and W. Florida; St. Augustine, the capital of the former, and Pensacola of the latter. In some parts, two crops of Indian corn are annually produced: the banks of the rivers are well adapted to the culture of rice and corn; the interior country abounds with wood of almost every kind; the intervals between the hilly parts produce spontaneously the fruits common to Georgia and the Carolinas; and the whole country is valuable, in a particular manner, for the extensive rangers for cattle. Florida was discovered by Sebastian Cabot, in 1497. Having often changed masters, belonging alternately to the French and Spaniards, it was ceded by the latter to the English in 1763; but in 1781, it was taken by the Spaniards, and ceded to them in 1783; and under whose dominion they have uninterruptedly continued, till the recent troubles that have overwhelmed the mother-country; when, the revolutionary principles of the inhabitants of the United States, having been disseminated among the people, a majority of them have solicited to be admitted into the Union, and there is little doubt, but it will soon be carried into effect.

(p. 489.) **HUDSON'S BAY**, a bay of N. America, lying between 51 and 69 N. lat. and discovered, in 1610, by captain Henry Hudson, in endeavouring to find a N. W. passage into the Pacific Ocean. Repeated attempts have been since made to find that passage, but hitherto without effect. The entrance of the bay, from the ocean, after leaving to the N. Cape Farewell and Davis' Straits, is between Resolution isles on the N. and Button's isles on the Labrador coast to the S. forming the E. extremity of the strait, distinguished by the name of its great discoverer. This bay communicates on the N. by two straits, with Baffin's bay; on the E. side it is bordered by Labrador, on the S. by Canada, on the S. W. by New South Wales, and on the W. by New North Wales. In 1670 a charter was granted to a company, which does not consist of above ten persons, for the exclusive trade to this bay. This company possess three forts on the S. coast of James' Bay, by which the southern termination of Hudson's Bay is distinguished. These factories are called Rupert, Moose, and Albany, and they lie from 50. 50. to 52. 0. N. lat. On the W. side of Hudson's Bay, considerably

up Hayes' river, is a factory called Flanborough.— Beyond this is York Fort, on Nelson's river, in lon. 92. 30. W. lat. 57. 25. N. but the most northern settlement is Prince of Wales's Fort, at the mouth of Churchill river, in lon. 94. 7. W. lat. 58. 48. N. In 1782, these factories were destroyed by a French squadron under the command of M. de la Peyrouse, but the damage has been since repaired, and the commerce is again in a flourishing situation.

(p. 491.) CARIBBEE ISLANDS [West Indies], the name given to a number of islands in the Atlantic ocean, which extend across the entrance of the gulf of Mexico, from the north west extremity of the Bahama islands, off the coast of Florida, in lat. 27. 45. N. in a south easterly direction to Tobago, 120 miles from the coast of Terra Firma, in lat. 11. 30. N. They lie between 59 and 86 W. long. Cuba being the most western, and Barbadoes the most eastern of these islands. When Columbus discovered them in 1492, he considered them as part of those vast regions in Asia, comprehended under the general name of India, to reach which, by a westerly coast across the Atlantic, had been the object of his voyage; and this opinion was so general, that Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile, in their ratification of an agreement, granted to Columbus upon his return, gave them the name of *The Indies*. Even after the error which gave rise to this opinion was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name remained, and the appellation of the West Indies is given by all Europeans to these islands, and that of *Indians* to the inhabitants, not only of the islands, but of the continent of America. They are likewise called the Caribbee Islands, from the aborigines of the country; and the sea in which they lie, is sometimes called, by modern geographers, the Archipelago of the Caribbees. By the French they are called the Antilles; and nautical men distinguish them, from the different courses taken by ships, into the Leeward and Windward Islands. The name of the Caribbees should properly be confined to the smaller islands, lying between Porto Rico and Tobago. These were inhabited by the Caribbees, a fierce race of men, nowise resembling their timid neighbours in the larger islands. Columbus was a witness to their intrepid valour. The same character they have maintained invariably in all subsequent contests with the Europeans. The British islands are, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat, Barbuda, Anguilla, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines, Tobago, Martinico, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Marigalante, Curacao, St. Eustatia, the Virgin Islands, and the Bahama Islands. The Spanish Islands are, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Margarita.

(p. 498.) BRASIL; a country of South America, which gives the title of prince to the heir apparent of the crown of Portugal. It lies between the equinoctial line and the tropic of Capricorn. The air, though within the torrid zone, is temperate and wholesome. The soil is fertile, and more sugar comes thence, than from all other parts of the world. It produces tobacco, Indian corn, several sorts of fruits, and medicinal drugs. The wood brought from Brasil, and hence so called, is of great use in dying red; and within the country there is gold, and several sorts of precious stones. The cattle, carried over from Europe, increase prodigiously. They have several animals not known in Europe; among the rest a beautiful bird, called Colibri, whose body is not much larger than that of a May-bug. The Portuguese chiefly inhabit the coast, for they have not penetrated far into the country. Brasil is divided into fifteen governments, which are governed by the Prince Regent of Portugal, who, in 1808, fled hither for security against the tyranny of Bonaparte, who threatened the house of Braganza with destruction. Since his arrival, this colony has been greatly improved in its trade and population.

(p. 501.) PERU, a large country of South America, bounded on the N. by Popayan, on the W. by the Pacific ocean, on the S. by Chili, and on the E. by the Andes. It is 1500 miles in length, from N. to S. and 125 in breadth, between the Andes and the ocean, but in other places it is much broader. When the Spaniards landed in this country in 1530, they found it governed by sovereigns called Incas, who were revered by their subjects as divinities; and the inhabitants were found to be much more polished than the natives of other parts of America, those of Mexico excepted. These were soon subdued by a few Spaniards, under the command of Francis Pizarro. Peru is now divided into the three audiences of Quito, Lima, or Los Reyes, and Los Charcos; the whole under the government of a viceroy, whose authority once extended over all South America possessed by the Spaniard; but as some of these countries in this vast jurisdiction are above 2000 miles distant from the supreme seat of justice at Lima, the inhabitants were subject to the greatest inconveniences; to remedy which two new viceroyalties have been established. The first is fixed at Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, and extends over the whole of Terra Firma, and the audience of Quito. In the jurisdiction of the second, established in 1776, are the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. Peru has been long celebrated for its mines of gold and silver, all the quicksilver used in the refining of which is extracted from



the famous mine of Guancabelica. Quinquina, or Jesuits Bark, the virtues of which are so well known, is found only in this country.

The fiercest beasts of prey in Peru are the Puma and Jaquar, inaccurately called lions and tigers by the Europeans, but possessing neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter: they are hardly formidable to man, and often turn their backs on the least appearance of resistance. A quadruped, called the lama, peculiar to this country, was tamed to domestic purposes by the ancient Peruvians. In form it bears some resemblance to a deer, and some to a camel, and is of a size somewhat larger than a sheep. Its wool furnished the Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility; but it was never used for draught. Among the birds, the most remarkable is the condor, which is entitled to pre-eminence over the flying tribe, in bulk, strength, and courage. The river Guyaquil abounds with alligators, and the neighbouring country swarms almost as much with snakes and vipers, as that round Porto Bello does with toads. Notwithstanding the vast numbers of the original natives that perished from various causes, since the conquest of the country by the Spaniards, their numbers are still very great; and several districts, particularly in the audience of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians. Lima is the capital.

(p. 514.) CANADA, a large country of North America, bounded on the N. by New Britain, on the E. by the gulf of St. Lawrence, on the S. by Nova Scotia and the United States, and on the W. by unknown lands. It lies between 61 and 81 degrees W. long. and 45 and 52 N. lat. and was discovered by the Cabots, father and son, in 1497. The winter continues for six months very severe. The land that is cleared is fertile, and the wheat sowed in May is reaped at the end of August. Of all their animals, the beaver is the most useful and curious. Canada turpentine is greatly esteemed for its balsamic qualities, and for its use in disorders of the breast and stomach. Canada was conquered by the English in 1759, and confirmed to them by the French at the peace of 1763. In 1774, this country was formed into a province, called Quebec, from the name of the capital; a government was instituted conformably to the French laws of Canada, and the Roman Catholic religion was established. In 1791, it was divided into two provinces, namely, Upper Canada and Lower Canada, of which latter province Quebec is the chief town; and a constitution, in imitation of that of England, was given to each of these provinces.

(p. 518.) CALIFORNIA, a peninsula of North America, in the North Pacific ocean, separated from

the west coast of America by the Vermillion sea, or gulf of California, extending S. E. from lat. 32 N. to Cape St. Lucar, in lat. 23 N. It was discovered by Cortes, in 1536, and is said to have been visited by Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and to have received from him the name of New Albion. This latter name, however, belongs to no part of the peninsula, but to a country farther north between 37 and 45 N. latitude; the harbour of Sir Francis Drake being situated in about 110 23 W. long. and 38 23 N. lat. During a long period, California continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown; and in most charts it was represented as an island. Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its situation, must be very desirable, the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it.—Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it, as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay; and they laboured to govern the natives by the same policy. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there. Several public-spirited citizens endeavoured to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give them a better view of California, but in vain. At last, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid appointed Don Joseph Galvez to visit this peninsula. His account of the country was favourable; he found the pearl fishery on its coasts to be valuable, and he discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. At present, however, California (the natural history of which is very little known) still remains among the most desolate and useless districts of the Spanish empire.

(p. 519.) VIRGINIA, one of the United States of North America, bounded on the S. by North Carolina, on the W. by the Mississippi, on the N. by Pennsylvania and the Ohio, and on the E. by the Atlantic. It is 758 miles in length, and 224 in breadth. The principal rivers are, James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac. The soil and climate are various. The principal produce is tobacco, wheat, and Indian corn; but the culture of tobacco has considerably declined in favour of that of wheat. Virginia is divided into 74 counties, and the capital town is Richmond.

(p. 522.) HISPANIOLA (or St. Domingo), one of the richest islands in the West Indies, 400 miles in length, and 75 in breadth; is now solely possessed by the revolted negroes, who style it Hayti, from its

original. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492. The Spanish name of it is Hispaniola, originally given to it by Columbus. The western part of it belongs to the French, and the east to the Spaniards. Since the revolution in France, the French part of this fine island has been subject to the most dreadful calamities, as well from an insurrection of the negroes, as from a civil war between the patriots and the royalists. The latter called in the assistance of the English, who landed in September, 1793, and provisionally took possession of Jeremie and Cape St. Nicholas Mole. Several other places submitted soon after; but some of them have been retaken by the republicans, who seemed, at the commencement of 1795, to be gaining the ascendancy. This island lies between Jamaica to the W. and Porto Rico to the E.

(p. 524.) MEXICO (Old or New Spain), an extensive country in North America, bounded on the N. by New Mexico, and on the S.E. by the Isthmus of Darien, where its breadth is not more than 60 miles; its western coast being washed by the Pacific ocean and the gulf of California, and its eastern by the gulf Mexico and the Caribbean sea. It lies between 83 and 110 degrees W. long. and extends from 7 30 to 30 40 N. lat. being 2000 miles long, and, in its widest part to the north, above 600 broad. Although Mexico is within the torrid zone, the climate is temperate and healthy. No country abounds more with grain, fruits, roots, and vegetables; many of them peculiar to the country, or, at least, to America. It is celebrated for its mines of gold and silver, and has quarries of jasper, porphyry, and exquisite marble. Cochineal is almost peculiar to this country, its indigo and cocoa are superior to any in America; and its logwood has been long an important article of commerce. Among the quadrupeds are the puma and jaguar, bears, elks, wolves, deer, &c. The puma and jaguar have been inaccurately denominated by Europeans, lions and tigers; but they possess neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter.

The domestic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied here almost with incredible rapidity. Numbers of these having been suffered to run wild, now range over the vast plains, in herds of from 30 to 40,000; they are killed merely for the sake of their hides, and the slaughter at certain seasons is so great, that the stench of the carcasses which are left in the fields, would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vast flocks of gallinazos, or American vultures, the most voracious of birds, did not instantly devour them: these hides are annually exported, in vast quantities, to Europe. New Spain is divided into the three audiences of Guadalajara, Mexico, and Guatemala, subdivided into provinces, the principal of which, in

each audience, being Guadalajara Proper, Mexico Proper, and Guatemala Proper. The whole country is governed by a viceroy, the extent of whose jurisdiction, however, has been wisely circumscribed, in the course of this century, by the erection of the four remote provinces of Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, into a separate government.

(p. 527.) DARIEN, (or Terra Firma Proper), a province of Terra Firma, in South America. It lies along the coast of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and is particularly distinguished by the name of the Isthmus of Darien, and, by some writers, the Isthmus of Panama. It extends, in the form of a crescent, round the bay of Panama, being bounded on the N. by the gulf of Mexico, on the E. by the river and gulf of Darien, on the S. by Popayan and the Pacific ocean, and on the W. by the same ocean and Veragua. It is not above 60 miles broad; but this Isthmus, which binds together the continents of North and South America, is strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains, stretching through its whole extent, which renders it a barrier of solidity sufficient to resist the impulses of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible. The valleys in this moist climate, where it rains during two-thirds of the year, are marshy, and so often overflowed, that the inhabitants, in many places, build their houses upon trees, to be elevated from the damp soil, and the odious reptiles engendered in the putrid waters. The principal towns are Panama and Porto Bello.

(p. 529.) ANDALUSIA, a province of New Spain, 250 miles in length, and 150 in breadth.—It is bounded on the S. by Granada, on the W. by Algarva and the Atlantic, on the N. by Estramadura, and on the E. by Murcia. The Guadalquivir runs through its whole length, and it is the finest country in Spain. The capital is Seville.

(p. 538.) ENGLAND, a kingdom of Great Britain, bounded on the N. by Scotland, on the N.E. and E. by the German ocean, on the S. by the English Channel, and on the W. by St. George's Channel, the principality of Wales, and the Irish Sea. It lies between two degrees E. and 7 W. long. and between 49 and 56 N. lat. It is of a triangular form. The longest day in the northern parts contains 17 hours 50 minutes; and the shortest in the southern near eight hours.

The situation, by the sea washing it on three sides, renders England liable to a great uncertainty of weather, so that the inhabitants on part of the sea coasts are often visited by agues and fevers. On the other hand, it prevents the extremes of heat and cold, to which other places, lying in the same degree of latitude, are subject; and it is, on that account, friendly to the longevity of the inhabitants in general, especially those who live on a dry soil. To this

situation likewise we are to ascribe that perpetual verdure for which England is remarkable, occasioned by refreshing showers, and the warm vapours of the sea.

When the Romans provinciated England, they divided it into,

1. *Britannia Prima*, which contained the southern parts of the kingdom.

2. *Britannia Secunda*, containing the western parts, comprehending Wales. And,

3. *Maxima Caesariensis*, which reached from the Trent as far northward as the wall of Severus, between Newcastle and Carlisle, and sometimes as far as that of Adrian in Scotland, between the Forth and Clyde.

To these divisions some add the *Flavia Caesariensis*, which they suppose to contain the midland counties.

When the Saxons invaded England about the year 450, and when they were established in the year 582, their chief leaders appropriated to themselves, after the manner of the other northern conquerors, the countries which each had been the most instrumental in conquering; and the whole formed a heptarchy, or political republic, consisting of seven kingdoms. But in time of war, a chief was chosen out of the seven kingdoms; for which reason we call it a political republic, its constitution greatly resembling that of ancient Greece.

Besides the 52 counties into which England and Wales are divided, there are counties corporate, consisting of certain district, to which the liberties and jurisdictions peculiar to a county have been granted by royal charter. Thus the city of London is a county distinct from Middlesex; the cities of York, Chester, Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Worcester, and the towns of Kingston upon Hull and Newcastle upon Tyne, are counties of themselves, distinct from those in which they lie. The same may be said of Berwick upon Tweed, which lies in Scotland, and hath within its jurisdiction a small territory of two miles, on the north side of the river.

The industry of the English is such, as to supply the absence of those favours which nature has so lavishly bestowed upon some foreign climates, and in many respects even to exceed them. No nation in the world can equal the cultivated parts of England in beautiful scenes. The variety of high-lands and low-lands, the former generally swelling, and both of them forming prospects equal to the most luxuriant imagination, the corn and meadow ground, the intermixtures of inclosures and plantations, the noble seats, comfortable houses, cheerful villages, and well-stocked farms, often rising in the neighbourhood of populous towns and cities, decorated with the most vivid colours of nature, are inexpressible. The most barren spots are not without their

verdure; but nothing can give us a higher idea of the English industry, than observing, that some of the pleasantest counties in the kingdom are naturally the most barren, but rendered fruitful by labour. Upon the whole, it may be safely affirmed, that no country in Europe equals England in the beauty of its prospects, or the opulence of its inhabitants.

Though England is full of delightful rising grounds, and the most enchanting slopes, yet it contains few mountains. The most noted are the Peak in Derbyshire, the Pendle in Lancashire, the Wolds in Yorkshire, the Cheviot hills on the borders of Scotland, the Chiltern in Bucks, Malvern in Worcestershire, Cotswold in Gloucestershire, the Wrekin in Shropshire; with those of Plinlimmon and Snowdon in Wales. In general, however, Wales and the northern parts may be termed mountainous.

The vegetable and animal productions are subjects so copious, and such improvements have been made in gardening and agriculture, ever since the best printed accounts we have had of both, that much must be left to the reader's own observation and experience. Excellent institutions for the improvements of agriculture are now common in England; and their members are so public-spirited as to print periodical accounts of their discoveries and experiments, which serve to shew that agriculture and gardening may be carried to a much higher state of perfection than they are in at present. Honey and saffron are natives of England. It is almost needless to mention to the most uninformed reader, in what plenty the most excellent fruits, apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, apricots, nectarines, currants, gooseberries, raspberries, and other hortulant productions, grow here; and what quantities of cider, perry, methueglin, and the like liquors, are made in some counties. The cider of Devon and Herefordshire, when kept, and made of proper apples, and in a particular manner, is often preferred by judicious palates, to French white wine. It is not enough to mention those improvements, did we not observe the natives of England have made the different fruits of the world their own, sometimes by simple culture, but often by hot-beds, and other means of forcing nature. The English pine-apples are delicious, and now plentiful. The same may be said of other natives of the East and West Indies, Persia, and Turkey. The English grapes are pleasing to the taste, but their flavour is not exalted enough for making of wine; and indeed wet weather injures the flavour of all the other fine fruits raised here. Our kitchen gardens abound with all sorts of greens, roots, and salads in perfection; such as artichokes, asparagus, cauliflowers, cabbages, coleworts, brocoli, peas, beans, kidney-



beans, spinnage, beets, lettuce, celery, endive, turnips, carrots, potatoes, mushrooms, leeks, onions, and shallots.

Wood for dying is cultivated in Bucks and Bedfordshire, as hemp and flax are in other counties. In nothing, however, have the English been more successful than in the cultivation of the clover, cinquefoil, trefoil, saintfoil, lucern, and other meliorating grasses for the soil. It belongs to a botanist to recount the various kinds of useful and salutary herbs, shrubs, and roots, that grow in different parts of England. The soil of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Hampshire, is most favourable to the difficult and tender culture of hops, which are now become a very considerable article of trade.

The exemption of the English constitution from the despotic powers exercised in foreign nations, not excepting republics, is one great reason why it is very difficult to ascertain the number of inhabitants in England; and yet it is certain that this might occasionally be done, by parliament, without any violation of public liberty, and probably soon will take place. With regard to political calculations, they must be very fallible, when applied to England. The prodigious influx of foreigners who settle in the nation, the emigrations of inhabitants to America and the islands, their return from thence, and the great number of hands employed in shipping, are all of them matters that render any calculation extremely precarious. Upon the whole, we are apt to think, that England is more populous than the estimators of her inhabitants are willing to allow. The war with France and Spain before the last, annually employed about 200,000 Englishmen, exclusive of Scots and Irish, by sea and land; and its progress carried off by various means, very near that number. The decay of population was indeed sensibly felt, but not so much as it was during the wars of queen Anne's reign, though not half of the numbers were then employed in the sea and land service.

At the same time, we are not of opinion that England is at present naturally more populous than she was in the reign of Charles I. though she is accidentally so. The English of former ages were strangers to the excessive use of spirituous liquors, and other modes of living that are destructive of propagation. On the other hand, the vast quantities of cultivated lands in England, since those times, it might reasonably be presumed, would be favourable to mankind; but this advantage is probably more than counter-balanced by the prevailing practice of engrossing farms, which is certainly unfavourable to population; and, independent of this, upon an average, perhaps a married couple has not such a numerous progeny now as formerly. We will take the liberty to make another observation,

which falls within the cognizance of almost every man, and that is, the incredible increase of foreign names upon our parish books, and public lists, compared to what they were even in the reign of George I.

After what has been premised, it would be presumptuous to pretend to ascertain the number of inhabitants of England and Wales; but, in our own private opinion, there cannot be fewer than 7,000,000.

The antiquities of England are either British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Anglo-Norman; but these, excepting the Roman, throw no great light upon ancient history.

The Roman antiquities in England consist chiefly of altars and monumental inscriptions, which instruct us as to the legionary stations of the Romans in Britain, and the names of some of their commanders. The Roman military ways give us the highest idea of the civil as well as military policy of those conquerors. Their vestiges are numerous; one is mentioned by Leland, as beginning at Dover, and passing through Kent to London, and from thence to St. Alban's, Dunstable, Stafford, Worcester, Littleburn, St. Gilbert's Hill near Shrewsbury, then by Stratton, and so through the middle of Wales to Cardigan. The great Via Militaris, called Herman-Street, passed from London through Lincoln, where a branch of it, from Pontefract to Doncaster, strikes out to the westward, passing through Tadcaster to York, and from thence to Aidsby, where it again joined Herman-Street.—There would, however, be no end of describing the vestiges of the Roman roads in England, many of which serve as foundations to our present highways. The great earl of Arundel, the celebrated English antiquarian, had formed a noble plan for describing those which pass Sussex and Surrey towards London; but the civil war breaking out, put an end to the undertaking. The remains of many Roman camps are discernible all over England; one particular very little defaced, near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, where also is a Roman amphitheatre. Their situations are generally so well chosen, and their fortifications appear to have been so complete, that there is some reason to believe, that they were the constant habitations of the Roman soldiers in England; though it is certain, from the baths and tessellated pavements, that have been found in different parts, that their chief officers or magistrates lived in towns or villas. Roman walls have likewise been found in England, and perhaps, upon the borders of Wales, many of their fortifications and castles are blended with those of a later date; and it is difficult for the most expert architect to pronounce that some halls and courts are not entirely Roman.—The private cabinets of noblemen and gentlemen,

as well as the public repositories, contain a vast number of Roman arms, coins, fibulae, trinkets, and the like, which have been found in England; but the most amazing monument of the Roman power in England, is the prætecture, or wall of Severus, commonly called the Picts wall, running through Northumberland and Cumberlan'd; beginning at Tinnmouth, and ending at Solway Frith, being about eighty miles in length. The wall at first consisted only of stakes and turf, with a ditch; but Severus built it with stone forts, and turrets at proper distances, so that each might have a speedy communication with the other, and it was attended all along by a deep ditch or vallum to the north, and a military highway to the south.

The Saxon antiquities in England consist chiefly in ecclesiastical edifices, and places of strength.—At Winchester is shewn the round table of king Arthur, with the names of his knights. The antiquity of this table has been disputed by Camden, and later writers, perhaps with reason: but if it be not British, it certainly is Saxon. The cathedral of Winchester served as the burying-place of several Saxon kings, whose bones were collected by bishop Fox, in six large wooden chests. Many monuments of Saxon antiquity present themselves all over the kingdom, though they are often not to be discerned from the Norman; and the British Museum contains several striking original specimens of their learning. Many Saxon charters, signed by the king and his nobles, with a plain cross instead of their names, are still to be met with. The writing is neat and legible, and was always performed by a clergyman, who affixed the name and quality of every donor, or witness, to his respective cross. The Danish erections in England are hardly discernible from the Saxon. The form of their camps is round, and they are generally built on eminences, but their forts are square.

All England is full of Anglo-Norman monuments, which we chuse to call so, because, though the princes under whom they were raised were of Norman original, yet the expence was defrayed by Englishmen, with English money. York-minster, and West-minster-hall and abbey are perhaps the finest specimens to be found in Europe, of that Gothic manner which prevailed in building, before the recovery of the Greek and Roman architecture. All the cathedrals and old churches in the kingdom, are more or less in the same taste, if we except St. Paul's. In short, those erections are so common, that they scarcely deserve the name of curiosities. It is uncertain, whether the artificial excavations, found in some parts of England, are British, Saxon, or Norman. That under the old castle of Ryegate in Surrey is very remarkable, and seems to have been designed for secreting the cattle and effects of the

natives in time of war and invasion. It contains an oblong square hall, round which runs a bench, cut out of the same rock for sitting upon; and tradition says, that it was the room in which the barons of England met during the wars with king John.—The rock itself is soft and very practicable; but it is hard to say where the excavation, which is continued in a square passage, about six feet high, and four wide, terminates, because the work is fallen in in some places.

Derbyshire is celebrated for many natural curiosities. The Mam Tor, or Mother Tower, is said to be continually mouldering away, but never diminishes. The Eldon Hole, about four miles from the same place: this is a chasm in the side of a mountain, near seven yards wide, and fourteen long, diminishing in extent within the rock, but of what depth is not known. A plummet once drew 884 yards of line after it, whereof the last eighty were wet, without finding a bottom. The entrance of Poole's Hole, near Buxton, for several paces is very low, but soon opens into a very lofty vault, like the inside of a Gothic cathedral. The height is certainly very great, yet much short of what some have asserted, who reckon it a quarter of a mile perpendicular, though in length it exceeds that dimension; a current of water, which runs along the middle, adds, by its sounding stream, re-echoed on all sides, very much to the astonishment of all who visit this vast concave. The drops of water which hang from the roof, and on the sides, have an amusing effect; for they not only reflect numberless rays from the candles carried by the guides, but, as they are of a petrifying quality, they harden in several places into various forms, which, with the help of a strong imagination, may pass for lions, fountains, organs, and the like. The entrance into that natural wonder at Castleton, which is from its hideousness named the Devil's Arse, is wide at first, and upwards of thirty feet perpendicular. Several cottagers dwell under it, who seem in a great measure to subsist by guiding strangers into the cavern, which is crossed by four streams of water, and then is thought impassible. The vault, in several places, makes a noble appearance, and is particularly beautiful, by being chequered with various coloured stones.

London is the metropolis of the British empire, and appears to have been founded between the reigns of Julius Cæsar and Nero, but by whom is uncertain; for we are told by Tacitus, that it was a place of great trade in Nero's time, and soon after became the capital of the island. It was first walled about with hewn stones, and British bricks, by Constantine the Great, and the walls formed an oblong square, in compass about three miles, with several principal gates. The same emperor made it a bishop's see, for it appears that the bishops of London

and York, and another English bishop, were at the council of Arles, in the year 314: he also settled a mint in it, as is plain from some of his coins.

London, in its large sense, including Westminster, Southwark, and part of Middlesex, is a city of a very surprising extent, of prodigious wealth, and of the most extensive trade. This city, when considered with all its advantages, is now what ancient Rome once was; the seat of liberty, the encourager of arts, and the admiration of the whole world.—London is the centre of trade; it has an intimate connection with all the counties in the kingdom; it is the grand mart of the nation, to which all parts send their commodities, from whence they are again sent back to every town of the nation, and to every part of the world. From hence innumerable carriages by land and water are constantly employed; and from hence arises the circulation in the national body, which renders every part healthful, vigorous, and in a prosperous condition; a circulation that is equally beneficial to the head and most distant members. Merchants are here as rich as noblemen; witness the incredible loans to government; and there is no place in the world where the shops of tradesmen make such a noble and elegant appearance, or are better stocked.

It is situated on the banks of the Thames, a river which, though not the largest, is the richest and most commodious for commerce of any in the world.—It being continually filled with fleets, sailing to or from the most distant climates; and its banks extend from London-bridge to Blackwall, almost one continued great magazine of naval stores, containing three large wet docks, 52 dry docks, and 33 yards for the building of ships for the use of the merchants, beside the places allotted for the building of boats and lighters; and the king's yards down the river for the building of men of war. As this city is about sixty miles distant from the sea, it enjoys, by means of this beautiful river, all the benefits of navigation, without the danger of being surprised by foreign fleets, or of being annoyed by the moist vapours of the sea. It rises regularly from the water side, and extending itself on both sides along its banks, reaches a prodigious length from east to west in a kind of amphitheatre towards the north, and is continued for near 20 miles on all sides, in a succession of magnificent villas, and populous villages, the country seats of gentlemen and tradesmen; whither the latter retire for the benefit of fresh air, and to relax their minds from the hurry of business. The regard paid by the legislature to the property of the subject, has hitherto prevented any bounds being fixed for its extension.

The irregular form of this city makes it difficult to ascertain its extent. However, its length from east to west is generally allowed to be above seven

miles, from Hyde-park corner to Poplar; and its breadth in some places three, in others two, and in others again not much above half a mile. Hence the circumference of the whole is almost eighteen miles; or, according to a modern measurement, the extent of continued buildings, is 35 miles two furlongs, and 39 roods. But it is much easier to form an idea of the large extent of a city so irregularly built, by the number of the people, who are computed to be near a million! and from the number of edifices devoted to the service of religion.

Of these, beside St. Paul's cathedral, and the collegiate church at Westminster, here are 102 parish churches, and 69 chapels of the established religion; 21 French protestant chapels; 11 chapels belonging to the Germans, Dutch, Danes, &c. 26 independent meetings; 34 presbyterian meetings; 20 baptist meetings; 19 popish chapels, and meeting houses for the use of foreign ambassadors, and people of various sects; and three Jewish synagogues. So that there are 305 places devoted to religious worship, in the compass of this vast pile of buildings, without reckoning the 21 out-parishes usually included in the bills of mortality, and a great number of methodist tabernacle.

There are also in and near this city 100 almshouses, about 20 hospitals and infirmaries, three colleges, 10 public prisons, 15 flesh-markets, one market for live cattle, two other markets more particularly for herbs, and 23 other markets for corn, coals, hay, &c. 15 inns of court, 27 public squares, besides those within single buildings, as the Temple, &c. three bridges, 49 halls for companies, eight public schools, called free schools, and 131 charity-schools, which provide education for 5034 poor children, 207 inns, 447 taverns, 551 coffee-houses, 5975 ale-houses, 1200 hackney-coaches, 400 ditto chairs, 7000 streets, lanes, courts, and alleys, and 150,000 dwelling houses, containing, as has been already observed, about 1,000,000 inhabitants.

London-bridge was first built of stone in the reign of Henry II. about the year 1163, by a tax laid upon wool, which in course of time gave rise to the notion that it was built upon wool packs; from that time it has undergone many alterations and improvements, particularly since the year 1756, when the houses were taken down, and the whole rendered more convenient and beautiful. The passage for carriages is 31 feet broad, and seven feet on each side for foot passengers. It crosses the Thames where it is 915 feet broad, and has at present 19 arches, of about 20 feet wide each, but the centre one is considerably larger.

Westminster-bridge is reckoned one of the most complete and elegant structures of the kind known in the world. It is built entirely of stone, and extended over the river at a place where it is 1,223



feet broad; which is above 300 feet broader than at London-bridge. On each side is a fine balustrade of stone, with places of shelter from the rain. The width of the bridge is 45 feet, having on each side a fine foot-way for passengers. It consists of 14 piers, and 13 large, and two small arches, all semicircular, that in the centre being 76 feet wide, and the rest decreasing four feet each from the other; so that the two least arches of the 13 great ones are each 52 feet. It is computed that the value of 40,000*l.* in stone and other materials, is always under water.— This magnificent structure was begun in 1738, and finished 1750, at the expence of 389,000*l.* defrayed by the parliament.

Blackfriars-bridge falls nothing short of that of Westminster, either in magnificence or workmanship; but the situation of the ground on the two shores obliged the architect to employ elliptical arches; which, however, have a very fine effect, and many persons even prefer it to Westminster-bridge. This bridge was begun in 1760, and finished in 1770, at the expence of 152,840*l.* to be discharged by a toll upon the passengers. It is situated almost at an equal distance between those of Westminster and London; commands a view on the Thames from the latter to Whitehall, and discovers the majesty of St. Paul's in a very striking manner.

The cathedral of St. Paul's is the most capacious, magnificent, and regular protestant church in the world. The length within is 500 feet, and the height, from the marble pavement to the cross, on the top of the cupola, is 340. It is built of Portland stone, according to the Greek and Roman orders, in the form of a cross, after the model of St. Peter's, at Rome, to which it in some respects is superior. St. Paul's church is the principal work of Sir Christopher Wren, and undoubtedly the only work of the same magnitude that ever was completed by one man. He lived to a great age, and finished the building in 37 years after he himself laid the first stone. It takes up six acres of ground, though the whole length of this church measures no more than the width of St. Peter's. The expence of rebuilding it, after the fire of London, was defrayed by a duty on coals, and is computed at a million sterling.

Westminster Abbey, or the collegiate church of Westminster, is a venerable pile of building, in the Gothic taste. It was first built by Edward the Confessor; king Henry III. rebuilt it from the ground, and Henry VII. added a fine chapel to the east end of it. This is the repository of the deceased British kings and nobility: and here are also monuments erected to the memory of many great and illustrious personages, commanders by sea and land, philosophers, poets, &c. In the reign of queen Anne, 4000*l.* a year out of the coal duty was granted by parliament for keeping it in repairs.

Westminster-Hall, though on the outside it makes a mean, and no very advantageous appearance, is a noble Gothic building, and is said to be the largest room in the world, whose roof is not supported with pillars, it being 230 feet long, and 70 broad. The roof is the finest of its kind that can be seen. Here are held the coronation feasts of our kings and queens; also the courts of chancery, king's-bench, and common-pleas, and above stairs that of the exchequer.

That beautiful column called the Monument, erected at the charge of the city, to perpetuate the memory of its being destroyed by fire, is justly worthy of notice. This column, which is of the Doric order, exceeds all the obelisks and pillars of the ancients, it being 202 feet high, with a staircase in the middle to ascend to the balcony, which is about 30 feet short of the top, from whence there are other steps, made for persons to look out at the top of all, which is fashioned like an urn, with a flame issuing from it. On the base of the monument, next the street, the destruction of the city, and the relief given to the sufferers by Charles II. and his brother, is emblematically represented in bas relief. The north and south sides of the base have a Latin inscription, the one describing its dreadful desolation, and the other its splendid resurrection; and on the east side is an inscription, shewing when the pillar was begun and finished. The charge of erecting this monument, which was begun by Sir Christopher Wren in 1671, and finished by him in 1677, amounted to upwards of 13,000*l.*

The Royal Exchange is a large and noble building, and is said to have cost above 80,000*l.*

The terrace in the Adelphi is a very fine piece of architecture, and has laid open one of the finest prospects in the world.

This great and populous city is happily supplied with abundance of fresh water, from the Thames, and the New-River; which is not only of inconceivable service to every family, but by means of fire-plugs every where dispersed; the keys of which are deposited with the parish officers, the city is in a great measure secured from the spreading of fire, for these plugs are no sooner opened than there are vast quantities of water to supply the engines.

With regard to the commerce of England, the exports have been computed at seven millions sterling, and its imports at five, of which above one million is re-exported; so that, if this calculation be true, England gains, annually, three millions sterling in trade; but this is a point upon which the most experienced merchants and ablest calculators differ.

Yet our foreign trade does not amount to one-sixth part of the inland; the annual produce of the natural products and manufactures of England amounting to above forty-two millions. The gold

and silver of England is received from Portugal, Spain, Jamaica, the American colonies, and Africa, but great part of this gold and silver we again export to Holland and the East Indies; and it is supposed that two-thirds of all the foreign traffic of England is carried on in the port of London.

We shall conclude this account of our trade with the following comparative view of shipping, which, till a better table can be formed, may have its uses.

If the shipping of Europe may be divided into twenty parts, then

Great Britain, &c. is computed to have	-	6
The United Provinces	- - -	6
Denmark, Sweden, and Russia	- - -	2
The trading cities of Germany, and the Austrian Netherlands.	- - - -	1
France	- - - -	2
Spain and Portugal	- - - -	2
Italy, and the rest of Europe	- - -	1

Our bounds will not afford room to enter into a particular detail of the places where those English manufactures, which are mentioned in the above account are fabricated.

Tacitus, in describing such a constitution as that of England, seems to think, that however beautiful it may rise in theory, it may be found impracticable in the execution. Experience has proved this mistake; for by contrivances unknown to antiquity, the English constitution has existed for above 500 years. It must at the same time be admitted, that it has received, during that time, many amendments, and some interruptions; but its principles are the same with those described by the above-mentioned historian, as belonging to the Germans, and the other northern ancestors of the English nation, and which are very improperly blended under the name of Gothic. On the first invasion of England by the Saxons, who came from Germany and the neighbouring countries, their laws and manners were pretty much the same as those mentioned by Tacitus.—The people had a leader in time of war. The conquered lands, in proportion to the merits of his followers, and their ability to serve him, were distributed among them; and the whole was considered as the common property which they were to unite in defending against all invaders. Fresh adventurers coming over, under separate leaders, the old inhabitants were driven into Wales; and those leaders, at last, assumed the titles of kings, over the several districts they had conquered. This change of appellation made them more respectable among the Britons, and their neighbours the Scots and Picts, but did not increase their power, the operations of which continued to be confined to military affairs.

All civil matters were proposed in a general as-

sembly of the chief officers and the people, till, by degrees, sheriffs and other civil officers were appointed. To Alfred we owe that master-piece of judicial policy, the subdivision of England into wapentakes and hundreds, and the subdivision of hundreds into tithings, names that still subsist in England; and overseers were chosen to direct them for the good of the whole. The sheriff was the judge of all civil and criminal matters within the county, and to him, after the introduction of Christianity, was added the bishops. In process of time, as business multiplied, itinerant and other judges were appointed; but by the earliest records, it appears that all civil matters were decided by 10 or 12 men, living in the neighbourhood of the place where the dispute lay; and here we have the original of English juries. It is certain that they were in use among the earliest Saxon colonies, their institution being ascribed by bishop Nicholson to Woden himself, their great legislator and captain. Hence we find traces of juries in the laws of all those nations which adopted the feudal system, as in Germany, France, and Italy; who had all of them a tribunal composed of 10 good men and true, equals or peers of the party litigant. In England we find actual mention made of them so early as the laws of king Ethelred, and that not as a new invention.

Before the introduction of Christianity, we know not whether the Saxons admitted of juries in criminal matters; but we are certain that there was no action so criminal as not to be compensated for by money. A mulct was imposed in proportion to the guilt, even if it was murder of the king, upon the malefactor, and by paying it he purchased his pardon. Those barbarous usages seem to have ceased soon after the Saxons were converted to Christianity; and cases of felony and murder were then tried even in the king's court, by a jury.

Royalty, among the Saxons, was not, strictly speaking, hereditary, though in fact, it came to be rendered so through the affection which the people bore for the blood of their kings, and for preserving the regularity of government. Even estates and honours were not strictly hereditary till they were made so by William the Norman.

In many respects, the first princes of the Norman line afterwards did all they could to efface from the minds of the people the remembrance of the Saxon constitution; but the attempt was to no purpose. The nobility, as well as the people, had their complaints against the crown, and, after much war and bloodshed, the famous charter of English liberties, so well known by the name of Magna Charta, was forcibly (in a manner) obtained from king John, and confirmed by his son Henry III. who succeeded to the crown in 1216. It does not appear, that till this reign, and after a great deal of blood had been

spilt, the commons of England were represented in parliament, or the great council of the nation; so entirely had the barons engrossed to themselves the disposal of property.

The precise year when the house of commons was founded is not known; but we are certain there was one in the reign of Henry III. though we shall not enter into any dispute about their specific powers. We therefore now proceed to describe the CONSTITUTION as it stands at present.

In all states there is an absolute supreme power, to which the right of legislation belongs; and which by the singular constitution of these kingdoms, is here vested in the king, lords and commons.

The supreme executive power of Great Britain and Ireland is vested by our constitution in a single person, king or queen; for it is indifferent to which sex the crown descends: the person entitled to it, whether male or female, is immediately entrusted with all the ensigns, rights, and prerogatives of sovereign power.

The grand fundamental maxim upon which the right of accession to the throne of these kingdoms depends, is, "that the crown, by common law and constitutional custom, is hereditary, and this in a manner peculiar to itself; but that the right of inheritance may, from time to time, be changed, or limited, by act of parliament; under which limitations the crown still continues hereditary."

That the reader may enter more clearly into the deduction of the following royal succession, by its being transferred from the house of Tudor to that of Stuart, it may be proper to inform him, that on the death of queen Elizabeth, without issue, it became necessary to recur to the other issue of her grandfather Henry VII. by Elizabeth of York his queen, whose eldest daughter, Margaret, having married James IV. king of Scotland, king James the Sixth of Scotland, and of England the First, was the lineal descendant from that alliance. So that in his person, as clearly as in Henry VIII. centred all the claims of the different competitors, from the Norman invasion downward; he being indisputably the lineal heir of William I. And, what is still more remarkable, in his person also centred the right of the Saxon monarchs, which had been suspended from the Norman invasion till his accession. For Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, and grand-daughter of king Edmund Ironside, was the person in whom the hereditary right of the Saxon kings, supposing it not abolished by the conquest, resided. She married Malcolm III. king of Scotland; and Henry II. by a descent from Matilda their daughter, is generally called the restorer of the Saxon line. But it must be remembered, that Malcolm, by his Saxon queen, had sons as well as

daughters; and that the royal family of Scotland, from that time downwards, were the offspring of Malcolm and Margaret. Of this royal family king James I. was the direct and lineal descendant; and therefore united in his person every possible claim, by hereditary right, to the English as well as the Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Norman.

At the Revolution in 1688, the convention of estates, or representative body of the nation, declared that the misconduct of king James II. amounted to an abdication of the government, and that the throne was the rebey vacant.

In consequence of this vacancy, and from a regard to the ancient line, the convention appointed the next Protestant heirs of the blood royal of king Charles I. to fill the vacant throne, in the old order of succession; with a temporary exception of preference to the person of king William III.

On the impending failure of the Protestant line of king Charles I. (whereby the throne might again have become vacant), the king and parliament extended the settlement of the crown to the Protestant line of king James I. viz. to the princess Sophia of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and she is now the common stock from whom the heirs of the crown must descend.

The true ground and principle, upon which the Revolution proceeded, was entirely a new case in politics, which had never before happened in our history; the abdication of the reigning monarch, and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. It was not a defeasance of the right of succession, and a new limitation of the crown, by the king and both houses of parliament; it was the act of the nation alone, upon a conviction that there was no king in being. For, in a full assembly of the lords and commons, met in convention, upon the supposition of this vacancy, both houses came to this resolution, "that king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having drawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." Thus ended at once, by this sudden and unexpected revolution, the old line of succession: which from the Norman invasion had lasted above 600 years, and from the union of the Saxon heptarchy in king Egbert, almost 900.

Though in some points the Revolution was not so perfect as might have been wished, yet from thence a new era commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more



explicitly guarded by legal provisions; than in any other period of the English history. In particular, it is worthy of observation, that the convention, in this their judgment, avoided with great wisdom the extremes into which the visionary theories of some zealous republicans would have led them. They held that the misconduct of king James amounted to an endeavour to subvert the constitution, and not to an actual subversion, or total dissolution of the government. They, therefore, very prudently voted it to amount to no more than an abdication of the government, and a consequent vacancy of the throne; whereby the government was allowed to subsist, though the executive magistrate was gone: and the kingly office to remain, though James was no longer king. And thus the constitution was kept entire; which, upon every sound principle of government, must otherwise have fallen to pieces, had so principal and constituent a part as the royal authority been abolished, or even suspended.

Hence it is easy to collect, that the title to the crown is at present hereditary, though not quite so absolutely hereditary as formerly; and the common stock or ancestor, from whom the descent must be derived, is also different. Formerly the common stock was king Egbert; then William the Conqueror; afterward, in James I's time, the two common stocks united, and so continued till the vacancy of the throne in 1688; now it is the princess Sophia, in whom the inheritance was vested by the new king and parliament. Formerly the descent was absolute, and the crown went to the next heir, without any restriction; but now, upon the new settlement, the inheritance is conditional; being limited to such heirs only, of the body of the princess Sophia, as are Protestant members of the church of England, and are married to none but Protestants.

And in this due medium consists the true constitutional notion of the right of succession to the imperial crown of these kingdoms. The extremes between which it steers, have been thought each of them to be destructive of those ends for which societies were formed, and are kept on foot. Where the magistrate, upon every succession, is elected by the people and may by the express provision of the laws be deposed (if not punished) by his subjects; this may sound like the perfection of liberty, and look well enough when delineated on paper, but in practice will be ever found extremely difficult. And on the other hand, divine indefeasible hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely of all constitutions the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful. But when such an hereditary right as our laws have created and vested in the royal stock, is closely interwoven with those liberties, which are equally the inheritance of the subject, this union will form a constitution in

theory the most beautiful of any, in practice the most approved, and in all probability will prove in duration the most permanent. This constitution it is the duty of every Briton to understand, to revere, and to defend.

The principal duties of the king are expressed in his oath at the coronation, which is administered by one of the archbishops or bishops of the realm, in the presence of all the people; who, on their parts, do reciprocally take the oath of allegiance to the crown. This coronation is conceived in the following terms:—

*"The archbishop, or bishop, shall say,—Will you solemnly promise and swear, to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same? The king or queen shall say,—I solemnly promise so to do.*

*"Archbishop or bishop.—Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments? King or queen,—I will.*

*"Archbishop or bishop.—Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by the law? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by the law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them? King or queen,—All this I promise to do.*

*"After this, the king or queen, laying his or her hands on the holy gospels, shall say,—The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep: so help me God. And then kiss the book."*

This is the form of the coronation oath, as it is now prescribed by our laws: and we may observe, that in the king's part, in this original contract, are expressed all the duties that a monarch can owe to his people; viz. to govern according to law, to execute judgment in mercy, and to maintain the established religion. With respect to the latter of these three branches, we may further remark, that by the act of union, 5 Anne, c. 8. two preceding statutes are recited and confirmed, the one of the parliament of Scotland, the other of the parliament of England; which enact, the former, that every king at his succession, shall take and subscribe an oath, to preserve the protestant religion, and presbyterian church government in Scotland: the latter, that, at his coronation, he shall take and subscribe a similar oath, to preserve the settlement of the church of England within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging.

The king of Great Britain, notwithstanding the,

limitation of the power of the crown, already mentioned, is the greatest monarch reigning over a free people. His person is sacred in the eye of the law, which makes it high treason so much as to imagine or intend his death; neither can he, in himself, be deemed guilty of any crime, the law taking no cognizance of his actions, but only in the persons of ministers, if they infringe the laws of the land. As to his power, it is very great, though he has no right to extend his prerogative beyond the ancient limits, or the boundaries prescribed by the constitution; he can make no new laws, nor raise any new taxes, nor act in opposition to any of the laws; but he can make war or peace; send and receive ambassadors; make treaties of league and commerce; levy armies and fit out fleets, for the defence of his kingdom, the annoyance of his enemies, or the suppression of rebellions; grant commissions to his officers, both by sea and land, or revoke them at pleasure; dispose of all magazines, castles, &c.; summon the parliament to meet, and, when met, adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve it at pleasure; refuse his assent to any bill, though it had passed both houses; which, consequently, by such a refusal, has no more force than if it had never been moved; but this is a prerogative that the kings of England have very seldom ventured to exercise. He possesseth the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of state, of the household, and the church; and, in fine, is the fountain of honour, from whom all degrees of nobility and knighthood are derived. Such is the dignity and power of a king of Great Britain.

Parliaments, or general councils, in some shape, are, as has been before observed, of as high antiquity as the Saxon government in this island, and coeval with the kingdom itself. The parliament is assembled by the king's writs. Its constituent parts are, the king sitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three estates of the realm; the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit together with the king in one house), and the commons, who sit by themselves in another.

The lords spiritual consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops. The lords temporal consist of all the peers of the realm, the bishops not being in strictness held to be such, but merely lords of parliament. Some of the peers sit by descent, as do all ancient peers; some by creation, as do all the new made ones; others, since the union with Scotland, by election, which is the case of the sixteen peers, who represent the body of the Scottish nobility. The number of peers is indefinite, and may be increased at will by the power of the crown.

The commons consist of all such men of any property in the kingdom, as have not seats in the house of lords, every one of which has a voice in parliament, either personally, or by his representa-

tive. The number of English representatives is 513, Scotch 45, and Irish 100; in all 658. And every member, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned, serves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is not particular, but general; not merely to serve his constituents, but also the commonwealth, and to advise his majesty, as appears from the writ of summons.

These are the constituent parts of a parliament the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons: Parts, of which each is so necessary, that the consent of all three is required to make any new law that should bind the subject. Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only, of the three, is no statute, and to it no regard is due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges.

The power and jurisdiction of parliament, says Edward Coke, is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons, within any bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denomination, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal; this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. And it is a matter most essential to the liberties of the kingdom, that such members be delegated to this important trust, as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge; for it was a known apophthegm of the great lord treasurer Burleigh, "that England could never be ruined but by a parliament;" and as Sir Matthew Hale observes, this being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any way fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of legal remedy.

In order to prevent the mischiefs that might arise, by placing this extensive authority in hands that are either incapable, or else improper to manage it, it is provided, that no one shall sit or vote in either house of parliament, unless he be twenty-one years of age. To prevent innovations in religion and government, it is enacted, that no member shall vote or sit in either house, till he hath, in the presence of the house, taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration; and subscribed and repeated the declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass. To prevent dangers that may arise to the kingdom from foreign attachments, connexions, or dependencies, it is enacted, that no alien born out of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, even though he be naturalized, shall be capable of being a member of

either house of parliament. Some of the most important privileges of the members of either house, are privileges of speech, of person, of their domestics, and their lands and goods. As to the first, privilege of speech, it is declared by the statute of 1 Wm. & Mary, st. 2. c. 2. as one of the liberties of the people, "that the freedom of speech, and debates, and proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament." And this freedom of speech is particularly demanded of the king in person, by the speaker of the house of commons, at the opening of every new parliament. So are the other privileges of person, servants, lands, and goods. This includes not only privilege from illegal violence, but also from legal arrests, and seizures by process from the courts of law. To assault by violence a member of either house, or his menial servants, is a high contempt of parliament, and there punished with the utmost severity. Neither can any member of either house be arrested and taken into custody, nor served with any process of the courts of law; nor can his menial servants be arrested, nor can any ntry be made on his lands, nor can his goods be distrained or seized, without a breach in the privilege of parliament.

The house of lords have a right to be attended, and consequently are, by the judges of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, and such of the barons of the exchequer as are of the degree of the coif, or have been sergeants at law; as likewise by the masters of the court of chancery, for their advice in point of law, and for the greater dignity of their proceedings.

The speaker of the house of lords is generally the lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal, which dignities are commonly vested in the same person.

Each peer has a right, by leave of the house, as being his own representative, when a vote passes contrary to his sentiments, to enter his dissent on the journals of the house, with the reasons of such dissent, which is usually styled his protest. Upon particular occasions, however, these protests have been so bold as to give offence to the majority of the house, and have therefore been expunged from their journals. But this has always been thought a violent measure, and not very consistent with the general right of protesting.

The house of commons may be properly styled the grand inquest of Great Britain impowered to inquire into all national grievances, in order to see them redressed.

The peculiar laws and customs of the house of commons relate principally to the raising of taxes, and the election of members to serve in parliament.

With regard to taxes: it is the ancient indisput-

able privilege and right of the house of commons, that all grants of subsidies, or parliamentary aids, do begin in their house, and are first bestowed by them; although their grants are not effectual to all intents and purposes, until they have the assent of the other two branches of the legislature. The general reason given for this exclusive privilege of the house of commons is, that the supplies are raised upon the body of the people, and therefore it is proper that they alone should have the right of taxing themselves.

The method of making laws is much the same in both houses. In each house the act of the majority binds the whole; and this majority is declared by votes publicly and openly given, not as at Venice, and many other senatorial assemblies, privately or by ballot.

From the above general view of the English constitution, it appears, that no security for its permanency, which the wit of man can devise, is wanting.

The king of England, besides his high court of parliament, has subordinate officers and ministers to assist him, and who are responsible for their advice and conduct. They are made by the king's nomination, without either patent or grant; and on taking the necessary oaths, they become immediately privy-counsellors during the life of the king, that chooses them, but subject to removal at his discretion.

The duty of a privy-counsellor appears from the oath of office, which consists of seven articles: 1. To advise the king according to the best of his cunning and discretion. 2. To advise for the king's honour and good of the public, without partiality, through affection, love, need, doubt, or dread. 3. To keep the king's council secret. 4. To avoid corruption. 5. To help and strengthen the execution of what shall be there resolved. 6. To withstand all persons who would attempt the contrary. And lastly, in general, 7. To observe, keep, and do all that a good and true counsellor ought to do to his sovereign lord.

With regard to the capital acts of government which were formerly entrusted with the secretaries of state, a committee of the privy council, commonly called a cabinet council, are chiefly entrusted.—This cabinet generally consists of a select number of ministers and noblemen, according to the king's opinion of their integrity and abilities, or attachment to the views of the court.

It is generally agreed that the first inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of the Gauls, or Celts, that settled on the opposite shore; a supposition founded upon the evident conformity in their language, manners, government, religion, and complexion.

In their manner of life, as described by Cæsar,



and the best authors, they differed little from the rude inhabitants of the northern climates that have been already mentioned; but they certainly sowed corn, though perhaps, they chiefly subsisted upon animal food and milk. Their clothing was skins, and their fortifications beams of wood. They were dexterous in the management of their chariots beyond credibility; and they fought with lances, darts, and swords. Women sometimes led their armies to the field, and were recognized as sovereigns of their particular districts. They favoured a primogeniture of seniority, in their succession to royalty, but set it aside on the smallest inconvenience attending it. They painted their bodies with wood which gave them a bluish or greenish cast; and they are said to have had figures of animals, and heavenly bodies on their skins. In their marriages they were not very delicate, for they formed themselves into what we may call matrimonial clubs. Twelve or fourteen men married as many wives, and each wife was in common to them all, but her children belonged to the original husband.

The Britons lived, during the long reign of Augustus Cæsar, rather as the allies than the tributaries of the Romans; but the communications between Rome and Great Britain being then extended, the emperor Claudius Cæsar, about forty-two years after the birth of Christ, undertook an expedition in person, in which he seems to have been successful against Britain. His conquests, however, were imperfect; Caractacus, and Boadicia, though a woman, made noble stands against the Romans. The former was taken prisoner after a desperate battle, and carried to Rome, where his undaunted behaviour before Claudius gained him the admiration of the victors; and is celebrated in the histories of the times. Boadicia being oppressed in a manner that disgraces the Roman name, and defeated, disdained to survive the liberties of her country; and Agricola, general to Domitian, after subduing South Britain, carried his arms northwards, where his successors had no reason to boast of their progress, every inch of ground being bravely defended.—During the time the Romans remained in this island, they erected those walls so often mentioned, to protect the Britons from the invasion of the Caledonians, Scots, and Picts; and we are told, that the Roman language, learning and customs, became familiar to Britain.

About the year 800, most of the Anglo-Saxons, tired out with the tyranny of their petty kings, united in calling to the government of the heptarchy, Egbert, who was the eldest remaining branch of the race of Cerdic, one of the Saxon chiefs, who first arrived in Britain. On the submission of the Nor-

thumbrians in the year 827 he became king of all England.

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf, who divided his power with his eldest son Athelstan.—By this time, England had become a scene of blood and ravages, through the renewal of the Danish invasions; and Ethelwolf after some time bravely opposing them, retired in a fit of devotion to Rome, to which he carried with him his youngest son, afterwards the famous Alfred, the father of the English constitution.

Ethelred being killed, his brother Alfred mounted the throne in 871. He was one of the greatest princes, both in peace and war, mentioned in history. He fought several battles with the Danes with various success, and when defeated, he found resources that rendered him as terrible as before. Among the other glories of Alfred's reign, was that of raising a maritime power in England, by which he secured her coasts from future invasions. He rebuilt the city of London, which had been burnt down by the Danes, and founded the University of Oxford about the year 895; he divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; or rather he revived those divisions, and the use of juries, which had fallen into disquitude by the ravages of the Danes. He died in the year 901, and his character is so completely amiable and heroic, that he is justly distinguished with the epithet of Great.

Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward the elder, under whom, though a brave prince, the Danes renewed their barbarities and invasions. He died in the year 925, and was succeeded by his eldest son Athelstan. This prince was such an encourager of commerce as to make a law, that every merchant who made three voyages on his own account to the Mediterranean, should be put upon a footing with a thane, or nobleman of the first rank. He caused the scripture to be translated into the Saxon tongue. He was engaged in perpetual wars with his neighbours, the Scots in particular, and was generally successful, and died in 941. The reigns of his successors, Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, were weak and inglorious, they being either engaged in wars with the Danes, or disgraced by the influence of priests. Edgar, who mounted the throne 959, revived the naval glory of England, and is said to have been rowed down the river Dee by eight kings his vassals, he sitting at the helm; but, like his predecessors, he was the slave of priests, particularly St. Dunstan. He was succeeded in 975, by his eldest son Edward, who was barbarously murdered by his step-mother, whose son Ethelred mounted the throne, in 978.

Edward, who is commonly called the Confessor,

now mounted the throne, though Edgar Atheling, by being descended from an elder branch, had the lineal right, and was alive. Upon the death of the Confessor, in the year 1066, Harold, son to Godwin, earl of Kent, mounted the throne of England.

William, duke of Normandy, though a bastard, was then in the unrivalled possession of that great duchy, and resolved to assert his right to the crown of England. He collected 40,000 of the bravest and most regular troops in Europe, and while Harold was embarrassed with fresh invasions from the Danes, William landed in England without opposition. Harold returning from the north, encountered William in the place where the town of Battel now stands, which took its name from it, near Hastings in Sussex, and a most bloody battle was fought between the two armies; but Harold being killed the crown of England devolved upon William, in the year 1066.

The succession to the crown of England, was disputed between the Conqueror's sons Robert and William, (commonly called Rufus, from his being red haired) and was carried in favour of the latter, but was accidentally killed as he was hunting in New-Forest in Hampshire, in the year 1100, and the 44th year of his age. This prince built Westminster-hall as it now stands, and added several works to the tower, which he surrounded with a wall and a ditch. He was succeeded by his brother Henry I. surnamed Beauclerc on account of his learning. His reign in a great measure restored the clergy to their influence in the state, and they formed as it were, a separate body, dependent upon the pope, which afterwards created great convulsions in England. Henry died of a surfeit, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, in 1135.

The crown of England was claimed and seized by Stephen earl of Blois, the son of Adela, fourth daughter to William the Conqueror. But his brother Henry, who was in fact invested with the chief executive power, was acknowledged his successor.

Henry distinguished his reign by the conquest of Ireland; and by marrying Eleanor, the divorced queen of France, but the heiress of Guienna and Poictou, he became almost as powerful in France as the French king himself, and the greatest prince in Christendom.

During the reign of Henry, corporation charters were established all over England; by which the power of the barons was greatly reduced. Henry, about the year 1176, divided England into six parts called circuits, appointing judges to go at certain times of the year, and hold assizes, or administer justice to the people, as is practised at this day.

Richard I. surnamed Cœur de Lion, from his

great courage, was the third, but eldest surviving son of Henry II. The reign of his brother John, who succeeded him is infamous in the English history. He is said to have put to death Arthur the eldest son of his brother Geoffry, who had the hereditary right to the crown. John, notwithstanding, in his wars with the French, Scots, and Irish, gave many proofs of personal valour; but became at last so apprehensive of a French invasion, that he rendered himself a tributary to the pope, and laid his crown and regalia at the foot of the legate Pandulph, who kept them for five days.

The great barons resented his meanness, by taking arms; but he repeated shameful submissions to the pope; and after experiencing various fortunes of war, John was at last brought so low, that the barons obliged him, in 1216, to sign the great deed so well known by the name of Magna Charta. The city of London owes some of her privileges to him.

England was in a deplorable situation when her crown devolved upon Henry III. the late king's son, who was but nine years of age. The king was of a soft pliable disposition, and had been persuaded to violate the great Charter. Indeed, he seemed always endeavouring to evade the privileges which he had been compelled to grant and confirm. An association of the barons was formed against him and his government, and a civil war breaking out, Henry seemed to be abandoned by all but his Gascons and foreign mercenaries.

Edward returning to England, on the news of his father's death, invited all who held of his crown *in capite*, to his coronation dinner, which consisted (that the reader may have some idea of the luxury of the times) of 278 bacon hogs, 450 hogs, 440 oxen, 430 sheep, 22,600 hens and capons, and 13 fat goats. Alexander III. king of Scotland was at the solemnity, and on the occasion 500 horses were let loose, for all that could catch them to keep them.

Edward was a brave and politic prince, and being perfectly well acquainted with the laws, interests, and constitution of his kingdom, his regulations, and reformations of his laws, have justly given him the title of the English Justinian.

His son and successor Edward II. showed early dispositions for encouraging favourites; but Gaveston, his chief minion, a Gascon, being banished by his father Edward, he mounted the throne with vast advantages, both political and personal, all which he soon forfeited by his own imprudence. He recalled Gaveston, and loaded him with honours, and married Isabella, daughter of the French king, who restored to him part of the territories which Edward I. had lost in France. The barons, however, obliged him once more to banish his favourite, and to

confirm the great charter, while king Robert Bruce recovered all Scotland, excepting the castle of Stirling; near to which, at Bannockburn, Edward in person received the greatest defeat ever England suffered, 1314. Gaveston being beleaded by the barons, they fixed upon young Hugh Spencer as a spy upon the king, but he soon became his favourite. He through his pride, avarice, and ambition, was banished, together with his father, whom he had procured to be earl of Winchester. The queen, a furious, ambitious woman, persuaded her husband to recal the Spencers, while the common people, from their hatred to the barons, joined the king's standard, and after defeating them, restored him to the exercise of all his prerogatives. A cruel use was made of those successes, and many noble patriots, with their estates, fell victims to the queen's revenge; but at last she became enamoured of Roger Mortimer, who was her prisoner, and had been one of the most active of the anti-loyalist lords. A breach between her and the Spencers soon followed, and going over to France with her lover, she found means to form such a party in England, that, returning with some French troops, she put the eldest Spencer to an ignominious death, made her husband prisoner, and forced him to abdicate his crown in favour of his son Edward III. then fifteen years of age. Nothing now but the death of Edward II. was wanting to complete her guilt; and he was most barbarously murdered in Berkley castle, by ruffians, supposed to be employed by her and her paramour Mortimer, in the year 1327.

Edward III. mounted the throne in 1327. He was then under the tuition of his mother, who cohabited with Mortimer; and they endeavoured to keep possession of their power by executing many popular measures, and putting an end to all differences with Scotland, for which Mortimer was created earl of March. Edward, young as he was, was soon sensible of their designs. He surprised them in person at the head of a few chosen friends, in the castle of Nottingham. Mortimer was put to a public death, hanged as a traitor on the common gallows at Tyburn, and the queen herself was shut up in confinement twenty-eight years, to her death. It was not long before Edward found means to quarrel with David king of Scotland, though he had married his sister, and he was driven to France by Edward Baliol, who acted as Edward's tributary, king of Scotland, and general, and did the same homage to Edward for Scotland, as his father had done to Edward I. Soon after, upon the death of Charles the Fair, king of France, (without issue,) who had succeeded by virtue of the Salic law, which the French pretended cut off all female succession to that crown, Philip of Valois claimed it as being the next heir male by succession; but he was op-

posed by Edward, as being the son of Isabella, who was sister to the three last-mentioned kings of France, and first in the female succession. The former was preferred, but the case being doubted, Edward pursued his claim, and invaded France with a powerful army.

On this occasion, the vast difference between the feudal constitutions of France, which were then in full force, and the government of England, more favourable to public liberty, appeared. The French officers knew no subordination. They and their men were undisciplined and disobedient, though far more numerous than their enemies of the field.—The English freemen on the other hand, having now vast property to fight for, which they could call their own, independent of a feudal law, knew its value, and had learned to defend it by providing themselves with proper armour, and submitting to military exercises, and proper subordination in the field. The war, on the part of Edward, was therefore a continued scene of success and victory. In 1340, he took the title of the king of France, using it in all public acts, and quartered the arms of France with his own, adding this motto, *Dieu & Mon Droit*, "God and my right."

Dr. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of this reign to spread the doctrines of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings; and he made many disciples of all ranks and stations. His disciples were distinguished by the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards.

Richard II. son of the Black Prince, was no more than eleven years of age when he mounted the throne. He faced the storm of the insurgents at the head of the Londoners, while Walworth the mayor, and Philpot an alderman, had the courage to put Tyler, the leader of the malcontents, to death, in the midst of his adherents. Richard carrying over a great army to quell a rebellion in Ireland, a strong party formed in England, the natural result of Richard's tyranny, who offered the duke of Lancaster the crown. He landed from France at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was soon at the head of 60,000 men, all of them English. Richard hurried back to England, where his troops refusing to fight, and his subjects, whom he had affected to despise, generally deserting him, he was made prisoner with no more than twenty attendants; and being carried to London, he was deposed in full parliament, upon a formal charge of tyranny and misconduct; and soon after he is supposed to have been starved to death in prison, in the year 1399.

Henry the Fourth, son of John of Gavnt duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. being settled on the throne of England, in prejudice to the elder branches of Edward III's family, the great



nobility were in hopes that this glaring defect in his title would render him dependent upon them. At first some conspiracies were formed against him among his great men, as the dukes of Surrey and Exeter, the earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, and the archbishop of York; but he crushed them by his activity and steadiness, and laid a plan for reducing their overgrown power; but the ambition of the duke of York at last prevailed, and after being proclaimed protector of the kingdom, he openly claimed the crown, and the Lancastrian party were defeated by the earl of Warwick.

A parliament upon this being assembled, it was enacted, that Henry should possess the throne for life, but that the duke of York should succeed him to the exclusion of all Henry's issue. It is pretty extraordinary, that though the duke of York and his party openly asserted his claim to the crown, they still professed allegiance to Henry; but the duke of York's son, afterwards Edward IV. prepared to revenge his father's death, and obtained several victories over the royalists. After prodigies of valour had been performed on both sides, victory remained with young king Edward, and Margaret and her husband were once more obliged to fly to Scotland, where they met with generous protection.—Margaret, by the coucessions she made to the Scots, soon raised a fresh army there, and in the north of England, but met with defeat upon defeat, till at last her husband, the unfortunate Henry, was carried prisoner to London.

The duke of York, now Edward IV. being crowned on the 29th of June, fell in love with, and privately married, Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Gray, though he had some time before sent the earl of Warwick to demand the king of France's sister in marriage, in which he was successful, and nothing remained but the bringing over the princess into England. When the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl deeming himself affronted, returned to England inflamed with rage and indignation; and from being Edward's best friend, became his most formidable enemy, and gaining over the duke of Clarence, Edward was made prisoner, but escaping from his confinement, the earl of Warwick, and the French king, Lewis XI. declared for the restoration of Henry, who was replaced on the throne, and Edward narrowly escaped to Holland. Returning from thence, he advanced to London under pretence of claiming his dukedom of York; but being received into the capital, he resumed the exercise of royal authority, made king Henry once more his prisoner, and defeated and killed Warwick in the battle of Barnet. A few days after he defeated a fresh army of Lancastrians, and made queen Margaret prisoner, together with her son prince Edward, whom Edward's brother,

the duke of Gloucester, murdered in cold blood, as he is said (but with no great show of probability) to have done his father Henry VI. then a prisoner in the tower of London, a few days after, in the year 1471.

Henry VIII. entered with great advantages on the exercise of royalty. Young, vigorous, and rich, without any rival, he held the balance of power in Europe, but was the dupe of all parties. His avarice and lusts gained a complete ascendancy over him, and many acts of his reign were marked with the grossest cruelties; particularly to his wives, from whom, with the greatest facility, he obtained divorces, and with as little difficulty brought to the scaffold. One great event was however, brought about in his reign, viz. the Reformation. He died in 1547, in the 56th year of his age, and the 38th of his reign.

Edward VI. was but nine years of age at the time of his father's death; and after some disputes were over, the regency was settled in the person of his uncle the earl of Hertford, afterwards the protector, and duke of Somerset, a declared friend and patron of the Reformation, and a bitter enemy to the see of Rome. He died of a deep consumption in 1553, in the 16th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign.

Mary being settled on the throne, recalled cardinal Pole from banishment, made him instrumental in her cruelties, and lighted up the flame of persecution, in which archbishop Cranmer, the bishops Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, and many other illustrious confessors of the English reformed church, were consumed; not to mention a vast number of other sacrifices of both sexes, and all ranks, that suffered through every quarter of the kingdom.—She died in 1558, in the 42d year of her life, and 6th of her reign.

Elizabeth, daughter to Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, mounted the throne under the most discouraging circumstances, both at home and abroad. Elizabeth was no more than 25 years of age at the time of her inauguration: but her sufferings under her bigoted sister, joined to the superiority of her genius, had taught her caution and policy, and she soon conquered all difficulties. It is well known how unfaithful Elizabeth was to professions of friendship to her cousin Mary, and that she detained the unhappy prisoner 18 years in England, then brought her to a sham trial, pretending that Mary aimed at the crown, and without sufficient proof of her guilt, cut off her head; an action which greatly tarnished the glories of her reign.

The same Philip who had been the husband of her late sister, upon Elizabeth's accession to the throne, offered to marry her, but she dexterously avoided his addresses; and when Philip was no longer to be imposed upon by Elizabeth's arts, which had

amused and baffled him in every quarter, it is well known that he made use of the immense sums he drew from Peru and Mexico, in equipping the most formidable armament that perhaps ever had been put to sea, and a numerous army of veterans, under the prince of Parma, the best captain of that age; and that he procured a papal bull for absolving Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance. The largeness of the Spanish ships proved disadvantageous to them on the seas where they engaged; the lord admiral Howard, and the brave sea officers under him, engaged, beat, and chased the Spanish fleet for several days; and the seas and tempests finished the destruction which the English arms had begun, and few of the Spanish ships recovered their ports. Next to the admiral lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Francis Drake, captain Hawkins, and captain Frobisher, distinguished themselves against this formidable invasion, in which the Spaniards are said to have lost 81 ships of war, large and small, and 13,500 men.

Elizabeth in her old age, grew distrustful, peevish, and jealous. Though she undoubtedly loved the earl of Essex, she teased him by her capriciousness into the madness of taking arms, and then cut off his head. She complained that she had been betrayed into this sanguinary measure, and this occasioned a sinking of her spirits, which brought her to her grave in 1603, the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign, having previously named her kinsman James VI. king of Scotland, and son to Mary, for her successor.

James I. and his ministers were continually inventing ways to raise money, as by monopolies, benevolences, loans, and other illegal methods. Among other expedients, he sold the titles of baron, viscount, and earl, at a certain price, made a number of knights of Nova Scotia, each to pay such a sum, and instituted a new order of knights, baronets, which was to be hereditary, for which each person paid £1095.

The death of the duke of Buckingham, the king's favourite, who was assassinated by one Felton a subaltern officer, in 1628, did not deter Charles from his arbitrary proceedings, which the English patriots in that enlightened age justly considered as so many acts of tyranny. He, without authority of parliament, laid arbitrary impositions upon trade, which were refused to be paid by many of the merchants and members of the house of commons. Some of them were imprisoned, and the judges were checked for admitting them to bail. The house of commons resented those proceedings by drawing up a protest and denying admittance to the gentleman usher of the black rod, who came to adjourn them, till it was finished. This served only to widen the breach, and the king dissolved the parliament; after which he exhibited informations against nine of the most emi-

nent members, among whom was the great Mr. Selden, who was as much distinguished by his love of liberty, as by his uncommon erudition. They objected to the jurisdiction of the court, but their plea was over-ruled, and they were sent to prison during the king's pleasure.

Every thing now operated towards the destruction of Charles. In the fourth year of his reign, Charles had passed the petition of right into a law, which was intended by the parliament as the future security of the liberty of the subject, which established particularly, "That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament;" but he afterwards violated it in numerous instances, so that an universal discontent at his administration prevailed throughout the nation.— Charles was ill enough advised to go in person to the house of commons, January 4, 1642, and there demanded that lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Mr. Stroud, should be apprehended; but they had previously made their escape. This act of Charles was resented as high treason against his people, and the commons rejected all the offers of satisfaction he could make them.

Notwithstanding the many acts of tyranny and oppression of which the king and his ministers had been guilty, yet, when the civil war broke out, there were great numbers who repaired to the regal standard.

The first fatal blow the king's army received, was at Marsdon-moor, July 2d, 1644, where, through the imprudence of prince Rupert, the earl of Manchester defeated the royal army, of which 4000 were killed, and 1500 taken prisoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Cromwell; and though it might have been retrieved by the successes of Charles in the west, yet his whole conduct was a string of mistakes, till at last his affairs became irretrievable. The independents seized the king's person, brought him prisoner to London, carried him before a court of justice of their own erecting, and, after an extraordinary trial, his head was cut off, before his own palace at Whitehall, on the 30th of January, 1648-9, being the 49th of his age, and the 24th of his reign.

By this time Cromwell, who hated subordination to a republic, had the address to get himself declared commander in chief of the English army. April 20, 1653, without any ceremony, with about 300 musqueteers, he dissolved the parliament, opprobriously driving all the members, about a hundred, out of their house. He next annihilated the council of state, with whom the executive power was lodged, and transferred the administration of government to about 140 persons, whom he summoned to White-

hall, on the 4th of July, 1653. He was, however, declared lord protector of the commonwealth of England, a title under which he exercised all the power that had been formerly annexed to the regal dignity. After a most uncomfortable usurpation of four years, eight months, and thirteen days, he died on the 3d of September, 1658, in the 60th year of his age.

The fate of Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father Oliver as protector, sufficiently proves the great difference there was between them, as to spirit and parts in the affairs of government. Richard was placed in his dignity by those who wanted to make him the tool of their struggle or opposition, into obscurity. General Monk, a man of military abilities, but of no principles excepting such as served his ambition or interest, had the sagacity to observe this; and after temporising in various shapes, being at the head of the army, he made the principal figure in restoring Charles II. For this he was created duke of Albemarle, confirmed in the command of the army, and loaded with honours and riches.

Charles II. being restored in 1660, seemed to wish the happiness of his people. In some things Charles acted very despotically. It was thought, however, that he repented of some of his arbitrary steps, and intended to have executed some measures for the future quiet of his reign, when he died, Feb. 6th, 1684-5, in the 55th year of his age, and 25th of his reign. He had married Catharine infanta of Portugal, by whom he received a large fortune in ready money, besides the town and fortress of Tangier in Africa, but he left behind him no lawful issue.

All the opposition which, during the late reign, had shaken the throne, seems to have vanished at the accession of James II. The popular affection towards him was increased by the early declaration he made in favour of the church of England, which, during the late reign, had formally pronounced all resistance to the reigning king to be unlawful; but he made the most provoking steps to render popery the established religion of his dominions. He sent an embassy to Rome, and received at his court the pope's nuncio. The encroachments he made upon both the civil and religious liberties of the people, are almost beyond description, and were disapproved of by the pope himself, and all sober Roman Catholics. His sending to prison, and prosecuting for a libel, seven bishops for presenting a petition against reading his declaration for liberty of conscience, and their acquittal upon a legal trial, alarmed his best Protestant friends.

In this extremity, many great men in England and Scotland, though they wished well to James, applied for relief to William prince of Orange, in Holland,

a prince of great abilities, and the inveterate enemy of Lewis XIV. who then threatened Europe with chains. The prince of Orange was the nephew and son-in-law of James, having married the princess Mary, that king's eldest daughter; and he at last embarked with a fleet of 500 sail for England, avowing it to be his design to restore the church and state to their true rights. Upon his arrival in England, he was joined not only by the Whigs, but by many whom James had considered as his best friends; and even his daughter the princess Anne, and her husband, George prince of Denmark, left him and joined the prince of Orange, who soon discovered that he expected the crown. James might still have reigned, but he was surrounded with French emissaries, and ignorant Jesuits, who wished him not to reign rather than not restore popery.— They secretly persuaded him to send his queen and son, real or pretended, then but six months old, to France, and to follow them in person, which he did; and thus, in 1688, ended his reign in England, which event in English history is termed the Revolution.

William, notwithstanding the vast service he had done to the nation, and the public benefits which took place under his auspices, particularly in the establishment of the bank of England, and the recoinage the silver money, met with so many mortifications from his parliament, that he actually resolved upon an abdication, and had drawn up a speech for that purpose, which he was prevailed upon to suppress. He long bore the affronts he met with in hopes of being supported in his war with France, but at last, in 1697, he was forced to conclude the peace of Ryswick with the French king, who acknowledged his title to the crown of England. By this time William had lost his queen, but the government was continued in his person. After peace was restored, the commons obliged him to disband his army, all but an inconsiderable number, and to dismiss his favourite Dutch guards. Towards the end of his reign, his fears of seeing the whole Spanish monarchy in possession of France at the death of the Catholic king Charles II. which was every day expected, led him into a very impolitic measure, which was the partition treaty with France, by which that monarchy was to be divided between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. This treaty was highly resented by the parliament, and some of his ministry were impeached for advising it. It is thought that William saw his error when it was too late. His ministers were acquitted from their impeachment, and the death of king James discovered the insincerity of the French court, which immediately proclaimed his son king of Great Britain.

Anne, princess of Denmark, by virtue of the act of settlement, and being the next Protestant heir to



her father James II. succeeded king William in the throne. The capital measure of continuing the war against France being fixed, the queen found no great difficulty in forming her ministry, who were for the most part Tories; and the earl of Godolphin, who (though afterwards a leading Whig) was thought all his life to have a predilection for the late king James and his queen, was placed at the head of the treasury. His son had married the earl of Marlborough's eldest daughter, and the earl could trust no other with that important department.

In the course of the war, several glorious victories were obtained by the earl, who was soon made duke of Marlborough. Those of Blenheim and Ramillies gave the first effectual checks of the French power. By that of Blenheim in 1704, the empire of Germany was saved from immediate destruction.

Conferences were opened for peace at Utrecht, in January 1712, to which the queen and the French king sent plenipotentiaries; and the allies being defeated at Denain, they grew sensible that they were no match for the French, now that they were abandoned by the English. In short, the terms were agreed upon between France and England. Upon the queen's death, the succession took place in terms of the act of settlement, and George I. elector of Hanover, son of the princess Sophia, granddaughter of James I. was proclaimed king of Great Britain; his mother, who would have been next in succession, having died but a few days before.—He came over to England with strong prepossessions against the Tory ministry, most of whom he displaced. This did not make any great alteration in his prejudice in England; but many of the Scots, by the influence of the earl of Mar, and other chiefs, were driven into rebellion in 1715, which was happily suppressed the beginning of the next year.

Sir Robert Walpole was considered as first minister of England when George I. died, and some differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the accession of the latter to the crown, that Sir Robert would be displaced. That might have been the case, could another person have been found equally capable as he was to manage the house of commons and to gratify that predilection for Hanover which George II. inherited from his father. No minister ever understood better the temper of the people of England, and none perhaps, ever tried it more.

It was about 1753 that Mr. Pitt was placed, as secretary of state, at the head of administration.—He had long been known to be a bold, eloquent, and energetic speaker, and he soon proved himself to be as spirited a minister.

Mr. Pitt introduced into the cabinet a new system of operations against France, than which nothing

could be better calculated to restore the spirits of his countrymen, and to alarm their enemies. Far from dreading an invasion, he planned an expedition for carrying the arms of England into France itself; and the descent was to be made at Rochfort, under general Sir John Mordaunt, who was to command the land troops. Nothing could be more promising than the dispositions for this expedition. It sailed on the 8th of September 1757, and admiral Hawke brought both the sea and land forces back on the 6th of October, to St. Helen's, without the general making any attempt to land on the coast of France. He was tried and acquitted, without the public murmuring, so great an opinion had the people of the minister; who, to do him justice, did not suffer a man or a ship belonging to the English army or navy to lie idle.

The English bore the expences of the war with cheerfulness, and applauded Mr. Pitt's administration, because their glorious successes in every part of the globe demonstrated that he was in earnest.—Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst, in August 1758, reduced and demolished Louisburgh in North America, which had been restored to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and was become the scourge of the British trade, and took five or six French ships of the line; Frontenac and Fort du Quesne, in the same quarter, fell also into the hands of the English; acquisitions that far overbalanced a check which the English received at Ticonderago, and the loss of above 300 of the English guards, as they were returning under general Bligh from the coast of France.

The English affairs in the East Indies this year proved equally fortunate. Three capital expeditions had been planned for this year in America, and all of them proved successful. One of them was against the French islands in the West Indies, where Guadaloupe was reduced. The second expedition was against Quebec, the capital of Canada. The command was given, by the minister's advice, to general Wolfe, a young officer of a truly military genius. Wolfe was opposed, with far superior force, by Montcalm, the best and most successful general the French had. Though the situation of the country which Wolfe was to attack, and the works which the French threw up to prevent a descent of the English, were deemed impregnable, yet Montcalm never relaxed in his vigilance. Wolfe's courage and perseverance, however, surmounting incredible difficulties, he gained the heights of Abraham, near Quebec, where he fought and defeated the French army, but was himself killed, as was Montcalm.

General Amherst, who was the first English general in command in America, conducted the third expedition. His orders were to reduce all Canada,

and to join the army under general Wolfe on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. It is to the honour of the minister, Mr. Amherst in this expedition was so well provided with every thing that could make it successful, that there scarcely appeared any chance for its miscarriage; and thus the French empire in North America became subject to Great Britain.

The war in Germany, however, continued still as undecided as it was expensive, and many in England began to consider it now as foreign to the internal interests of Great Britain. A negotiation was entered upon, which proved abortive, as did many other projects for accommodation; but on the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly (from a rupture in the right ventricle of the heart), full of years and glory, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign, and was succeeded by his grandson, now George III. eldest son to the late prince of Wales.

King George III. ascended the throne with great advantages. His being a native of England prejudiced the people in his favour; he was in the bloom of youth, in his person tall and comely, and at the time of his accession, Great Britain was in the highest degree of reputation and prosperity, and the most salutary unanimity and harmony prevailed among the people.

The most important event to be recorded in this reign, is one of the most disastrous kind, viz. the war with the American colonies. This was produced by the legislature of this country attempting to impose taxes without the consent of America, which was so extremely offensive to them, that they resisted the king's officers in the exercise of their duty, and at last broke out into open rebellion.

It is not consistent with the limits of this sketch, to detail the sieges, battles, and various successes attendant on this disastrous conflict, suffice it to say, that after having brought into war with us France, Spain, and Holland, America fully established her independence, which was recognized at the peace of 1783, by Great Britain.

The American war brought odium and disgrace upon his majesty's ministers, the first of whom was lord North. A coalition, however, was formed between the latter nobleman and Mr. Fox, which, being very unpopular, was soon broken, and Mr. Pitt, son of the late earl Chatham, succeeded as chancellor of the exchequer, and first lord of the treasury, which place he retained till his death, which happened in 1806.

The calamitous war in which we are at present engaged with France, would of itself require a volume to detail. We must therefore pass it over in silence, and conclude our short account with ex-

pressing our hearty desire for the return of the blessings of peace.

(p. 609.) SCOTLAND.—The Celta or Gauls are supposed to have been the original inhabitants of this kingdom. It is termed, by the Italians, Scotia; by the Spaniards, Escotia; by the French, Escosse; and Scotland by the Scots, Germans, and English.

Scotland, which contains an area of 27,794 square miles, is bounded on the south by England; and on the north, east, and west, by the Deucaledonian, German, and Irish seas, or more properly, the Atlantic ocean.

Scotland is divided into the countries south of the Firth of Forth, the capital of which, and of all the kingdom, is Edinburgh; and those to the north of the same river, where the chief town is Aberdeen.

Eighteen counties, or shires, are allotted to the southern division, and fifteen to the northern; and those counties are sub-divided into sheriffdoms, stewartries, and bailiwicks, according to the ancient tenures and privileges of landholders.

In the northern parts, day-light, at midsummer, lasts 18 hours and 5 minutes; and the day and night in winter are in the same proportion. The air of Scotland is more temperate than could be expected in so northerly a climate. This arises partly from the variety of its hills, valleys, rivers, and lakes; but still more, as in England, from the vicinity of the sea, which affords those warm breezes that not only soften the natural keenness of the air, but by keeping it in perpetual agitation, render it pure and healthful, and prevent those epidemic distempers that prevail in many other countries. In the neighbourhood of some high mountains, however, which are generally covered with snow, the air is keen and piercing, for about nine months in the year.—The soil in general is not so fertile as that of England, and in many places fitted less for agriculture than for pasture.

The principal mountains in Scotland are the Grampian-hills, which run from east to west, from near Aberdeen to Cowal in Argyleshire, almost the whole breadth of the kingdom. Another chain of mountains, called the Pentland-hills, runs through Lothian, and joins those of Tweedale. A third, called Lammer-Muir, rises near the eastern coast, and runs westward through the Merse. Besides those continued chains, among which we may reckon the Cheviot or Tiviot hills, on the borders of England, Scotland contains many detached mountains, which, from their conical figure, sometimes go by the Saxon word Laws. Many of them are stupendously high, and of beautiful forms, but too numerous to be particularised here.

The largest river in Scotland is the Forth, which

risers in Monteith near Callendar, and discharges itself near Edinburgh into that arm of the German sea, to which it gives the name of Frith of Forth. Second to the Forth is the Tay, which issues out of Loch Tay, in Broadalbin, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the sea at Dundee. The Spey, the Tweed, and the Clyde, are the principal rivers.

The face of Scotland, even where it is most uninviting, presents us with the most incontrovertible evidences of its having formerly abounded with timber. Fir trees grow in great perfection all over Scotland, and form beautiful plantations. The Scots oak is excellent in the Highlands, where some woods reach 20 or 30 miles in length, and 4 or 5 in breadth; but, through the inconveniency already mentioned, without being of much emolument to the proprietors.

Though Scotland does not at present boast of its gold mines, yet it is certain that it contains such, or at least that Scotland formerly afforded a considerable quantity of that metal for its coinage.

Several landlords in Scotland derive a large profit from their lead-mines, which are said to be very rich, and to produce large quantities of silver, but we know of no silver-mines that are worked at present. Some copper-mines have been found near Edinburgh; and many parts of Scotland, in the east, west, and northern counties, produce excellent coal of various kinds, large quantities of which are exported, to the vast emolument of the public. Lime-stone is here in great plenty, as is free-stone; so that the houses of the better sort are constructed of the most beautiful materials.

The soil in general produces wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, hay, and pasture. In the southern counties the finest garden fruits, particularly apricots, nectarines, and peaches, are said to fall little, if at all, short of those in England; and the same may be said of the common fruits. The uncultivated parts of the Highlands abound in various kinds of salubrious and pleasant tasted berries; though it must be owned, that many extensive tracts are covered with a strong heath.

The fishes on the coast of Scotland are much the same with those of the islands and countries already described: but the Scots have improved in their fisheries as much as they have in their manufactures and agriculture; for societies have been formed, which have carried that branch of national wealth to a perfection that never was before known in that country, and bids fair to emulate the Dutch themselves in curing, as well as catching their fish. Their salmon, which they can send more early, when prepared, to the Levant and southern markets, than the English or Irish can, are of great service to the

nation, as the returns are generally made in specie, or beneficial commodities.

This country contains few or no kinds, either of wild or domestic animals, that are not common with their neighbours. The red deer and the roe-buck are found in the Highlands, but their flesh is not comparable to English venison. Hare, and all other animals for game, are here plentiful; as are the grouse and heath-cock, which is a most delicious bird, as likewise are the capercaillie, and the ptarmican, which is of the pheasant kind; but these birds are scarce even in the Highlands, and when discovered, are very shy. The numbers of black cattle that cover the hills of Scotland towards the Highlands, and sheep that are fed upon the beautiful mountains of Tweedale, and other parts of the south, are almost incredible, and formerly brought large sums into the country; the black cattle especially, which, when fattened on the southern pastures, have been reckoned superior to English beef.

The population of Scotland may be estimated at about two millions of souls, or more. If we consult the most ancient and credible histories, the population of Scotland, in the thirteenth century, must have been excessive, as it afforded so many thousands to fall by the swords of the English, without any sensible decrease of the inhabitants.

The peasantry have their peculiarities, their ideas are confined; but no people can form their tempers better than they do to their stations. They are taught from their infancy to bridle their passions, to behave submissively to their superiors, and live within the bounds of the most rigid economy. Hence they save their money and their constitutions, and few instances of murder, perjury, robbery, and other atrocious vices, occur at present in Scotland. They seldom enter singly upon any daring enterprise; but when they act in concert, the secrecy, sagacity, and resolution, with which they carry on any desperate undertaking, is not to be paralleled; and their fidelity to one another, under the strongest temptations arising from their poverty, is still more extraordinary.

The common people of Scotland retain the solemn decent manner of their ancestors at burials.—When a relation dies in town, the parish beadle is sent round with a passing-bell; but he stops at certain places, and with a slow melancholy tone, announces the name of the party deceased, and the time of his interment, to which he invites all his fellow-countrymen. At the hour appointed, if the deceased was beloved in the place, vast numbers attended. The procession is sometimes preceded by the magistrates and their officers, as the deceased is carried in his coffin, covered with a velvet pall, with chair-poles, to the grave, where it is interred, without any oration or address to the people, or prayers,



or farther ceremony, than the nearest relation thanking the company for their attendance. The funerals of the nobility and gentry are performed in much the same manner as in England, but without any funeral service. The Highland funerals were generally preceded by bagpipes, which played certain dirges, called coronachs, and were accompanied by the voices of the attendants of both sexes.

Dancing is a favourite amusement in this country, but little regard is paid to art or gracefulness: the whole consists in agility, and in keeping time to their own tunes, which they do with great exactness. The diversion of hurling is likewise, we believe, peculiar to the Scots. It is performed upon ice, with large flat stones, often from twenty to two hundred pounds weight each, which they hurl from a common stand to a mark at a certain distance; and whoever is nearest the mark is the victor.—These two may be called the winter and summer diversions in Scotland. The natives are expert at all the other diversions common in England, cricket excepted, of which they have no notion; the gentlemen considering it as too athletic and mechanical.

The Highland plaid is composed of a woollen stuff, sometimes very fine, called tartan. This consists of various colours, forming stripes which cross each other at right angles; and the natives value themselves upon the judicious arrangement, or what they call setts, of those stripes and colours, which, when skillfully managed, produce a pleasing effect to the eye. Sometimes they wear a petticoat of the same variegated stuff, buckled round the waist, and they term it the phelbeg, which seems to be of Milesian extraction. Their stockings are likewise of tartan, tied below the knee with tartan garters formed into tassels. The poorer people wear upon their feet brouges made of untanned or undressed leather; for their heads a blue flat cap is used, called a bonnet, of a particular woollen manufacture. From the belt of the phelbeg hung generally their knives and a dagger, which they called a dirk, and an iron pistol, sometimes of fine workmanship, and curiously inlaid with silver. A large leathern purse, richly adorned with silver, hanging before them, was always part of a Highland chieftain's dress.

The dress of the Highland women consisted of a petticoat and jerkin, with strait sleeves, trimmed or not trimmed, according to the quality of the wearer; over this they wore a plaid, which they either held close under their chins with the hand, or fastened with a buckle of a particular fashion. On the head they wore a kerchief of fine linen of different forms. The women's plaid has been but lately disused in Scotland by the ladies, who wore

it in a graceful manner, the drapery falling towards the feet in large folds.

The attachment of Highlanders to this dress rendered it a bone of disunion, which often proved dangerous to the government. Many efforts had been made by the legislature, after the rebellion in 1715, to disarm them, and oblige them to conform to the Low-country dresses. The disarming scheme was the most successful; for, when the rebellion in 1745 broke out, the common people had scarcely any other arms than those which they took from the king's troops. Their overthrow at Culloden rendered it no difficult matter for the legislature to force them into a total change of their dress. Its convenience, however, for the purposes of the field, is so great, that some of the Highland regiments still retain it. Even the common people have of late resumed it; and for its lightness, and the freedom it gives to the body, many of the Highland gentlemen wear it in the summer time.

The dress of the higher and middle ranks of the Low-country, differ little or nothing from the English; but many of the peasantry still retain the bonnet, for the cheapness and lightness of the wear. The dress of the women of all ranks are much the same in both kingdoms, but not so as to their neatness, and the cleanliness of the female servants.

The English spoken by the Scots, notwithstanding its provincial articulations, which are as frequent there as in the more southern countries, is written in the same manner in both kingdoms. At present the pronunciation of a Scotchman is greatly improved, and with some does not differ from the pronunciation of a Londoner, more than that of a Londoner does from an inhabitant of Somersetshire, and some parts of Worcestershire.

Punishments are pretty much the same in Scotland as in England; only that of beheading was formerly performed by an instrument called the Maiden; the model of which, it is well known, was brought from Halifax in England to Scotland, by the regent earl Morton, and it was first used for the execution of himself.

Ancient Scottish historians, with Bede, and other writers, generally agree that Christianity was first taught in Scotland by some of the disciples of St. John the apostle, who fled to this northern corner to avoid the persecution of Domitian, the Roman emperor; though it was not publicly professed till the beginning of the third century, when a prince, whom Scottish historians call Donald the first, his queen, and several of his nobles, were solemnly baptised. It was farther confirmed by emigrations from the south of Britain, during the prosecution of Aurelius and Dioclesian, when it became the established religion of Scotland, under the management of cer-

tain learned and pious men, named Culdees, who seem to have been the first regular clergy in Scotland, and were governed by overseers or bishops chosen by themselves, from among their own body, and who had no pre-eminence of rank over the rest of their brethren.

Thus, independent of the church of Rome, Christianity seems to have been taught, planted, and finally confirmed in Scotland as a national church, when it flourished in its native simplicity, till the arrival of Palladius, a priest sent by the bishop of Rome in the fifth century, who found means to introduce the modes and ceremonies of the Romish church, which at length prevailed, and Scotland became involved in that darkness which for ages overspread Europe.

It is worthy of observation, that the opposition to popery in this island, though it ceased in Scotland upon the extinction of the Culdees, was in the same age revived in England by John Wickliffe, a man of parts and learning, who was the forerunner in the work of Reformation to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as the latter were to Martin Luther and John Calvin.

For learning and learned men, we may refer to the literary history of Europe for 1400 years past. The western parts and isles of Scotland, produced St. Patrick, the celebrated apostle of Ireland; and many others since, whose names would make a long article. The writings of Adamnanus, and other authors, who lived before and at the time of the Norman invasion, which are come to our hands, are specimens of their learning. Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, most unquestionably held a correspondence with the kings of Scotland, with whom he formed a famous league; and employed Scotchmen in planning, settling, and ruling his favourite universities, and other seminaries of learning in France, Italy, and Germany. It is an undoubted truth, though a seeming paradoxical fact, that Barbour, a Scottish poet, philosopher, and historian, though prior in time to Chaucer, having flourished in the year 1368, wrote, according to the modern ideas, as pure English as that bard, and his versification is perhaps more harmonious. The letters of the Scottish kings to the neighbouring princes, are incomparably the finest composition of the times in which they were written, and are free from the barbarisms of those sent them in answer. This has been considered as a proof that classical learning was more cultivated at the court of Scotland than any other in Europe.

The discovery of the logarithms, a discovery, which, in point of ingenuity and utility, may vie with any that has been made in modern times, is the disputable right of Napier of Merchistone. And since

his time, the mathematical sciences have been cultivated in Scotland with great success. Keil, in his physico-mathematical works, to the clearness of his reasoning has added the colouring of a poet, which is the more remarkable, not only as the subject is little susceptible of ornament, but as he wrote in an ancient language. Of all writers on astronomy, Gregory is allowed to be one of the most perfect and elegant. Maclaurin, the companion and the friend of Sir Isaac Newton, was endowed with all that precision and force of mind, which rendered him peculiarly fitted for bringing down the ideas of that great man to the level of ordinary apprehensions, and for diffusing that light through the world, which Newton had confined within the sphere of the learned. His Treatise on Fluxions is regarded by the best judges in Europe as the clearest account of the most refined and subtle speculations on which the human mind ever exerted itself with success. While Maclaurin pursued this new career, a geometrician no less famous distinguished himself in the sure, but almost deserted, tract of antiquity. This was the late Dr. Simpson, so well known over Europe for his illustration of the ancient geometry. His elements of Euclid, and above all his Conic Sections are sufficient of themselves to establish the scientific reputation of his native country.

This however, does not rest on the character of a few mathematicians and astronomers; the fine arts have been called sisters to denote their affinity. There is the same connection between the sciences, particularly those which depend on observation.—Mathematics and physics, properly so called, were in Scotland accompanied by the other branches of study to which they are allied. In medicine, particularly, the names of Pitcairn, Arbuthnot, Monro, Smellie, Whytt, Cullen, and Gregory, hold a distinguished place.

Nor have the Scots been unsuccessful in cultivating the Belles Lettres. Foreigners who inhabit warmer climates, and conceive the northern nations incapable of tenderness and feeling, are astonished at the poetic genius and delicate sensibility of Thompson.

But of literary pursuits, that of rendering mankind more virtuous and happy, which is the proper object of what is called morals, ought to be regarded with peculiar honour and respect. The philosophy of Dr. Hutcheson, not to mention other works more subtle and elegant, but less convincing and less instructive, deserves to be read by all who would know their duty, or who would wish to practise it. Next to Locke's essay on the human understanding, it is perhaps the best dissection of the human mind that hath appeared in modern times; and it is likewise the most useful supplement to that essay.—

Hume, Robertson, and Stuart, are among the many and illustrious names of the historians of modern times.

The universities of Scotland are four, viz. St. Andrews, founded in 1411. Glasgow, 1454. Aberdeen, 1477. And Edinburgh, 1582.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, naturally takes the lead in this division, which the bounds of our work obliges us to contract. The castle, before the use of artillery, was deemed to be impregnable by force. It was probably built by the Saxon king Edwin, whose territory reached to Frith of Forth, and who gave his name to Edinburgh, as it certainly did not fall into the hands of the Scots till the reign of Indulphus, who lived in the year 953.

In former times, the town was surrounded by water, excepting towards the east; so that when the French landed in Scotland, during the regency of Mary of Guise, they gave it the name of Lislebourg. This situation suggested the idea of building very lofty houses divided into stories, each of which contains a suite of rooms, generally large and commodious, for the use of a family; so that the High-street of Edinburgh, which is chiefly of hewn-stone, broad, and well paved, makes a most august appearance, especially as it rises a full mile in a direct line, and gradual ascent from the palace of Holyrood-house on the east, and is terminated on the west by the rude majesty of its castle, built upon a lofty rock, inaccessible on all sides, except where it joins to the city. The castle not only overlooks the city, its environs, gardens, the new town, and a fine rich neighbouring country, but commands a most extensive prospect of the river Forth, the shipping, the opposite coast of Fife, and even some hills at the distance of 40 or 50 miles, which border upon the Highlands. This crowded population, however, was so shockingly inconvenient, that the English, who seldom went farther into the country, returned with the deepest impression of Scottish nastiness, which became proverbial.

Facing the castle, as we have already observed, at a mile distance, stands the abbey, or rather palace of Holyrood-house. The inner quadrangle of this palace, begun by James V. and finished by Charles I. is of magnificent modern architecture, built according to the plan, and under the direction of Sir William Bruce, a Scottish gentleman of family, and one of the greatest architects of that age.

The chapel belonging to the palace, as it stood when repaired and ornamented by James II. is thought to have been a most elegant piece of Gothic architecture. It had a very lofty roof, and two rooms of stone galleries, supported by curious pillars. It was the conventual church of the old abbey. Its inside was demolished and rifled of all its rich

ornaments, by the fury of the mob at the Revolution, which even broke into the repositories of the dead, and discovered a vault till that time unknown, which contain the bodies of James V. his first queen, and Henry Darnley. The walls and roof of this ancient chapel gave way and fell down on the 2d and 3d of December, 1768, occasioned by the enormous weight of a new stone roof, laid over it some years before, which the walls were unable to support.

The hospital founded by George Herriot, goldsmith to James VI. commonly called Herriot's Work, stands to the south side of the castle, in a noble situation. It is the finest and most regular specimen which Inigo Jones (who went to Scotland as architect to queen Anne, wife of James VI.) has left us of Gothic manner, and far exceeding any thing of that kind to be seen in England. One Balcanquhille, a divine, whom Herriot left his executor, is said to have prevailed upon Jones to admit some barbarous devices into the building, particularly the windows, and to have insisted that the ornaments of each should be somewhat different from those of the others.

Among the other public edifices of Edinburgh, before the revolution, was the college, which claims the privileges of an university, founded by king James VI. and by him put under the direction of the magistrates, who have the appointing of the chancellor and vice-chancellor. Its buildings were calculated for the sober literary manners of those days; but with pleasure we inform our readers, that a new university has been erected at Edinburgh, to which our most gracious sovereign has been a liberal benefactor. This edifice is a noble monument of national taste and spirit. What is of far more importance, it is supplied with excellent professors in the several branches of learning; and its schools for every part of the medical art are reckoned equal to any in Europe.

The Parliament Square, or, as it is there called, Close, was formerly the most ornamental part of this city; it is formed into a very noble quadrangle, part of which consists in lofty buildings; and in the middle is a fine equestrian statue of Charles II.—The room built by Charles I. for the parliament-house, though not so large, is better proportioned than Westminster-hall; and its roof, though executed in the same manner, has been by good judges held to be superior.

This equals any thing of the kind to be found in England, or perhaps in any part of Europe, and was at first entirely founded and finished by lawyers.—

The number of printed books it contains are amazing; and the collection has been made with exquisite taste and judgment. It contains likewise the



most valuable manuscript remains of the Scottish history, chartularies, and other papers of antiquity, with a series of medals.

The High Church of Edinburgh, called that of St. Giles, is now divided into four churches, and a room where the general assembly sits. It is a large Gothic building, and its steeple is surmounted by arches, formed into an imperial crown, which has a good effect to the eye.

The modern edifices in or near Edinburgh, such as the exchange, public offices, its hospitals, bridges, and the like, demonstrate the vast improvement of the taste of the Scotch in their public works. Parallel to the city of Edinburgh, on the north, the nobility, gentry, and others, have almost completed a new town, upon a plan which does honour to the present age.

Between the old and new town lies a narrow bottom or vail, which, agreeable to the original plan, was to have been formed into a sheet of water, bordered by a terrace walk, and the ascent towards the new town covered with pleasure-gardens, shrubberies, &c. But this elegant design fell to nothing, through the narrow ideas of the magistrates, who, finding greater benefits by letting the ground to inferior tradesmen, upon building leases, this plot, formed by nature as an agreeable opening to a crowded city, became a nuisance to those gentlemen who had been so liberal in ornamenting the buildings upon the summit. A decision of the house of lords (in which a certain great luminary of the law, equally distinguished for his taste and good sense, heartily concurred), put a stop to these mean erections. At the west, or upper end of this vale, the castle, a solid rock, not less than twenty stories high, looks down with awful magnificence. The eastern extremity is bounded by a striking object of art—a lofty bridge, the middle arch being ninety feet high, which joins the new buildings to the city, and renders the descent on each side the vale (there being no water in this place), more commodious for carriages.

Edinburgh may be considered, notwithstanding its castle and an open wall which encloses it on the south side of a very modern fabric, but in the Roman manner, as an open town; so that, in fact, it would have been impracticable for its inhabitants to have defended it against the rebels, who took possession of it in 1745.

Edinburgh is governed by a lord provost, four bailiffs, a dean of guild, and a treasurer, annually chosen from the common council. Every company, or incorporated trade, chooses its own deacon, and here are fourteen: namely, surgeons, goldsmiths, skippers, furriers, hammer-men, wrights or carpenters, masons, tailors, bakers, butchers, cordwainers, weavers, fullers, and bonnet-makers. The lord pro-

vost is colonel of the town guard, a military institution to be found in no part of his majesty's dominions but at Edinburgh; they serve for the city watch, and patrol the streets; are useful in suppressing small commotions, and attend the execution of sentences upon delinquents.

The revenues of the city consist chiefly of that tax which is now common in most of the bodies corporate in Scotland, of two Scottish pennies, amounting in the whole to two-thirds of a farthing, laid on every Scottish pint of ale (containing two English quarts) consumed within the precincts of the city. This is a most judicious impost, as it renders the poorest people insensible of the burden. Its product, however has been sufficient to defray the expense of supplying the city with excellent water, brought in leaden pipes at the distance of four miles; of erecting reservoirs, enlarging the harbour of Leith, of completing other public works of great expense and utility.

Leith, though near two miles distant, may be properly called the harbour of Edinburgh, being under the same jurisdiction. It contains nothing remarkable but the remains of two citadels (if they are the same) which were fortified and bravely defended by the French, under Mary of Guise, against the English, and afterwards repaired by Cromwell.

About four miles from Edinburgh is Roslin, noted for a stately Gothic chapel, containing one of the most curious pieces of workmanship in Europe, founded in the year 1440, by William St. Clair, prince of Orkney, and duke of Oldenburg.

Glasgow, in the shire of Lanark, situated on a gentle declivity, sloping towards the river Clyde, 44 miles west of Edinburgh, is, for population, commerce, and riches, the second city of Scotland, and, considering its size, the first in Great Britain, and perhaps in Europe, as to elegance, regularity, and the beautiful materials of its buildings. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are broad, straight, well paved, and consequently clean. The houses make a grand appearance, and are in general four or five stories high, and many of them, towards the centre of the city, are supported by arcades, which form piazzas, and give the whole an air of magnificence. Some of the modern built churches are in the finest style of architecture, and the cathedral is a stupendous Gothic building, hardly to be paralleled in that kind of architecture. It contains three churches, one of which stands above another, and is furnished with a very fine spire springing from a tower; the whole being reckoned a masterly and matchless fabric. It was dedicated to St. Mungo, or Kentigern, who was a bishop of Glasgow in the 6th century. The cathedral is upwards of 600 years old, and was preserved from the fury of the rigid reformers by the resolution of the citizens.

The town-house is a lofty building, and has very noble apartments for the magistrates. The university is esteemed the most spacious and best built of any in Scotland, and is at present in a thriving state. In this city are several well endowed hospitals; and it is particularly well supplied with large and convenient inns, proper for the accommodation of strangers of any rank. In Glasgow are seven churches, and eight or ten meeting-houses for sectaries of various denominations. The number of its inhabitants have been estimated at 50,000.

Aberdeen bids fair to be the third town in Scotland for improvement and population. It is the capital of a shire, to which it gives its name, and contains two towns, New and Old Aberdeen. The former is the shire town, and evidently built for the purpose of commerce. It is a large, well-built city, and has a good quay, or tide-harbour; in it are three churches, and several episcopal meeting-houses, a considerable degree of foreign commerce, and much shipping; a well frequented university, and above 12,000 inhabitants. Old Aberdeen, near a mile distant, though almost joined to the new, by means of a long village, has no dependence on the other; it is a moderately large market town, but has no haven. In each of these two places there is a well-endowed college, both together being termed the university of Aberdeen, although quite independent of each other.

Perth, the capital town of Perthshire, lying on the river Tay, contains 10,000 inhabitants; trades to Norway and the Baltic; is finely situated, has an improving linen manufactory, manufactures of cotton, print fields, paper mills, a great fishery, &c. and lies in the neighbourhood of one of the most fertile spots in Great Britain, called the Carse of Gowry.

Dundee, by the general computation, contains 16,000 inhabitants; it lies near the mouth of the river Tay; it is a town of considerable trade, exporting much linen, grain, herrings, and poultry, to sundry foreign parts; and has three churches.—Montrose, Aberbrothick, and Brechin, lie in the same county of Angus: the first has a great and flourishing foreign trade, and the manufactures of the other two are upon the thriving hand.

We omit a particular description of Dumfries, Air, Greenock, Paisley, Stirling, and about 50 other burghs and towns of very considerable trade in Scotland.

The ancient Scots valued themselves upon trusting to their own valour, and not to fortifications, for the defence of their country. This was a maxim more heroic perhaps than prudent, as they have often experienced; and, indeed, at this day, their forts would make but a sorry figure, if regularly attacked. The castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and

Dumbarton, formerly thought places of great strength, could not hold out 48 hours, if besieged by 6000 regular troops, with proper artillery. Fort William, which lies to the West Highlands, is sufficient to bridle the inhabitants of that neighbourhood; as are Fort George and Fort Augustus, in the north and north-west; but none of them can be considered as defences against a foreign enemy.

The Roman and other antiquities found in Scotland, have of themselves furnished matter for large volumes. The stations of the Roman legions, their castella, their pretentures or walls reaching across the island, have been traced with great precision by antiquaries and historians; so that, without some fresh discoveries, an account of them could afford no instruction to the learned, and but little amusement to the ignorant, because at present they can be discovered only by critical eyes. Some mention of the chief, however, may be proper. The course of the Roman wall (or, as it is called by the country people, Graham's dyke, from a tradition that a Scottish warrior of that name first broke over it), between the Clyde and Forth, which was first marked out by Agricola, and completed by Antoninus Pius, is still discernible, as are several Roman camps in the neighbourhood. Agricola's camp, at the bottom of the Grampian hills, is a striking remain of Roman antiquity. It is situated at Ardoch, in Perthshire, and is generally thought to have been the camp occupied by Agricola, before he fought the bloody battle so well recorded by Tacitus, with the Caledonian king Galgacus, who was defeated.

The Roman temple, or building in the form of the Pantheon at Rome, or of the dome of St. Paul's at London, stood upon the banks of the river Carron, in Stirlingshire, but has been lately barbarously demolished by a neighbouring Goth, for the purpose of mending a mill-pond. Its height was twenty-two feet, and its external circumference at the base was eighty-eight feet; so that, upon the whole, it was one of the most complete Roman antiquities in the world. It is thought to have been built by Agricola, or some of his successors, as a temple to the god Terminus, as it stood near the pretenture which bounded the Roman empire in Britain to the north. Near it was some artificial conical mounds of earth, which still retain the name of Duni-pace, or Duni-pacis, which serve to evidence that there was a kind of solemn compromise between the Romans and the Caledonians, that the former should not extend their empire farther to the northwards.

Innumerable are the coins, urns, utensils, inscriptions, and other remains of the Romans, that have been found in the different parts of Scotland; some of them to the north of the wall, where, however, it does not appear that they made any establishment. By the inscriptions found near the wall, the names

of the legions that built it, and how far they carried it on, may be learned. The remains of Roman highways are frequent in the southern parts.

Danish camps and fortifications are easily discernible in several northern countries, and are known by their square figures and difficult situations. — Some houses or stupendous fabries remain in Ross-shire, but whether they are Danish, Pictish, or Scottish, does not appear. The elevations of two of them are to be seen in Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. We are of opinion that they are Norwegian or Scandinavian structures, and built about the fifth century, to favour the descents of that people upon those coasts.

The vestiges of erections by the ancient Scots themselves are not only curious but instructive, as they regard many important events of their history. That people had amongst them a rude notion of sculpture, in which they transmitted the actions of their kings and heroes. At a place called Aberlemno, near Brechin, four or five ancient obelisks are still to be seen, called the Danish stones of Aberlemno. They are erected as commemorations of the Scottish victories over that people; and are adorned with bas-reliefs of men on horseback, and many emblematical figures and hieroglyphics, not intelligible at this day, but minutely described by Mr. Gordon. Many other historical monuments of the Scots may be discovered on the like occasions; but it must be acknowledged, that the obscurity of their sculptures has encouraged a field of boundless and frivolous conjectures, so that the interpretations of many of them are often fanciful. It would, however, be unpardonable, if we should neglect to mention the stone near the town of Forreth, or Fortrose, in Murray, which far surpasses all the others in magnificence and grandeur, "and is (says Mr. Gordon) perhaps one of the most stately monuments of that kind in Europe. It rises about 23 feet in height above ground, and is, as we are credibly informed, no less than 12 or 15 feet below, so that the whole height is at least 35 feet, and its breadth near 5. It is all one single and entire stone; great variety of figures in relief are carved thereon, and some of them still distinct and visible; but the injury of the weather has obscured those towards the upper part."

At Sandwick, in Ross-shire, is a very splendid ancient obelisk, surrounded at the base with large, well-cut flag stones, formed like steps. Both sides of the column are covered with various enrichments in well-finished carved work. The one face presents a sumptuous cross, with a figure of St. Andrew on each hand, and some uncouth animals and flourings underneath. The central division, on the reverse, exhibits a variety of curious figures, birds, and animals.

The ruins of the cathedral of Elgin are very striking; and many parts of that fine building have still the remains of much grandeur and dignity in them. The west door is highly ornamented, there is much elegance in the carvings, and the whole edifice displays very elaborate workmanship.

Among the remains of ancient castles, may be mentioned Kildrummy castle in the north of Scotland, which was formerly a place of great strength and magnificence, and often used as an asylum to noble families in periods of civil war. Inverurie castle, the ancient seat of the earl-mareschals of Scotland, is also a large and lofty pile, situated on a steep bank of the river, two very high towers bound the front, and even in their decaying state, give the castle an air of much grandeur and antiquity.

Near the town of Huntly are the ruins of Huntly castle. On the avenue that leads to it, are two large square towers which had defended the gateway. The castle seems to be very old, and great part of it is demolished; but there is a massy building of a more moderate date, in which some of the apartments, and in particular their curious ceilings, are still in tolerable preservation. They are painted with a great variety of subjects, in small divisions, in which are contained many emblematical figures.

Besides these remains of Roman, Pictish, Danish, and Scottish antiquities, many Druidical monuments and temples are discernible in the northern parts of Scotland, as well as in the isles, where we may suppose that paganism took its last refuge. They are easily perceived by their circular forms; but though they are equally regular, yet none of them are so stupendous as the Druidical erections in South Britain. There is in Perthshire a barrow which seems to be a British erection, and the most beautiful of the kind perhaps in the world. It exactly resembles the figure of a ship with the keel uppermost. The common people call it *Ternay*, which some interpret to be *terra navis*, the ship of earth. It seems to be of the most remote antiquity, and perhaps was erected to the memory of some British prince, who acted as auxiliary to the Romans; for it lies near Auchtermarder, not many miles distant from the great scene of Agricola's operations.

The traces of ancient volcanoes are not unfrequent in Scotland. The hill of Finchaven is one instance: and the hill of Bergonium, near Dunstaffnage castle, is another, yielding vast quantities of pumices or scoria of different kinds, many of which are of the same species with those of the volcanic Iceland.

Among other natural curiosities of this country, mention is made of a heap of white stones, most of them clear like crystal, together with great plenty of oyster and other sea-shells; they are found on



the top of a mountain called Skorna Lappich, in Ross shire, twenty miles distant from the sea.—Slains, in Aberdeenshire, is said to be remarkable for a petrifying cave, called the Dropping cave, where water oozing through a spongy porous rock at the top, doth quickly consolidate after it drops to the bottom. Other natural curiosities belonging to Scotland have their descriptions and histories; but they generally owe their extraordinary qualities to the credulity of the vulgar, and vanish when they are skillfully examined. Some caverns that are to be found in Fifeshire, and are probably natural, are of extraordinary dimensions, and have been the scenes of inhuman cruelties.

In commerce and manufactures Scotland has, for some years, been in an improving state. We are to account for the long languor of the Scottish commerce and many other misfortunes which that country sustained, by the disgust the inhabitants conceived on account of some invasions of their rights, which they thought inconsistent with the articles of union. The entails and narrow settlements of family estates, and some remains of the feudal institutions, might contribute to the same cause.

Mr. Pelham, when at the head of the administration in England, after the extinction of the rebellion in 1745, was the first minister who discovered the true value of Scotland, which then became a more considerable object of governmental inquiry than ever. All the benefits received by that country for the relief of the people from their feudal tyranny, were effected by that great man. The bounties and encouragements granted to the Scots, for the benefit of trade and manufactures, during his administration, made them sensible of their own importance. Lord Chatham pursued Mr. Pelham's wise plan; and justly boasted in parliament, that he availed himself of the courage, good sense, and spirit of the Scots, in carrying on the most extensive war that ever Great Britain was engaged in.—Let me add, to the honour of the British government, that the Scots have been suffered to avail themselves of all the benefits of commerce and manufactures they can claim, either in right of their former independency, the treaty of union, or posterior acts of parliament.

This is manifest from the extensive trade they lately carried on with the British settlements in America and the West Indies; and with all the nations to which the English themselves trade; so that the increase of their shipping within these 30 years past has been very considerable. The exports of those ships are composed chiefly of Scottish manufactures, fabricated from the produce of the soil, and the industry of its inhabitants. In exchange for these they import tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, and rum, from the British plantations; and from

other countries, their products to the immense saving of their nation. The prosperity of Glasgow and its neighbourhood hath been greatly owing to the connexion and trade with Virginia and the West Indies.

The fisheries of Scotland are not confined to their own coast, for they have a great concern in the whale fishery carried on upon the coast of Spitsbergen; and their returns are valuable, as the government allows them a bounty of 40s. for every ton of shipping employed in that article. The late improvements of their fisheries, which we have already mentioned, and which are daily increasing, open inexhaustible funds of wealth; their cured fish being by foreigners, and the English planters in America, preferred to those of Newfoundland.

The busses, or vessels employed in the great herring fishery on the western coasts of Scotland, are fitted out from the north-west parts of England, the north of Ireland, as well as the numerous ports of the Clyde, and neighbouring islands. The grand rendezvous is at Caumbeltown, a commodious port in Argyshire, facing the north of Ireland, where sometimes 300 vessels have been assembled. They clear out on the 12th of September, and must return to their different ports by the 15th of January. They are also under certain regulations respecting the number of tons, men, nets, &c. the whole being judiciously calculated to promote the best of national purposes, its strength and its commerce. But though the political existence of Great Britain depends upon the number and bravery of our seamen, this noble institution has hitherto proved ruinous to many of those who have embarked in it, and unless vigorously supported, will end in smoke.

To encourage this fishery, a bounty of 50s. per ton was granted by parliament: but whether from the insufficiency of the fund appropriated for this purpose, or any other cause, the bounty was withheld from year to year, while in the mean time the adventurers were not only sinking their fortunes, but also borrowing to the utmost limits of their credit. The bounty has since been reduced from 50 to 30s. with the strongest assurances of its being regularly paid when due. Upon the strength of these promises they have again embarked in the fishery, and it is to be wished, that no consideration whatever may tend to withdraw an inducement so requisite to place this fishery on a permanent footing.—The benefits of these fisheries are perhaps equalled by manufactures carrying on at land; particularly that of iron at Carron, in Stirlingshire.

Their linen manufactory, notwithstanding a strong rivalry from Ireland, is in a flourishing state.—The thread manufacture of Scotland is equal, if not superior, to any in the world; and the lace fabricated from it, has been deemed worthy of royal

wear and approbation. It has been said, some years ago, that the exports from Scotland to England, and the British plantations, in linen, cambrics, checks, Osnaburghs, mkle, and the like commodities, amounted annually to 400,000*l.* exclusive of their home consumption; and there is reason to believe that the sum is considerably larger at present. To these manufactures, that of cotton stuffs has been added since the American war. An immense capital, and a prodigious number of hands are now employed in this manufacture. The Scots are likewise making very promising efforts for establishing woollen manufactures; and their exports of caps, stockings, mittens, and other articles of their own wool, begin to be very considerable.—The Scots, it is true, cannot pretend to rival the English in their finer cloths; but they make at present some broad cloth proper for the wear of people of fashion in an undress, and in quality and fineness equal to what is commonly called Yorkshire cloth.

Among the other late improvements of the Scots we are not to forget the vast progress they have made in working the mines, and smelting the ore of the country. Their coal trade to England is well known; and of late they have turned even their stones of account, by their contracts for paving the streets of London. If the trade in cattle which the Scots carried on of late with the English is now diminished, it is owing to the best of national causes, that of an increase of home consumption. The Scots have lately made the most successful efforts in the cotton trade.

The trade carried on by the Scots with England is chiefly from Leith, and the eastern ports of the nation; but Glasgow was the great emporium for the American commerce, before the commencement of the unhappy breach with the colonies. The late junction of the Forth to the Clyde will render the benefits of trade mutual to both parts of Scotland. In short, the more that the seas, the situation, the soil, harbours, and rivers of this country are known, the better adapted it appears for all the purposes of commerce, both foreign and domestic.

With regard to other manufactures, not mentioned, some of them are yet in their infancy. The town of Paisley alone employs an incredible number of hands, in fabricating a particular kind of flowered and striped lawns, which are a reasonable and elegant wear. Sugar-houses, glass-works of every kind, delft-houses, and paper-mills, are erected every where. The Scots carpeting makes neat and lasting furniture; and some essays have been lately made, with no inconsiderable degree of success, to carry that branch of manufacture to as great perfection as in any part of Europe.

After all that has been said, many years will be

required before the trade and improvements in Scotland can be brought to maturity. In any event, they never can give umbrage to the English, as the interests of the two people are, or ought to be, the same.

Having said thus much, we cannot avoid observing the prodigious disadvantages under which both the commercial and landed interest of Scotland lies, from her nobility and great land-holders having too fond an attachment for England, and foreign countries, where they spend their ready money. This is one of the evils arising to Scotland from the union, which removed the seat of her legislature to London; but it is greatly augmented by the resort of volunteer absentees to that capital. While this partiality subsists, the Scots will probably continue to be distressed for a currency of specie. How far paper can supply that defect, depends upon an attention to the balance of trade; and the evil may, perhaps, be somewhat prevented, by money remitted from England for carrying on the vast manufactures and works now set on foot in Scotland. And it must be confessed, that the flow of wealth and trade from England, as a dear country, into Scotland, as a cheap country; now since obstacles have been removed by the union, &c.; seems, in a great measure, to compensate the above disadvantages.

The gentlemen who reside in Scotland, have wisely abandoned French claret and brandy, (though too much is still made use of in that country) for rum produced in the British plantations; and their own malt-liquors are now come nearly to as great perfection as those in England; and it is said that they have exported large quantities of their ale to London, Dublin, and the plantations.

In the reign of Edward II. of England, the value and denominations of coins were the same in Scotland as in England. Towards the reign of James II. a Scottish shilling answered to about an English sixpence; and about the reign of queen Mary of Scotland, it was not more than an English groat. It continued diminishing in this manner till after the union of the two crowns under her son James VI. when the vast resort of the Scots nobility and gentry to the English court, occasioned such a drain of specie from Scotland, that by degrees a Scottish shilling fell to the value of one-twelfth of an English shilling, and their pennies in proportion. A Scottish penny is now very rarely to be found; and they were succeeded by bodles, which was double the value of a Scottish penny, and are still current, but are daily wearing out. A Scottish halfpenny was called a *babie*; some say, because it was first stamped with the head of James III. when he was a babe or baby; but perhaps it is only the corruption of two French words, *bas piece*, signifying a low piece of money. The same observation that

we have made of the Scottish shilling, holds of their pounds or marks: which are no coins, but denominations of sums. In all other respects, the currency of money in Scotland and England is the same, as very few people now reckon by the Scottish computation.

The order of the Thistle, as the Scottish writers assert, was instituted by their king Achais in the ninth century, upon his making an offensive and defensive league with Charlemagne, king of France; or, as others say, on account of his victory over Athelstan, king of England, when he vowed in the kirk of St. Andrew, that he and his posterity should ever bear the figure of that cross in their ensigns on which the saint suffered. It has been frequently neglected, and as often resumed. It consists of the sovereign, and 12 companions, who are called Knights of the Thistle, and have on their ensign this significant motto, "*Nemo me impune lacesset*," "None shall safely provoke me."

The ancient constitution and government in Scotland has been highly applauded, as excellently adapted to the preservation of liberty; and it is certain, that the power of the king was greatly limited, and that there were many checks in the constitution upon him, which were well calculated to prevent his assuming or exercising a despotic authority. But the Scottish constitution of government was too much of the aristocratic kind to afford to the common people that equal liberty which they had a right to expect. The king's authority was sufficiently restrained; but the nobles, chieftains, and great land-holders, had it too much in their power to tyrannize over and oppress their tenants, and the common people.

The ancient kings of Scotland, at their coronation, took the following oath, containing three promises, viz.

"In the name of Christ, I promise these three things to the Christian people my subjects: 1st, that I shall give order, and employ my force and assistance that the church of God, and the Christian people, may enjoy true peace during our time, under our government. 2dly, I shall prohibit and hinder all persons, of whatever degree, from violence and injustice. 3dly, In all judgments I shall follow the prescriptions of justice and mercy, to the end that our clement and merciful God may shew mercy unto me, and to you."

The parliament of Scotland anciently consisted of all who held any portion of land, however small, of the crown, by military service. This parliament appointed the time of its own meetings and adjournments, and committees to superintend the administration during the intervals of parliament; it had a commanding power in all matters of government; it appropriated the public money, ordered the keep-

ing of it, and called for the accounts; it armed the people, and appointed commanders; it named and commissioned ambassadors; it granted and limited pardons; it appointed judges and courts of judicature; it named officers of state and privy-counsellors; it annexed and alienated the revenues of the crown, and restrained grants by the king. The king of Scotland had no negative voice in parliament, nor could he declare war, make peace, or conclude any other public business of importance, without the advice and approbation of parliament. The prerogative of the king was so bounded, that he was not intrusted with the executive part of the government. And so late as the minority of James IV. who was contemporary with, and son-in-law to, Henry VII. of England, the parliament pointed out to him his duty, as the first servant of his people; as appears by the act still extant. In short, the constitution was rather aristocratical than monarchical. The abuse of these aristocratical powers, by the chieftains and great land-holders, gave the king, however, a very considerable interest among the lower ranks; and a prince who had sense and address to retain the affections of his people, was generally able to humble the most overgrown of his subjects; but when, on the other hand, a king of Scotland, like James III. shewed a disrespect to his parliament, the event was commonly fatal to the crown. The kings of Scotland, notwithstanding this paramount power in the parliament, found means to awaken and elude its force; and in this they were assisted by the clergy, whose revenues were immense, and who had very little dependence upon the pope, and were always jealous of the powerful nobility. This was done by establishing a select body of members, who were called the lords of the articles. These were chosen out of the clergy, nobility, knights, and burghesses. The bishops, for instance, chose eight peers, and the peers eight bishops; and these sixteen jointly chose eight barons, (or knights of the shire) and eight commissioners for burghs; and to all those were added eight great officers of state, the chancellor being president of the whole.

Their business was to prepare all questions and bills, and other matters brought into parliament; so that, in fact, though the king could give no negative, yet being by his clergy, and the places he had to bestow, always sure of the lords of articles, nothing could come into parliament that could call for his negative. It must be acknowledged, that this institution seems to have prevailed by stealth; nor was it ever brought into any regular system; even its modes varied, and the greatest lawyers are ignorant when it took place. The Scots, however, never lost sight of their original principles; and though Charles I. wanted to form these lords of the articles into regular machines for his own despotic purposes, he



found it impracticable; and the melancholy consequences are well known. At the revolution the Scots gave a fresh instance how well they understood the principles of liberty, by omitting all pedantic debates about abdication, and the like terms, and voting king James at once to have forfeited his crown, which they gave to the prince and princess of Orange.

This spirit of resistance was the more remarkable, as the people had groaned under the most insupportable ministerial tyranny ever since the restoration. It is asked, Why did they submit to that tyranny? The answer is, in order to preserve that independency upon England, which Cromwell and his parliament endeavoured to destroy, by uniting them to England; they therefore chose to submit to a temporary evil; but they took the first opportunity to get rid of their oppressors.

Scotland, when it was a separate kingdom, cannot be said to have any peers, in the English sense of the word. The nobility who were dukes, marquises, earls, and lords, were by the king made hereditary members of parliament; but they formed no distinct house, for they sat in the same room with the commons, who had the same deliberate and decisive vote with them in all public matters. A baron, though not a baron of parliament, might sit upon a lord's assize in matters of life and death; nor was it necessary for the assizers, or jury, to be unanimous in their verdict. The feudal customs, even at the time of the restoration, were so prevalent, and the rescue of a great criminal, was commonly so much apprehended, that seldom above two days passed between the sentence and execution.

Great uncertainty occurs in the Scottish history, by confounding parliaments with conventions; the difference was, that a parliament could enact laws as well as lay on taxes; a convention, or meeting of the states, only met for the purposes of taxation.—Before the union, the kings of Scotland had four great and four lesser officers of states; the great, were the lord high chancellor, high treasurer, privy-seal, and secretary; the four lesser were, the lords register, advocate, treasurer-deputy, and justice clerk. Since the union, none of these continue, excepting the lords privy-seal, register, advocate, and justice clerk: a third secretary of state has occasionally been nominated by the king for Scottish affairs, but under the same denomination as the other two secretaries. The above officers of state sat in the Scottish parliament by virtue of their offices.

The officers of the crown were, the high chamberlain, constable, admiral, and marshal. The offices of constable and marshal were hereditary. A nobleman has still a pension as admiral; and the office of marshal is exercised by a knight-marshal.

The office of chancellor of Scotland differed little from the same in England. The same may be said of the lords treasurer, privy-seal, and secretary. The lord-register was head-clerk to the parliament, convention, treasury, exchequer, and session, and keeper of all public records. Though this office was only during the king's pleasure, yet it was very lucrative, by disposing of his deputation, which lasted during life. He acted as teller to the parliament; and it was dangerous for any member to dispute his report of the number upon division. The lord advocate's office resembles that of the attorney-general in England, only his powers are far more extensive; because, by the Scottish laws, he is the prosecutor of all capital crimes before the judiciary, and likewise concurs in all pursuits before sovereign courts, for breaches of the peace, and also in all matters civil, wherein the king or his donor hath interest. Two solicitors are named by his majesty, by way of assistants to the lord advocate. The office of justice clerk entitles the possessor to preside in the criminal court of justice, while the justice-general, an office we will describe hereafter, is absent.

The ancient constitution of Scotland admitted of many other offices both of the crown and state; but they are either now extinct, or too inconsiderable to be described here. That of a Lyon king at arms, or the rex faciaium, or grand herald of Scotland, is still in being; and it was formerly an office of great splendor and importance, inasmuch that the science of heraldry was preserved there in greater purity than in any other country in Europe. He was even crowned solemnly in parliament with a golden circle; and his authority, which is not the case in England, in all armorial affairs, might be carried into execution by the civil law.

The privy-council of Scotland, before the revolution, had, or assumed, inquisitorial powers, even that of torture; but it is now sunk in the parliament or privy-council of Great Britain; and the civil and criminal causes in Scotland are chiefly cognizable by two courts of judicature.

The first is, that of the college of justice, which was instituted by James V. after the model of the French parliament, to supply an ambulatory committee of parliament, who took to themselves the names of the lords of council and session, which the present members of the college of justice still retain. This court consists of a president and 14 ordinary members, besides extraordinary ones named by the king, who may sit and vote, but have no salaries, and are not bound to attendance. This court may be called a standing jury in all matters of property that lie before them. Their forms of proceeding do not lie within our plan, neither does any inquiry how far such an institution, in so narrow a

country as Scotland, is compatible with the security of private property. The civil law is their directory in all matters that come not within the municipal laws of the kingdom. It has been often matter of surprise, that the Scots were so tenacious of the forms of the courts, and the essence of their laws, as to reserve them by the articles of the union. This however, can be easily accounted for, because those laws and forms were essential to the possession of estates and lands, which in Scotland are often held by modes incompatible with the laws of England. We shall just add, that the lords of council and session act likewise as a court of equity, but their decrees are (fortunately perhaps for the subject) reversible by the British house of lords, to which an appeal lies.

The justice court is the highest criminal tribunal in Scotland; but in its present form it was instituted so late as the year 1672, when a lord-justice-general, removable at the king's pleasure, was appointed.—This lucrative office still exists in the person of one of the chief nobility; but the ordinary members of the court are the justice-clerk and five other judges, who are always nominated from the lords of session. In this court the verdict of a jury condemns or acquits; but, as we have already hinted, without any necessity of being unanimous.

Besides these two great courts of law, the Scots, by the articles of the union, have a court of exchequer. This court has the same power, authority, privilege, and jurisdiction, over the revenue of Scotland, as the court of exchequer in England has over the revenues there; and all matters and things competent to the court of exchequer in England relating thereto, are likewise competent to the exchequer of Scotland. The judges of the exchequer in Scotland exercise certain powers which formerly belonged to the treasury, and are still vested in that of England.

The court of admiralty in Scotland was, in the reign of Charles II. by act of parliament, declared to be a suprenic court, in all causes competent to its own jurisdiction; and the lord high admiral is declared to be the king's lieutenant and justice-general upon the seas, and in all ports, harbours, and creeks of the same; and upon fresh waters and navigable rivers, below the first bridge, or within flood mark; so that nothing competent to its jurisdiction can be meddle with, in the first instance, but by the lord high admiral and the judges of his court. Sentences passed in all inferior courts of admiralty may be brought again before this court; but no appeal lies from it to the lords of the session, or any other judicatory, unless in cases not maritime. Causes are tried in this court by the civil law, which in such cases is likewise the common law of Scotland, as well as by the laws of Oleron, Wisby, and the Hanse towns, and other maritime practices and

decisions committed upon the continent. The place of lord-admiral of Scotland is little more than nominal, but the salary annexed to it is reckoned worth 1000*l.* a-year; and the judge of the admiralty is commonly a lawyer of distinction, with considerable perquisites pertaining to his office.

The college, or faculty of advocates, which answers to the English inns of court, may be called the seminary of Scottish lawyers. They are within themselves an orderly court, and their forms require great precision and examination to qualify its candidates for admission. Subordinate to them is a body of inferior lawyers, or, as they may be called, attorneys, who call themselves writers to the signet, because they alone can subscribe the writs that pass the signet; they likewise have a bye government for their own regulation. Such are the different law-courts that are held in the capital of Scotland; we shall pass to those that are inferior.

The government of the counties in Scotland was formerly vested in sheriffs and stewards, courts of regality, baron courts, commissaries, justices of the peace, and coroners.

Formerly sheriffdoms were generally hereditary; but by a late act of parliament they are now all vested in the crown; it being there enacted, that all high sheriffs, or stewards, shall, for the future, be nominated and appointed annually by his majesty, his heirs and successors. In regard to the sheriff-deputies, and steward-deputies, it is enacted, that there shall only be one in each county, or stewardry, who must be an advocate of three years standing at least. For the space of seven years, these deputies are to be nominated by the king, with such continuance as his majesty shall think fit; after which they are to enjoy their office for life, unless guilty of some offence. Some other regulations have been likewise introduced, highly for the credit of the sheriffs court.

Stewartries were formerly part of the ancient royal domain; and the stewards had much the same power in them as the sheriff had in his county.

Courts of regality of old were held by virtue of a royal jurisdiction vested in the lord, with particular immunities and privileges; but these were so dangerous, and so extravagant, that all the Scottish regalities are now dissolved by an act of parliament.

Baron-courts belong to every person who holds a barony of the king. In civil matters they extend to matters not exceeding forty shillings sterling; and in criminal cases, to petty actions of assault and battery; but the punishment is not to exceed twenty shillings sterling, or setting the delinquent in the stocks for three hours in the day time. These courts, however petty, were in former days invested with the power of life and death, which they have now lost.

The courts of commissaries in Scotland answer

to those of the English diocesan chancellors, the highest of which is kept at Edinburgh, wherein, before four judges, actions are pleaded concerning matters relating to wills and testaments; the right of patronage to ecclesiastical benefices, tithes, divorces, and causes of that nature; but in almost all other parts of the kingdom there sits but one judge on these causes.

According to the present constitution, justices of the peace in Scotland exercise pretty much the same power as those in England. In former times their office, though of very old standing, was insignificant, being cramped by the powers of the great feudal tyrants, who obtained an act of parliament that they were not to take cognizance of riots till fifteen days after the fact.

The institution of coroners is as old as the reign of Malcolm II. the great legislator of Scotland, who lived before the Norman invasion of England. They took cognizance of all breaches of the king's peace; and they were required to have clerks to register depositions and matters of fact, as well as verdicts of jurors; the office, however, is at present much disused in Scotland.

From the above short view of the Scottish laws and institutions, it is plain that they were radically the same with those of the English. The latter allege, indeed, that the Scots borrowed the contents of their *Regiam Majestatem*, their oldest law-book, from the work of Glanville, who was a judge under Henry II. of England. The Scots, on the other hand say, that Glanville's work was copied from their *Regiam Majestatem*, even with the peculiarities of the latter, which do not now, and never did, exist in the laws of England.

The royal burghs in Scotland form, as it were, a commercial parliament, which meets once a-year at Edinburgh, consisting of a representative from each burgh, to consult upon the common good of the whole. Their powers are pretty extensive, and before the Union they made laws relating to shipping, to masters and owners of ships, to mariners, and merchants, by whom they were freighted: to manufacturers, such as plaiding, linen, and yarn; to the curing and packing of fish, salmon, and herrings, and to the importing and exporting several commodities. The trade between Scotland and the Netherlands is subject to their regulations: they fix the staple port, which was formerly at Dort, and is now at Camperve. Their conservator is indeed nominated by the crown, but then their convention regulates his power, approves his deputies, and appoints his salary: so that, in truth, the whole staple trade is subjected to their management.

Upon the whole, this is a very singular institution, and sufficiently proves the vast attention which the government of Scotland formerly paid to trade.

It took its present form in the reign of James III. 1487, and had excellent consequences for the benefit of commerce.

Such are the laws and constitutions of Scotland; but our bounds do not permit us to descend to further particulars, which are various and complicated. The conformity between the practice of the civil law of Scotland, and that of England, is remarkable. The English law reports are of the same nature with the Scottish practice; and their acts of sederunt answer to the English rules of court; the Scottish wadsets and reversions, to the English mortgages and defeasances; their pinding of goods, after letters of horning, is much the same as the English executions upon outlawries; and an appeal against the king's pardon, in cases of murder, by the next of kin to the deceased, is admitted in Scotland as well as in England. Many other usages are the same in both kingdoms. We cannot however, dismiss this head without one observation, which proves the similarity between the English and Scottish constitutions, which we believe has been mentioned by no author. In old times, all the freeholders in Scotland met together in presence of the king, who was seated on the top of a hillock, which in the old Scottish constitution is called the Moot, or Mute-hill; all national affairs were here transacted; judgments given, and differences ended. This Moot-hill we apprehend to be of the same nature as the Saxon Folcmote, and to signify no more than the hill of meeting.

Though the writers of ancient Scottish history are too fond of system and fable, yet it is easy to collect, from the Roman authors, and other evidences, that Scotland was formerly inhabited by different people. The Caledonians were, probably, the first inhabitants; the Picts undoubtedly were the Britons, who were forced northwards by the Belgic Gauls, about fourscore years before the descent of Julius Cæsar; and who settling in Scotland, were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, who were driven northwards by the Romans. The Scots, most probably were a nation of adventurers from the ancient Scythia, who had served in the armies on the continent, and, as has been already hinted, after conquering the other inhabitants, gave their own name to the country. The tract lying southward of the Forth appears to have been inhabited by the Saxons, and by the Britons, who formed the kingdom of Alcuith, the capital of which was Dumbarton; but all these people in process of time were subdued by the Scots.

Having premised thus much, it is unnecessary for us to investigate the constitution of Scotland from its fabulous, or even its early ages. It is sufficient to add, to what we have already said upon that head, that they seem to have been as forward as any of



their southern neighbours in the arts of war and government.

It does not appear that the Caledonians, the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, were attacked by any of the Roman generals before Agricola, anno 79. The name of the prince he fought with was Galdus, by Tacitus named Galgacus; and the history of that war is not only transmitted with great precision, but corroborated by the remains of the Roman encampments and forts, raised by Agricola in his march towards Dunkeld, the capital of the Caledonians. The brave stand made by Galdus against the great general does honour to the valour of both people; and the sentiments of the Caledonians, concerning the freedom and independency of this country, appeared to have warmed the noble historian with the same generous passion. It is plain, however, that Tacitus thought it for the honour of Agricola to conceal some part of this war; for though he makes his countrymen victorious, yet they certainly returned southward, to the province of the Horesti, which was the county of Fife, without improving their advantage.

Galdus, otherwise called Corbred, was, according to the Scottish historians, the 21st in the lineal descent from Fergus I. the founder of their monarchy; and though this genealogy has of late been disputed, yet nothing can be more certain, from the Roman histories, that the Caledonians, or Scots, were governed by a succession of brave and wise princes, during the abode of the Romans in Britain. Their valiant resistance obliged Agricola himself, and after him the emperors Adrian and Severus, to build the two famous pretentures or walls, one between the Frith of Clyde and Forth already mentioned, and the other between Timmouth and the Solway Frith, which is described in our account of England, to defend the Romans from the Caledonians and Scots; and which prove that the independency of the latter was never subdued.

Christianity was introduced into Scotland about the year 201 of the Christian æra, by Donald I. The Picts, who, as before mentioned, were the descendants of the ancient Britons, forced northwards by the Romans, had at this time gained a footing in Scotland; and being often defeated by the ancient inhabitants, they joined the Romans against the Scots and Caledonians, who were of the same original, and considered themselves as one people; so that the Scottish monarchy suffered a short eclipse; but it broke out with more lustre than ever, under Fergus II. who recovered his crown; and his successors gave many severe overthrows to the Romans and Britons.

When the Romans left Britain in 448, the Scots, as appeared by Gildas, a British historian, were a powerful nation, and in conjunction with the Picts,

invaded the Britons; and having forced the Roman walls, drove them to the very sea; so that the Britons applied to the Romans for relief; and in the famous letter, which they call their groans, they tell them, that they had no choice left, but that of being swallowed up by the sea, or perishing by the swords of the barbarians; for so all nations were called who were not Romans, or under the Roman protection.

Dongard was then king of Scotland; and it appears from the oldest historians, and those that are least favourable to monarchy, that the succession to the crown of Scotland still continued in the family of Fergus, but generally descended collaterally; till the inconveniences of that mode of succession were so much felt, that by degrees it fell into disuse, and it was at last settled in the descending line.

About the year 796, the Scots were governed by Achaüs, a prince so much respected, that his friendship was courted by Charlemagne. The Picts still remained in Scotland as a separate nation, and were powerful enough to make war upon the Scots who, about the year 843, when Kenneth Mac Alpin was king of Scotland, finally subdued them; but not in the savage manner mentioned by some historians, by extermination. For he obliged them to incorporate themselves with their conquerors, by taking their names and adopting their laws. The successors of Kenneth Mac Alpin maintained almost perpetual wars with the Saxons on the southward, and the Danes and other barbarous nations towards the east: who being masters of the sea, harassed the Scots by powerful invasions. The latter, however, were more fortunate than the English; for while the Danes were erecting a monarchy in England, they were every where overthrown in Scotland by bloody battles, and at last driven out of the kingdom. The Saxon and Danish monarchs who then governed England were not more successful against the Scots, who maintained their freedom and independency, not only against foreigners, but against their own kings, when they thought them endangered. The feudal law was introduced among them by Malcolm II.

Malcolm III. commonly called Malcolm Canmore from two Gaelic words which signify a large head, but most probably from his great capacity, was the eighty-sixth king of Scotland, from Fergus I. the supposed founder of the monarchy; the forty-seventh from its restorer, Fergus II.; and the twenty-second from Kenneth III. who conquered the kingdom of the Picts. Every reader who is acquainted with the tragedy of Macbeth, as written by the inimitable Shakespeare, who keeps close to the facts delivered by historians, can be no stranger to the fate of Malcolm's father, and his own history, previous to his mounting the throne in the year

1057. He was a wise and magnanimous prince, and in no respect inferior to his contemporary, the Norman conqueror, with whom he was often at war. He married Margaret, daughter to Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, son to Edmund Ironside, king of England. By the death of her brother Edgar Atheling, the Saxon right to the crown of England devolved upon the posterity of that princess, who was one of the wisest and worthiest women of the age; and her daughter Maud was accordingly married to Henry I. of England. Malcolm, after a glorious reign, was killed, with his son, treacherously, it is said, at the siege of Alnwick, by the besieged.

Malcolm III. was succeeded by his brother Donald VII. and he was dethroned by Duncan II. whose legitimacy was disputed. They were succeeded by Edgar, the son of Malcolm III. who was a wise and valiant prince; he was succeeded by Alexander I. and upon his death David I. mounted the throne. Notwithstanding the endeavours of some historians to conceal what they cannot deny, (we mean the glories of this reign) it yet appears, that David was one of the greatest princes of his age, whether we regard him as a man, a warrior, or a legislator. The noble actions he performed in the service of his niece, the empress Maud, in her competition with king Stephen for the English crown, give us the highest idea of his virtues, as they could be the result only of duty and principle. To him Henry II. the mightiest prince of his age, owed his crown; and his possessions in England, joined to the kingdom of Scotland, placed David's power nearly on an equality with that of England, when confined to this island. His actions and adventures, and the resources he always found in his own courage, prove him to have been a hero of the first rank. If he appeared to be too lavish to churchmen, and in his religious endowments, we are to consider these were the only means by which he could civilize his kingdom; and the code of laws we have already mentioned to have been drawn up by him, do his memory immortal honour. They are said to have been compiled under his inspection by learned men, whom he assembled from all parts of Europe in his magnificent abbey of Melross.— He was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV. and he by William, surnamed from his valour, the Lion. William's son Alexander II. was succeeded in 1249 by Alexander III. who was a good king. He married first, Margaret daughter to Henry III. of England, by whom he had Alexander, the prince who married the earl of Flanders' daughter; David, and Margaret who married Hangowan, or, as some call him, Eric, son to Magnus IV. king of Norway, who bore to him a daughter named Margaret, commonly called the Maiden of Norway; in whom

king William's whole posterity failed, and the crown of Scotland returned to the descendants of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to king Malcolm IV. and king William.

We have been the more particular in this detail, because it was productive of great events. Upon the death of Alexander III. John Baliol, who was great-grandson to David earl of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter Margaret, and Robert Bruce, (grandfather to the great king Robert Bruce) grandson to the same earl of Huntingdon, by his youngest daughter Isabel, became competitors for the crown of Scotland. The laws of succession, which were not then so well established in England as they are at present, render the case very disagreeable. Both parties were almost equally matched in interest; but after a confused interregnum of some years, the great nobility agreed in referring the decision to Edward I. of England, the most polite, ambitious prince of his age. He accepted the office of arbitrator; but having long had an eye to the crown of Scotland, he revived some obsolete absurd claims of its dependency upon that of England; and finding that Baliol was disposed to hold it by that disgraceful tenure, Edward awarded it to him; but afterwards dethroned him, and treated him as a slave, without Baliol's resenting it.

After this, Edward used many endeavours to annex their crown to his own, which were often defeated; and though Edward for a short time made himself master of Scotland, yet the Scots were ready to revolt against him on every favourable opportunity. Those of them who were so zealously attached to the independency of their own country, as to be resolved to hazard every thing for it, were indeed but few, compared to those in the interest of Edward and Baliol, which was the same; and for some time they were obliged to temporize. Edward availed himself of their weakness and his own power. He accepted of a formal surrender of the crown of Baliol, to whom he allowed a pension, but detained him in England; and sent every nobleman in Scotland, whom he in the least suspected, to different prisons in or near London. He then forced the Scots to sign instruments of their subjection to him, and most barbarously carried off or destroyed all the monuments of their history, and the evidences of their independency, and particularly the famous fatidical or prophetic stone, which is still to be seen in Westminster abbey.

These severe proceedings, while they rendered the Scots sensible of their slavery, revived in them the ideas of their freedom; and Edward finding their spirits were not to be subdued, endeavoured to caress them, and affected to treat them on a footing of equality with his own subjects, by projecting an union, the chief articles of which have since taken

place between the two kingdoms. The Scottish patriots treated this project with disdain, and united under the brave William Wallace, the truest hero of his age, to expel the English. Wallace performed actions that entitled him to eternal honour, in executing this scheme. Being however no more than a private gentleman, and his popularity daily increasing, the Scottish nobility (among whom was Robert Bruce, the son of the first competitor) began to suspect that he had an eye upon the crown, especially after he had defeated the earl of Surrey, Edward's viceroy of Scotland, in the battle of Stirling, and had reduced the garrisons of Berwick and Roxburgh, and was declared by the states of Scotland their protector. Their jealousy operated so far, that they formed violent cabals against the brave Wallace. Edward, upon this, once more invaded Scotland, at the head of the most numerous and best disciplined army England had ever seen, for it consisted of 80,000 foot, 3000 horsemen completely armed, and 4000 light armed; and was attended by a fleet to supply it with provisions. These, besides the troops who joined him in Scotland, formed an irresistible body: Edward, however, was obliged to divide it, reserving the command of 40,000 of his best troops to himself. With these he attacked the Scottish army under Wallace at Falkirk, while their disputes ran so high, that the brave regent was deserted by Cumming, the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and at the head of the best division of his countrymen. Wallace, whose troops did not exceed 30,000, being thus betrayed, was defeated with vast loss, but made an orderly retreat; during which he found means to have a conference with Bruce, and to convince him of his error in joining with Edward. Wallace still continued in arms, and performed many gallant actions against the English; but was betrayed into the hands of Edward, who most ungenerously put him to death at London, as a traitor; but he died himself as he was preparing to renew his invasion of Scotland with a still more desolating spirit of ambition, after having destroyed 100,000 of her inhabitants.

Bruce died soon after the battle at Falkirk; but not before he had inspired his son, who was a prisoner at large about the English court, with the glorious resolution of vindicating his own rights, and his country's independency. He escaped from London, and with his own hand killed Cumming, for his attachment to Edward; and after collecting a few patriots, among whom were his own four brothers, he assumed the crown, but was defeated by the English (who had a great army in Scotland) at the battle of Methven. After his defeat, he fled with one or two friends to the Western Isles and parts of Scotland, where his fatigues and sufferings were as inexpressible, as the courage with which he

and his few friends bore them (the lord Douglas especially) was incredible. Though his wife and daughters were sent prisoners to England, where the best of his friends and two of his brothers were put to death, yet such was his persevering spirit, that he recovered all Scotland excepting the castle of Stirling, and improved every advantage that was given him by the dissipated conduct of Edward II, who raised an army more numerous and better appointed still than that of his father, to make a total conquest of Scotland. It is said that it consisted of 100,000 men; this is supposed to be an exaggerated computation: however, it is admitted that the army of Bruce did not exceed 30,000; but all of them heroes, who had been bred up in a detestation of tyranny.

Edward, who was not deficient in point of courage, led this mighty host towards Stirling, then besieged by Bruce, who had chosen with the greatest judgment a camp near Bannockburn. The chief officers under Edward were, the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, Pembroke, and Sir Giles Agenton. Those under Bruce were, his own brother Sir Edward, who, next to himself, was reckoned to be the best knight in Scotland; his nephew Randolph earl of Murray, and the lord Walter, high-steward of Scotland. Edward's attack of the Scottish army was exceeding furious, and required all the courage and firmness of Bruce and his friends to resist it, which they did so effectually, that they gained one of the most complete victories that is recorded in history. The great loss of the English fell upon the bravest part of their troops, who were led on by Edward in person against Bruce himself. The Scottish writers make the loss of the English amount to 50,000 men. Be that as it will, there certainly never was a more total defeat, though the conquerors lost 4000. The flower of the English nobility were either killed or taken prisoners. Their camp, which was immensely rich, and calculated for the purpose rather of a triumph than a campaign, fell into the hands of the Scots; and Edward himself, with a few followers, favoured by the goodness of their horses, were pursued by Douglas to the gates of Berwick, from whence he escaped in a fishing-boat. This great decisive battle happened in the year 1314.

The remainder of Robert's reign was a series of the most glorious successes; and so well did his nobility understand the principles of civil liberty, and so unfettered were they by religious considerations, that, in a letter they sent to the pope, they acknowledged that they had set aside Balaio for debasing the crown by holding it of England; and that they would do the same by Robert, if he should make the like attempt. Robert having thus delivered Scotland, sent his brother Edward to Ireland, at the head of an army, with which he conquered the greatest part of that kingdom, and was proclaimed



its king; but by exposing himself too much he was killed. Robert, before his death, which happened in 1328, made an advantageous peace with England, and when he died, he was acknowledged to be indisputably the greatest hero of his age.

The glory of the Scots may be said to have been in its zenith under Robert I. who was succeeded by his son David II. He was a virtuous prince, but his abilities, both in peace and war, were eclipsed by his brother-in-law and enemy Edward III. of England, whose sister he married. Edward, who was as keen as any of his predecessors upon the conquest of Scotland, espoused the cause of Baliol, son to Baliol, the original competitor. His progress was at first amazingly rapid, and he and Edward defeated the royal party in many bloody battles; but Baliol was at last driven out of his usurped kingdom by the Scottish patriots. David had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham: and after continuing above eleven years in captivity, he paid 100,000 marks for his ransom, and died in peace without issue, in the year 1371.

The crown of Scotland then devolved upon the family of Stuart, by its head having been married to the daughter of Robert I. The first king of that name was Robert II. a wise and brave prince. He was succeeded by his son Robert III. whose age and infirmities disqualified him from reigning; so that he was forced to trust the government to his brother, the duke of Albany, an ambitious prince, who seems to have had an eye to the crown for his own family. Robert, upon this, attempted to send his second son to France; but he was most ungenerously intercepted by Henry IV. of England; and, after suffering a long captivity, he was obliged to pay an exorbitant ransom. During the imprisonment of James, in England, the military glory of the Scots was carried to the greatest height in France, where they supported that tottering monarchy against England, and the generals obtained some of the first titles of the kingdom.

James, the first of that name, upon his return to Scotland, discovered great talents for government, enacted many wise laws, and was beloved by his people. He had received an excellent education in England during the reigns of Henry IV. and V. where he saw the feudal system refined from many of the imperfections which still adhered to it in his own kingdom; he determined therefore to abridge the overgrown power of the nobles, and to recover such lands as had been unjustly wrested from the crown during his minority and the preceding reigns; but the execution of these designs cost him his life, he being murdered in his bed by some of his chief nobility in 1437, and the 44th year of his age.

A long minority succeeded; but James II. would probably have equalled the greatest of his ancestors both in warlike and civil virtues, had he not been suddenly killed by the accidental bursting of a cannon, in the thirteenth year of his age, as he was besieging the castle of Roxburgh, which was defended by the English.

Suspicion, indolence, immoderate attachments to females, and many of the errors of a female mind, are visible in the conduct of James III. and his turbulent reign was closed by a rebellion of his subjects, being slain in battle in 1488, aged thirty-five.

His son, James IV. was the most accomplished prince of the age; he was naturally generous and brave; he loved magnificence, he delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. He encouraged and protected the commerce of his subjects, so that they greatly increased in riches; and the court of James, at the time of his marriage with Henry VII.'s daughter, was splendid and respectable. Even this alliance could not cure him of his family distemper, a predilection for the French, in whose cause he rashly entered, and was killed, with the flower of his nobility, by the English, in the battle of Flodden, anno 1513, and the fortieth year of his age.

The minority of his son, James V. was long and turbulent: and when he grew up, he married two French ladies; the first being daughter to the king of France, and the latter of the house of Guise. He instituted the court of session, enacted many salutary laws, and greatly promoted the trade of Scotland, particularly the working of the mines. At this time the balance of power was so equally poised between the contending princes of Europe, that James's friendship was courted by the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and his uncle, Henry VIII. of England, from all which he received magnificent presents. But James took little share in foreign affairs; he seemed rather to imitate his predecessors in their attempts to humble the nobility; and the doctrines of the Reformation beginning to be propagated in Scotland, he gave way, at the instigation of the clergy, to a religious persecution, though it is generally believed, that, had he lived longer, he would have seized all the church revenues, in imitation of Henry. However, having rather slighted some friendly overtures made him by the king of England, and thereby given great umbrage to that prince, a war at length broke out between them.—A large army under the command of the duke of Norfolk, entered Scotland, and ravaged the country north of the Tweed. After this short expedition, the English army retired to Berwick. Upon this the king of Scotland sent 10,000 men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Firth; and he himself followed them at a short distance, ready

to join them upon occasion. But he soon after gave great offence to the nobility, and the army, by imprudently depriving their general, lord Maxwell, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army were so much disgusted with this alteration, that they were ready to disband, when a small body of English horse appeared, not exceeding five hundred. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, supposing themselves to be attacked by the whole body of the English army. The English horse, seeing them flee with such precipitation, closely pursued them, and slew great numbers, taking prisoners seven lords, two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred soldiers, with twenty-four pieces of ordnance.— This disaster so much affected king James, that it threw him into a fit of illness, of which he soon after died on the 14th of December, 1542.

His daughter and successor, Mary, was but a few hours old at the time of her father's death. Her beauty, her misconduct, and her misfortune, are alike famous in history. It is sufficient here to say, that during her minority, and while she was wife to Francis II. of France, the Reformation advanced in Scotland: that being called to the throne of her ancestors while a widow, she married her own cousin german, the lord Darnley, whose untimely death hath given rise to so much controversy. The consequence of her husband's death, and of her marriage with Bothwell, who was considered as his murderer, was an insurrection of her subjects, from whom she fled into England, where she was ungenerously detained a prisoner for eighteen years; and afterwards, on motives of her state policy, beheaded by queen Elizabeth, in 1587, in the forty-sixth year of her age.

Mary's son, James VI. of Scotland, succeeded in right of his blood from Henry VII. upon the death of queen Elizabeth, to the English crown, after shewing considerable abilities in the government of Scotland. This union of the two crowns, in fact,

destroyed the independency, as it impoverished the people of Scotland; for the seat of government being removed to England, their trade was checked, their agriculture neglected, and their gentry obliged to seek for bread in other countries. James, after a splendid, but troublesome reign over his three kingdoms, left them in 1625, to his son, the unfortunate Charles I. That prince, by his despotic principles and conduct, induced both his Scottish and English subjects to take up arms against him: and indeed, it was in Scotland that the sword was first drawn against Charles. But when the royal party was totally defeated in England, the king put himself into the power of the Scottish army; they at first treated him with respect, but afterwards delivered him up to the English parliament, on condition of their paying 400,000 pounds to the Scots, which was said to be due to them for arrears. However, the Scots afterwards made several bloody but unsuccessful attempts to restore his son Charles II. That prince was finally defeated by Cromwell, at the battle of Worcester, 1651, after which, to the time of his restoration, the commonwealth of England, and the protector gave law to Scotland. We have, in another place, touched on the most material parts of Charles's reign, and that of his deluded brother, James VII. of Scotland, and II. of England, as well as of king William, who was so far from being a friend to Scotland, that, relying on his royal word to her parliament, she was brought to the brink of ruin.

The state of parties in England at the accession of queen Anne was such, that the Whigs once more had recourse to the Scots, and offered them their own terms, if they would agree to the incorporate Union as it now stands. It was long before the Scottish parliament would listen to the proposal; but at last, partly from conviction, and partly through the force of money distributed among the needy nobility, it was agreed to; since which event the history of Scotland becomes, in a great measure, the same with that of England.



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